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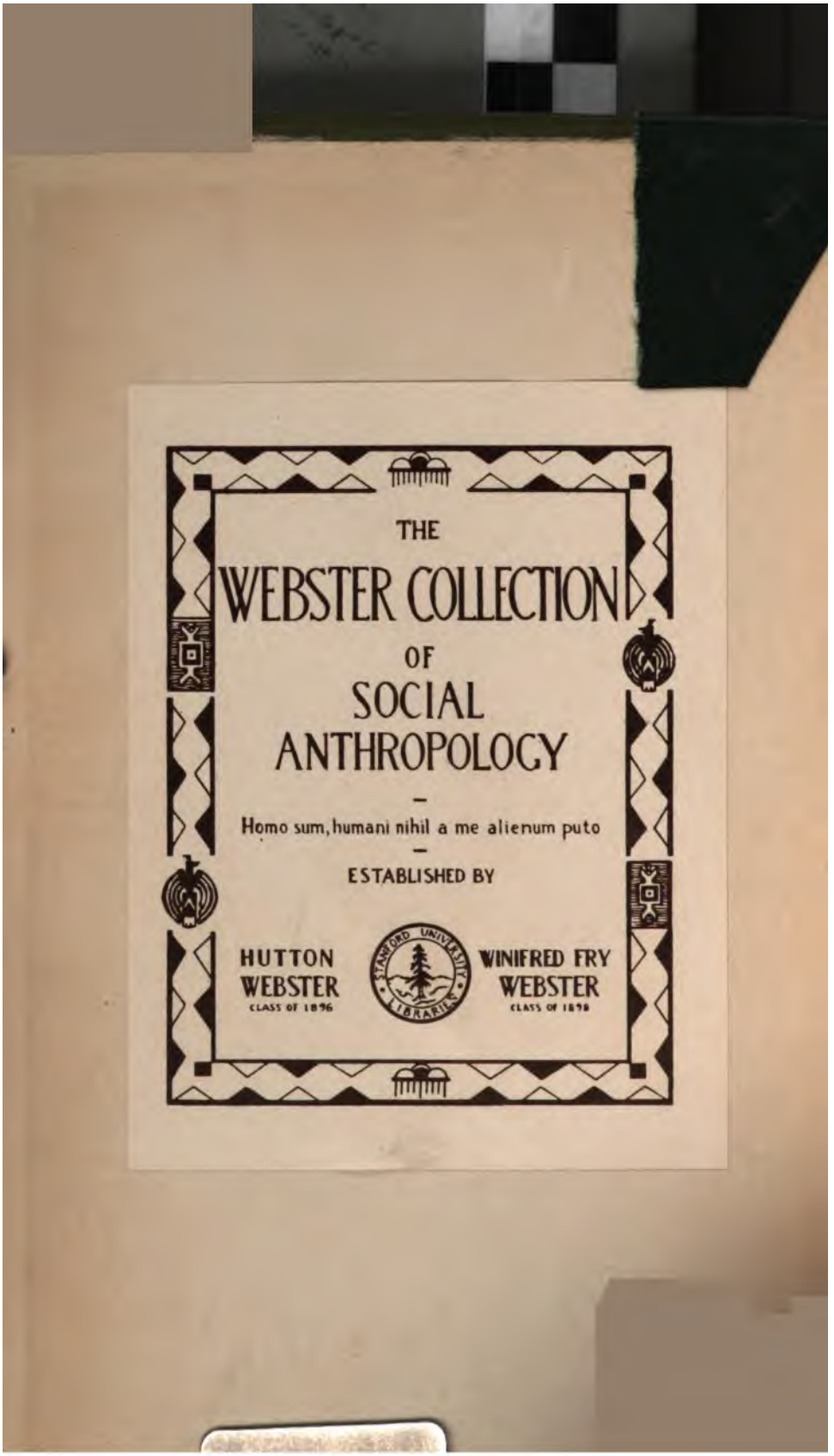
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THE NATIVE TRIBES
OF
SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA

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SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA

THE

Native Tribes

OF

South-East Australia

BY

A. W. HOWITT, D.Sc.

HON. FELLOW ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

London

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TO

THE MEMORY OF MY WIFE

WITHOUT WHOSE UNFAILING SYMPATHY

THIS WORK

MIGHT NEVER HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN

PREFACE

THE materials for this work were collected during the past forty years, commencing during explorations in Central Australia, where I came into close and friendly contact with two tribes who were in a condition of complete savagery. Circumstances later on enabled me to acquire considerable influence over tribes in South-East Australia, and to become acquainted with their sacred ceremonies and be present at them.

In 1873 I joined Dr. Lorimer Fison in investigating the classificatory system of relationships which obtains among these savages. In connection with this inquiry, our attention was directed to the tribal class system, and the rules of marriage and descent connected therewith.

In these investigations we were assisted by correspondents living in places scattered over the greater part of Eastern Australia, and in a less degree in the western half. Without their aid it would not have been possible to have brought together the collection of facts which was necessary to enable us to draw sound conclusions as to the real character of the organisation and beliefs of the native tribes.

In the course of our work we found the conclusions to which we were led regarding the system of relationships, the character and origin of the tribal and social organisation, and the rules of marriage and descent, brought us into conflict with hypotheses as to primitive society and its organisation

and development advanced by certain leaders of anthropological thought.

Such being the case, we deemed it advisable, in anticipation of fuller publication, to make known the preliminary results of our inquiries. This had also the advantage of not only making known our results, but also submitting our conclusions to criticism, and finally, to use a well-known mining term, to "marking out our prospecting claim."

This we did by, in the first place, communicating a series of memoirs to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; and secondly, by other publications, all of which are included in the following list.

It will be seen that the several chapters of this work, in one aspect, are those memoirs elaborated, but they also include other facts which have been since obtained.

With the increase of information, due to a wider scope of inquiry, the mental horizon was necessarily widened, bringing the facts into a truer perspective. Thus it has come about that some of the views expressed in earlier papers have been modified, as will be pointed out in several places in this work.

The following list gives the publications referred to, being either the joint works of Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself, or of myself alone:—

Kamilaroi and Kurnai. Lorimer Fison and A. W. Howitt. 1880.

"From Mother-right to Father-right." A. W. Howitt and Lorimer Fison, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* August 1882.

"Notes on the Australian Class Systems." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* May 1883.

"On Some Australian Beliefs." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* November 1883.

"Australian Group Relations." A. W. Howitt, *Smithsonian Report*, 1883.

"On Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* 1884.

"On the Deme and the Horde." A. W. Howitt and Lorimer Fison, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* 1884.

"The Jeraeil, or Initiations of the Kurnai Tribe." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* May 1885.

"On the Migrations of the Kurnai Ancestors." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* 1886.

"On Australian Medicine-men." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* August 1886.

"Notes on Songs and Song-Makers of Some Australian Tribes." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* 1887.

"Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* 1888.

"Notes on Australian Message-Sticks and Messengers." A. W. Howitt, *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* 1889.

"On the Use of Gesture Language in Australian Tribes." A. W. Howitt, *Aust. Ass. Ad. Sci.* vol. ii. p. 637. 1890.

"Anthropology in Australia." A. W. Howitt, *Aust. Ass. Ad. Sci.* vol. iii. p. 342. 1891.

"On Trade Centres in Australian Tribes." A. W. Howitt, *Aust. Ass. Ad. Sci.* 1901.

The facts upon which my conclusions are based were stated substantially in the above works. But in some cases my views have been modified by a wider experience and more mature consideration. Yet the broad facts on which Dr. Fison and I relied, and the general deductions from the same, remain unaltered. That they were securely founded upon native custom is sufficiently shown by the splendid work done by Spencer and Gillen, who have independently found the same social facts, and have drawn therefrom the same conclusions as we did.

I have to express the very great obligations I am under to correspondents for information about the organisation, customs, and beliefs of the several tribes with which they were acquainted, or as to which they obtained information. My sincerest thanks are due to them, not only for this information, but also for the patience with which they bore my continued questioning, and for the very great trouble

which some of them took to work out further details of social questions which their information or my personal knowledge suggested.

In the following list I give the names of the tribes described or referred to, and the name of the correspondent in each case to whom I am indebted for the information recorded. I have also given in the body of the work, in footnotes, the names of the correspondents whose statements I quote. Where there are no such footnotes, and especially as regards the Dieri, Yantruwunta, Yaurorka, Leitchi-leitchi, Wiradjuri, Wotjobaluk, Mukjarawaint, Jupagalk, Jajaurung, Wurunjerri, Thagunwurong, Kurnai, Wolgal, Ya-itma-thang, Ngarigo, Yuin, and Biduelli, I speak from personal knowledge of those tribes-people at some time during the last forty years.

It will be observed in the perusal of this work that there are certain gentlemen to whom I am especially indebted for most important contributions, and to whom my special thanks are due for very valuable assistance, without which I could not have fully given the information as to certain tribes. These are: Mr. Harry E. Aldridge, Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, Mr. W. H. Flowers, the Rev. Otto Siebert, the late Mr. Edward Palmer, Mr. Tom Petrie, Mr. J. C. Muirhead, and the Rev. John Bulmer.

List of Correspondents and Tribes described by Them

Harry E. Aldridge . .	Maryborough district, Queensland.
J. W. Boultbee . . .	Wilga, Kongait, Tongaranka, Bulali, Naualko, Guerno, Barabinya.
J. W. Boydell . . .	Gringai.
G. H. Bridgeman . . .	Bombarabura. Tribes about Mackay.
Jocelyn Brooke . . .	Kaiabara.
Rev. John Bulmer . . .	Kurnai, Ngarigo, Theddora, Wiimbaio.
John Buntine . . .	Theddora.

A. L. P. Cameron . . .	Barkinji, Ithi-ithi, Muthi-muthi, Ta-tathi, Wathi-wathi, Wiradjuri, Wonghibon, Unghi.
R. Christison . . .	Dalebura.
R. Crowthers . . .	Wollaroi, Bigambul, Yualaroi.
Cyrus E. Doyle . . .	Kamilaroi.
C. I. Duve	Kurnai, Ngarigo.
M. J. Fehan . . .	Paruinji.
W. H. Flowers . . .	Kuinmurbura.
Dr. John Fraser . . .	Various tribes through correspondents.
J. Gaggin	Herbert River tribes.
Captain Garside . . .	Wiradjuri.
F. Gaskell	Kukata.
S. Gason	Dieri and kindred tribes.
James Gibson . . .	Chepara.
Rev. J. H. Gribble . .	Wiradjuri.
J. Hogarth	Yendakarangu.
C. F. Holmes . . .	Hunter River tribe.
A. Hook	Gringai.
Frank James . . .	Dieri, Mardala.
Rev. H. Kempe . . .	Aldolinga.
J. H. Kirkham . . .	Buntamurra.
Julius Kühn	Narrang-ga.
James Lalor	Bigambul, Emon, Ungorri.
T. E. Lance	Kamilaroi.
R. Lethbridge . . .	Maranoa tribe.
W. Logan	Mundainbura, Yakunbura.
W. Lucas	Kurnai.
Dr. E. M. M'Kinlay . .	Wiimbaio, Gringai.
Hon. A. M'Lean . . .	Kurnai.
J. C. Macleod . . .	Kurnai.
J. C. Muirhead . . .	Wakelbura and kindred tribes.
C. Naseby	Kamilaroi.
W. O'Donnell . . .	Kurnandaburi.
John O'Rourke . . .	Ngarigo, Kurnai, Theddora
Edward Palmer . . .	Wide Bay tribes.
Tom Petrie	Turrbal.
Rev. J. G. Reuther . .	Dieri.
D. Elphinstone Roe . .	Yerkla-mining.
Dr. W. E. Roth . . .	Annan River tribe.

G. W. Rusden . . .	Geawe-gal.
W. Scott	Gringai.
J. Shaw	Wurunjerri, Wiimbaio.
Rev. Otto Siebert . . .	Dieri and kindred tribes.
Mrs. James Smith . . .	Buandik and kindred tribes.
Professor W. Baldwin Spencer	Arunta, Waramunga.
Rev. J. H. Stähle . . .	Gournditch-mara.
D. Stewart	Buandik.
T. M. Sutton . . .	Narrang-ga.
F. W. Taplin . . .	Narrinyeri.
Rev. George Taplin . .	Narrinyeri.
E. R. Vernon . . .	Kamilaroi.
H. Vogelsang . . .	Dieri.
H. Williams	Yerkla-mining.

I have endeavoured to show on the maps which accompany this work the range of the several class organisations, and the locality in each state, of each tribe referred to. But the reader will kindly bear in mind the great difficulty which always presents itself, not only in defining the true boundaries of any tribal country, but also, in many cases, of giving the true and comprehensive name of the tribe. A member of a clan will probably give its name, and only on closer inquiry will give the name of the tribe of which that clan is a part. It is still more difficult to ascertain the name of what I have termed a nation, that is, of a group which includes two or more kindred tribes.

Some tribes are again spoken of by the name of their language. Such causes have produced errors giving considerable trouble to correct, and it is to be feared that even now they have not been eliminated in all cases.

In the map which faces page 90 I have indicated the approximate boundaries of the several class systems mentioned in Chapter III. The boundaries are necessarily but approximate, as more precise ones could only be obtained by possessing an intimate knowledge of those of each tribe along the common line of division. But sufficient is given to show

on broad lines the range of the great groups of tribes organised successively from the two-class system of Central Australia, and the more developed four- and eight-class system of the more northern parts of the continent, to the highly-modified organisations of the coastal regions of South-East Australia.

I have more than once drawn attention to the almost complete identity, even in details, of certain tribal customs in places far distant from each other. I now mention this in advance, for the purpose of pointing out that in such cases I have endeavoured to give the expressions made use of by my native informants, or my correspondents, as the case may be, and have given them in detail, in order to impress the coincidence, since it shows a remarkable and widely-spread observance of custom.

By far the greater part of the materials for this work was collected and recorded before 1889. Since then the native tribes have more or less died, and in the older settlements of South-East Australia the tribal remnants have now almost lost the knowledge of the beliefs and customs of their fathers. I have preferred to let my notes remain, as they were written, in the present tense, rather than to attempt to bring them up to the present time.

Among the causes to which the rapid extinction of the native tribes by acquired vices must be attributed, I may note the use of opium in Queensland. My correspondents inform me that it was acquired from the Chinese employed there, and that it is given to the aborigines as wages and gratuities, or is sold to them by retail traders.

Dr. Lorimer Fison and I have been so long associated in investigations into the organisation and customs of the native tribes of Australia, that it was with feelings of the greatest regret that I found his other engagements would prevent him from joining me in this work. It had been

always my hope that his name would be associated with mine in it, but although that cannot be, the fact remains, as will be seen from the list of our joint works, that much of what I have done is equally his.

I wish to acknowledge the great obligations I am under to Professor Baldwin Spencer for much assistance during the preparation of this book, and for photographs which have been reproduced in it. He most kindly read over the drafts of the several chapters, and I have benefited by his kindly criticisms and suggestions in their final settlement. I have also to thank him and Mr. F. J. Gillen for generously permitting me to use some of the photographs taken by them in Central Australia.

My thanks are also due to Miss A. J. King for some interesting photographs of Kurnai men and women.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. J. G. Frazer for much kindness and for most valuable suggestions in connection with this work.

The Government Astronomers of New South Wales, Queensland, and South Australia have most willingly supplied me with information as to rainfall and temperature. And to Mr. P. Baracchi, the Government Astronomer of the State of Victoria, are due my especial thanks for the interest which he has taken in this part of my work, and for the suggestions which he has made.

Mr. J. H. Maiden, the Government Botanist for the State of New South Wales, very kindly examined and named a collection of plants from Lake Eyre, some of which have been drawn for this work by Miss Flockton under his direction.

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ERRATA

Page 141, line 5, *read* "she would not be of the Bunjil class, that being the equivalent of Krokitch, while Gamutch equals Waang."

Page 145, line 23, *read* "I can scarcely imagine but that."

Page 185, line 16, *read* "Mardala."

Page 194, line 27, *read* "both on the Darling and Murray."

Page 211, bottom of page, *read*, or (anomalous) *as being between* Kubbitha-bandicoot *and* Matha-black duck.

Page 212, line 10, *read*, or (anomalous) *as being between* Matha-bandicoot *and* Kubbitha-black duck.

Page 212, bottom of table, *read*, or (anomalous) *as being between* Ipatha-opossum *and* Butha-mallee-hen.

Page 225, line 19, *read* "the opportunity offers."

Page 233, line 14, *read* "a particular woman by her."

Page 433, line 19, *read* "Bring-a-nurt."

Page 448, line 32, *read* "and *marra* means new."

Page 646, end of page (footnote), *read* "[5] This is the long-snouted rat."

Page 718, the footnote should refer to paragraph commencing "Buckley mentions that a messenger, etc."

Page 743, line 4 from bottom, *read* "Brajerak."

Page 798, line 23, *read* "*Woma* (carpet-snakes) and *Kapiri* (lizards) hidden in them."

CHAPTER I

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ABORIGINES OF TASMANIA AND AUSTRALIA

Literature relating to the subject—No evidence that the Tasmanians reached the Island by water—They must have gone when there was land communication with the Australian coast—Literature relating to the Australian coast—The Australian ancestors must also have arrived by land communication—Probably they came from lands lying to the north or north-west of the continent—Physical geography of the northern coasts—Probable route of migration by New Guinea—Evidence of antiquity of man in Australia—Legends of volcanic era in Australia—Evidence of period of subsidence in Victoria—Coastal soundings—The Tasmanians the autochthonous inhabitants of Australia—Mr. Mathew's Malayan hypothesis—Australians belong to Caucasian stock—The connection between the Australians and Dravidians considered—Tasmanians placed among the Oceanic Negritos—The evidence points to vast antiquity of both races in their latest surroundings.

THE question of the origin of the Australian and Tasmanian aborigines has engaged the attention of many writers, who have attempted its solution by inferences drawn from language, from custom, from the physical character of those savages, and, while direct evidence is not existent, from what some writers apparently assume to be fact.

Before entering upon the conclusions to which I have been led in this inquiry, it will be well to note in chronological order the views of various authorities, in doing which I have found it necessary to include those dealing with the Tasmanians.

Mr. R. H. Davis[1] considered the Tasmanians to be scions of the Australians, and that their ancestors, being

[1] Davis, R. H., "The Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land," *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science.* Tasmania and London, 1846.

driven to sea in a canoe from the vicinity of King George's Sound, would, by the prevailing winds and currents, be apt to reach the western part of Van Diemen's Land. He selected that point of departure apparently for the reason that the word for "water" among the western tribes of Tasmania is similar to that used by the natives of Cape Leeuwen.

In 1839 Captain Robert Fitzroy,[1] in his narrative of the surveying voyages of the *Adventure* and the *Beagle*, between the years 1826 and 1836, attributes the origin of the aborigines of Tasmania and Australia either to a party of negroes who might have been driven by storms from the coast of Africa, and thus reached New Zealand or Van Diemen's Land, or to negroes escaping or being brought to the northern shores of Tasmania as slaves by "red men."

The conclusions of Dr. Pritchard[2] as to the derivation of the Tasmanians and Australians are noteworthy. They mark the great advance made in ethnology since the year 1847, but they also disclose the germs of those beliefs, as to the primitive races of mankind who inhabited the Australian and Melanesian regions and the Indo-Malayan Archipelago, which are now fairly established and accepted by ethnologists.

He goes back to primitive black tribes inhabiting "Oceania, Oceanic Negritia, or Oceanic Negroland," at a time when the "Malayo-Polynesian" race had not yet entered the Indian Archipelago.

He considered that this Negrito race was spread by way of New Guinea over the adjacent archipelago of islands, and that one branch took a more southerly course by the chain of islands ending at Timor, and lastly entered Australia.

In the same year Dr. Latham[3] stated in the Appendix to the narrative of the surveying voyage of the *Fly* during the years 1842-1846, that the Tasmanian language had

[1] Fitzroy, Captain Robert, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M. Ships "Adventure" and "Beagle" between the years* 1826 *and* 1836, vol. ii. p. 654. London, 1839.

[2] Pritchard, Robert M., *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v. p. 214. London, 1847.

[3] Latham, Robert M., *Elements of Comparative Philology*. 1882.

affinities with both the Australian and New Caledonian languages, but in a stronger degree with the latter. This, he considered, will at once explain the points of physical contrast between the Tasmanian tribes and those of Australia, and will indicate that the stream of population for Van Diemen's Land ran round Australia rather than across it.

Mr. Edward John Eyre[1] expressed the belief that there were grounds for the opinion that Australia was first peopled on its north-western coast, between the parallels of 12° and 16° South latitude. Thence he surmises that three great divisions branched out from the parent tribe, and from their offsets the whole continent was overspread.

Mr. M'Gillivray,[2] after quoting Eyre, Pritchard, and Latham, says that a common origin is implied by the belief in the unity of the Australian race. That it was not derived from New Guinea can scarcely be doubted, since Cape York and the neighbouring shores of the mainland are occupied by genuine and unmixed Australians, while islands of Torres Strait and the adjacent coast of New Guinea are occupied by equally genuine Papuans. Intermediate in position between the two races, and occupying the point of junction at the Prince of Wales Island, is the Kaurarega tribe (according to M'Gillivray), an Australian tribe altered by contact with the Papuan tribes of the adjacent island so as to resemble the latter in most of their physical, intellectual, and moral characteristics.

Mr. James Bonwick[3] devotes a long chapter to the origin of the Tasmanians. So far as I am able to gather, his views appear to be that at the time when a now sunken continent connected Tasmania with New Zealand on the east, and with Victoria on the west, the Tasmanians migrated therefrom and ranged round the coasts of the continent as the highway between what are now distinct lands.

He considers that the Australians came from the same

[1] Eyre, Edward John, *Journals of Exploration and Discovery into Central Australia*, p. 405. London, 1845.

[2] M'Gillivray, John, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M. Ship "Rattlesnake" during the years* 1846-1850, vol. ii. p. 81. London, 1852.

[3] Bonwick, Jas., *The Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, pp. 264, 265, 269. 1870.

centre as the Tasmanians, namely, the "sunken continent," and therefore, in their emigrations, established themselves directly upon the south-western part of Australia, and possibly after the separation of Tasmania from it.

According to this author, the Tasmanians were then isolated for several or many thousand years from the world's progress, and he feels "wonder that the Tasmanians retained the speech and form of man and the strength of human thought, the power of human love."

Professor Giglioli,[1] in the conclusion to his work on the Tasmanians, regards them as being Australians with the hair of Papuans, retaining, but in a primitive form, the habits and customs of the former, or, to speak more correctly, as being the descendants of an earlier black race with woolly hair who were settled in the continent of New Holland. The Tasmanians were the last remainder of that race, having been preserved through the isolation of their country.

He says, in conclusion, that the Tasmanians were members of the great Papuan family, and owed their inferiority to the complete state of isolation in which they had existed since a very remote epoch.

The Rev. William Ridley[2] appears to have held the view, although he states it with some hesitation, that the Australians passed from New Guinea, from island to island, to Cape York. Having found their way onwards to the south and west, the necessities and jealousies of the numerous families that followed them forbade their return.

Mr. H. Ling Roth,[3] in his most excellent work on *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, discusses the views of M. Topinard, Professor Huxley, Professor Friedrich Müller, MM. de Quatrefages and Haura, Dr. Garson, Mr. Barnard Davis, and other authorities, as to the origin of the Tasmanians. He says that it is quite impossible to define the race to which they were most closely allied, but that a comparison of their physical and mental characteristics tends to the

[1] Giglioli, E. H., *I Tasmaniani conni storice ed ethno ogici di un popolo estinto*, p. 147. Milan, 1874.

[2] Ridley, Rev. William, *Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages*, p. 119. Government Printer, Sydney, 1875.

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As to the Australians, he says that they may have landed from Timor, but that it is doubtful if a canoeful of natives landed anywhere upon the coast of Australia could find subsistence. Yet he speaks of one stream of migration coming from the north-east, one branch of which following the coast southwards ultimately reached Gippsland; of the other which again dividing at the south-eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria, one section took a course along the coast westward and southward to Western Australia, and the other followed the course of the rivers that flow southwards into Cooper's Creek and the Darling.

In *The Australian Race*, published in 1886, Mr. E. M. Curr[2] formulated a theory which may be condensed as follows, leaving those who desire to do so to peruse the reasons which are advanced in its support.

All tribes of Australia are descendants from one source, probably, indeed, from a shipload or canoeful of persons who originally found their way to these shores. According to the agreement between custom and language, they were negroes from Africa. These ancestors of the Australian race landed on the north-west coast many ages back, and their descendants spread themselves over the continent by travelling along the north, west, and east coasts, and also through the interior.

The Rev. John Mathew,[3] who has had opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with many examples of the aborigines, published an elaborate paper on that subject. He

[1] Smyth, R. Brough, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, p. lxii. *et infra*. Melbourne, 1878.

[2] Curr, E. M., *The Australian Race*, pp. 158-190. Melbourne, 1866.

[3] Mathew, Rev. John, "The Australian Aborigines," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. xxiii. Sydney, 1889.

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considers them with regard to their origin, mythology, and traditions, their implements, customs, language, mental characteristics, food, institutions, and superstitions. He concludes that Australia was first occupied by a purely Papuan people, or possibly by a people produced by a fusion of Papuans and Melanesians sparsely and unevenly distributed over the continent. Taking for granted that the cradle of the human race was in Asia, he derives them from the north by way of New Guinea, and he looks upon the now extinct Tasmanians as the lineal descendants of the original Australians.

He then supposes Australia to be invaded by a more advanced fairer, straight-haired race which, arriving at a very early period of the world's history, perhaps on the north-west coast, poured into Central Australia with a generally south-easterly current. Partly driving before it, partly darkening itself by the tide of life upon which it pressed, the stream inundated the whole country, but not to an equal depth.

Finally, it is supposed that another invasion, apparently of Malays, took place from the north, first with some degree of continuity and then intermittently, winding about here and there, touching the shores at various places, and bending back inwards.

The author then says that upon the Papuan aborigines "the Dravidian influx" made a deep and general impression. The influence of the final arrivals, the Malays, was slighter and more partial.

Mr. R. Etheridge, junior, in a most valuable contribution on this subject, asked the question, "Has man a geological history in Australia?"[1] After reviewing the evidence derived from the discovery of stone axes, bone implements, oven mounds common in parts of Victoria, and the occurrence of a human molar in the Wellington Cave in New South Wales, he reaches the conclusion that the matter cannot be summed up better than by the Scotch verdict "not proven."

As to the Tasmanian aborigines, he remarks that the

[1] Etheridge, R., junior, "Has Man a Geological History in Australia?" *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales*, Second Series, vol. v. 1896, pp. 259-266.

former geological connection of Australia and Tasmania appears to be a generally accepted fact, and that if such be the case, a vast period of time must have elapsed since that connection, allowing for the formation of Bass Strait. He very justly observes that herein lies one of the strongest proofs of man's early existence in the island continent, although trustworthy geological evidence is still wanting as to the approximate date of his first advent in Australia.

Dr. John Fraser has stated his views of the origin of the Australians in the introduction to his work, *An Australian Language*.[1] He holds that the negroid population of Australia originated in Babylonia, and that it was driven into southern India by the "confusion of tongues" which followed the attempt of Nimrod to establish dominion over his fellows. The overthrow of the Chaldæan monarchy, about 1500 B.C., by Arab tribes drove thousands of Kushites into southern India, where they took refuge in the mountains of the Deccan, and where to the present day there are Dravidian and Kolarian black-skinned and savage races.

The Babylonian Kushites are then supposed to have been driven out of India into the Malay Peninsula, Papua, and Timor by Dravidian tribes who came down from Central Asia. Finally they found their way into Australia.

These conclusions appear to rest mainly, if not altogether, upon philological deductions which also cause the author to argue that the Australians, the Dravidians, Malays, Papuans, Fijians, Samoans, and the New Hebrideans were at one time part of a common stock.

The latest work with which I am acquainted which expresses an opinion as to the derivation of the Australian aborigine is the second edition of Mr. G. W. Rusden's *History of Australia*.[2]

The author places the original site of the Australian stock among the Deccan tribes of Hindustan, and says that in a prehistoric time some powerful class or race of invaders

[1] Fraser, John, *An Australian Language as Spoken by the Awabakal*. Sydney, 1892.

[2] Rusden, G. W., *History of Australia*, second edition, pp. 84 *et seq.* Melbourne, 1897.

sought to impose the peace of death upon the ancestors of the Australians. Their safety was in flight, and they migrated southwards from island to island until in Australia they marched free from molestation. The Tasmanians, he thinks, once occupied the mainland, and were driven southwards by some warlike or skilful tribes. Although to boat across Bass Strait in a canoe might be sometimes hazardous, yet in calm weather it would be easy, and the so-called catamarans of Southern Australia could not be filled with water or upset.

Such, then, are the views which have been recorded by various writers on the Tasmanian and Australian aborigines.

I shall now proceed to deal with this subject as it presents itself to me when looked at from the standpoint of present knowledge.

The level of culture of the Tasmanians is best indicated, apart from their customs and beliefs, by the primitive character of their weapons and implements. The former were a spear, which was merely a thin pole hardened and pointed in the fire, and a club which was also used as a missile weapon. Flints chipped on one side were used for cutting, scraping, and being held in the hand, without a handle, for chopping.[1]

The only means they had for navigating the waters was a rude raft, or a bundle of bark tied with grass or strips of kangaroo skin into a canoe-like shape, by which a river or a narrow strait of the sea, such as that between Maria Island or Bruni Island and the mainland, could be crossed in calm weather.[2]

Thus, as pointed out by Dr. E. B. Tylor,[3] the Tasmanians were representatives of the stone-age development, in a stage lower than that of the Quaternary period of Europe, and the distinction may be claimed for them of being the lowest of modern nomad tribes. The Australians stand on a somewhat higher level than the Tasmanians. They are better armed, with a formidable reed spear propelled by the

[1] Roth, H. Ling, *op. cit.* chap. iv. [2] *Id.* chap. iv. p. 161.

[3] Tylor, E. B., "On the Tasmanians as Representatives of Palæolithic Man," *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* November 1893.

throwing-stick, the boomerang, and a variety of clubs which serve either at close quarters or as missiles, and for defence they have the shield. Their canoes are far in advance of the raft or the bundle of bark of the Tasmanians, and are able if necessary to cross narrow arms of the sea under circumstances where the latter would have been destroyed.

Their stone implements are either ground to an edge or fashioned by chipping, as among tribes living where material for the ground and polished type of hatchet is not procurable. But even in such cases these are obtained by barter from other tribes.

The Australians may therefore be classed as representing hunting tribes of the Neolithic age.

Some of the writers whose opinions I have quoted have either stated in so many words, or have left it to be inferred by their statements, that the Tasmanians reached this continent by canoe or ship.

But there is not a tittle of evidence in support of the belief that the Tasmanians ever were acquainted with the art of constructing a canoe able to cross such a sea strait as that between Tasmania and Australia, much less wider extents of ocean. On the contrary, the whole of their culture was on a par with the rudeness of their bark rafts.

I have long since come to the conclusion that one of the fundamental principles to be adopted in discussing the origin of those savages must be, that they reached Tasmania at a time when there was a land communication between it and Australia.

It is only in the work of Professor Giglioli that I have found this clearly shown, where he says that there is no instance recorded of a people who have lost the art of navigation which they had once acquired.[1]

The Australians have also been credited by most authors with arriving in canoes or ships on the coasts of Australia.

But I am quite unable to understand how, since these authors picture them as settling down upon and then spreading along the coasts, they should have lost the art of constructing sea-going canoes, which would be as necessary

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 146.

to them as to the southern sea-coast tribes of New Guinea or to the islanders of Torres Strait of the present time. There is no evidence of such a degeneration in culture, and before this belief can be accepted as a settled proposition, some evidence in support of it must be forthcoming.

It might, however, be urged that the tribes living on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula and of the Australian coast of Torres Strait, as far as Port Darwin, are acquainted with and use outrigger canoes, and therefore may represent the condition of the first arrivals. As to this, the observations of the earlier navigators, and especially of those engaged in surveying voyages, are much to the point.

Mr. M'Gillivray, speaking of the year 1847,[1] says that the canoes seen in Rockingham Bay were constructed of a single sheet of bark brought together at the ends and secured by stitching. Near Shelbourne Bay, on the east side of Cape York Peninsula, they were constructed of a tree trunk with a double outrigger, "and altogether a poor instance of these used by the islanders of Torres Strait." Further on, when at Cape York, he speaks of the ordinary outrigger canoe of the Straits, and of the friendly intercourse existing between the "natives of the southern portion of Torres Strait and those of the mainland about Cape York."[2]

These observations indicate the distance to which a knowledge of the outrigger canoe, derived from the islanders of the Straits, had passed southward at the time spoken of by Mr. M'Gillivray. To this may be added that according to oral information, for which I am indebted to Dr. R. L. Jack, the use of the outrigger canoe extends now as far southward as Hinchinbrook Island.

As to the knowledge of the outrigger canoe by the Australians on the western part of the shores of Torres Strait, Mr. M'Gillivray also mentions that two years after the founding of the English settlement at Raffles Bay in 1827, the Bugis had taken advantage of the protection afforded to carry on trepang fishing, and that formerly bark canoes had been in general use by the aborigines, but that

[1] M'Gillivray, *op. cit.* pp. 81, 119, 125.
[2] *Op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 141-146.

they were then completely superseded by others hollowed out of trees, which they procured ready made from the Malays in exchange for tortoise-shell and in return for assistance in collecting trepang.

Captain Stokes,[1] in speaking of the visits of Malays to Port Essington, also says that the aborigines obtained their canoes chiefly from the Malays, whom he elsewhere calls "Bugis." At the time at which he wrote, namely, the years 1837-43, such canoes were used as far as Clarence Strait, but beyond that place he saw no single instance of any "proa or canoe."[2]

It is therefore possible to fix the limits beyond which the knowledge of the outrigger canoe did not extend, namely, from Hinchinbrook Island on the north-east coast of Queensland to Clarence Strait in north-western Australia.

Some further light is afforded by a statement made by a man from Prince of Wales Island whom I once met. It was, that his tribesmen are accustomed to migrate periodically in their sea-going canoes, according to the prevalent winds, either southwards along the coast of Queensland, or northwards to the further islands of Torres Strait, or even to the mainland of New Guinea.

It seems to me that this practice must have existed for ages; indeed, since that time when the Papuan population settled on the Straits Islands and thus came to be neighbours of the tribes inhabiting the Australian mainland.

It is difficult to believe, if this coast at that time had been unoccupied by Australians, that the Papuans would not have settled on it as well as upon islands at no great distance northwards.

The Kaurarega of Prince of Wales Island are usually considered to be Papuans, with a strong Australian mixture, which, judging from the example I saw, would be very marked. This mixture is easily to be understood when one considers the annual voyages by these people down the Cape York coast on the one side and across Torres Strait

[1] Stokes, J. Lort, *Discoveries in Australia, etc., during the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle" in the years* 1837-43, vol. i. p. 388. London, 1846.

[2] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 81.

on the other, and that on these voyages, according to my native informant, they obtain wives from the Australian mainland and the New Guinea Islands.

I am therefore led to believe that the Australian ancestors as well as Tasmanians must be held to have reached this continent by some land connection, or, at least, a land connection so nearly complete that the breaks in it might be crossed in vessels no better than the bark canoe of the present time.

If these conclusions are well founded, there arise certain questions which demand answers. What evidence is there of a former land connection between Australia and other lands to the north or north-west, and between Australia and Tasmania within the limit of time fixed by the probable existence of man?

A reply to these questions can only be given by the sciences of physical geography and geology, and the time limit restricts the inquiry to those later Tertiary or Post-Tertiary lands from whence such migrations might have proceeded.

Thus their direction is indicated as having been probably from lands lying to the north or north-west of Australia.

Dr. Wallace, in his classical work on *The Malay Archipelago*,[1] directed attention to several matters bearing upon this question, which still remain as significant as when he stated them in 1869.

A deep but narrow sea channel, being part of what is now known as "Wallace's Line," separates areas of shallow seas bordered by great ocean depths,[2] while the boundaries of the shallow seas indicate the former extension on the one side of the Austral and on the other of the Asiatic continent.

The chain of islands which extends from the Malay Peninsula towards Australia, ending with Timor, when considered in connection with the boundaries of the shallow sea, represents a former continental extension, probably only broken by the channel between Bali and Lombok,[3] and a channel

[1] *The Malay Archipelago.* London, 1869.
[2] Guillemard, F. H. H., *Australasia.* Stanford Series, Cambridge, 1894.
[3] *The Malay Archipelago.*

between Timor and Australia, twenty miles in width.[1] The former, which is only fifteen miles wide, has sufficed to stop the advance of the larger mammals from the Asiatic to the Austral region, and the latter strait has similarly prevented the Australian mammals from entering Timor.

If this was the line of migration of the early Tasmanians and Australians, we should have to assume either that they were able to cross the deep sea straits on rafts or in bark canoes, or that these sea straits were at such a comparatively recent geological time much narrower than the soundings suggest.

An alternative line of migration would be by way of Torres Strait.

The position of the Great Barrier Reef as to north-eastern Australia strongly suggests a submerged shore line of the continent; and if so, the numerous islands, islets, and reefs between Cape York Peninsula and New Guinea also suggest the former existence of a land connection now broken by subsidence.

Dr. Jack points out that from Cape Palmerston to the Herbert River the coast is fringed by a strip of alluvial flat, composed of alternating beds of clay, sand, and gravel, the latter probably belonging to river beds. The old land surface, as proved by boring, is from 80 to 100 feet below the present sea-level, and no river could possibly have excavated a channel to this depth while the land stood at its present level. This submergence, in all probability, took place after the period to which the extinct mammalia belonged.[2]

Dr. Jack has also pointed out to me orally, that bays and estuaries into which rivers flow on the east coast indicate submerged valleys, and suggested that this comparatively recent submergence of the eastern part of Australia gave rise to Sydney Harbour on the one hand and Torres Strait on the other.

An inspection of the Admiralty Chart of Torres Strait

[1] *The Malay Archipelago.*

[2] R. L. Jack and R. Etheridge, junior, *Geology and Palæontology of Queensland and New Guinea*, vol. i. pp. 613, 614. 1892.

between Cape York and the nearest part of New Guinea shows, not only a number of islands of some size, but innumerable islets and reefs studding a sea so shallow that there is only exceptionally a depth of 10 fathoms in the channels. A movement of elevation of 60 feet would therefore connect Australia and New Guinea, and a re-elevation of the 80 to 100 feet of subsidence in comparatively recent times which Dr. Jack assigns to the north-east coast, would do more than merely connect the two lands.

So far as is yet known, the extinct mammalia to which Dr. Jack refers did not extend into New Guinea, and the absence of the platypus and the feeble development of the polyprotodont fauna in north-eastern Australia is considered by Professor Baldwin Spencer to indicate that they spread northwards rather than southwards,[1] thus negativing the existence of an upraised Torres Strait at that early period.

This suggests that, although there had been a land communication which admitted of a certain migration of Australian forms, it had ceased before the giant extinct marsupials spread into the extreme of Northern Queensland, and according to Dr. Jack that would probably have been in Post-Tertiary times.[2] It seems therefore evident that there was a land communication between New Guinea and Australia at a comparatively recent period by which the Tasmanians, and subsequently the Australians, might have entered this continent. But this would have been anterior to the subsidence of Torres Strait as we now see it.

Thus all the evidence I have been able to collect points to there having been a more practicable line of migration by way of New Guinea than by Timor.

At present too little is known of New Guinea to enable anything to be said as to existing traces of the Tasmanian and the Australian stocks in that island. But it is to be noted that New Guinea, Australia, and Tasmania were during our time, and as to the two former, still are occupied respectively by well-defined types of man, effectually separated

[1] *Summary of Zoological, Botanical, and Geological Results of the Horne Expedition*, p. 180. Melbourne, 1896.
[2] *Op. cit.*

from each other by Torres Strait to the north and Bass Strait to the south of Australia.

The relative positions of these peoples show that the Papuans, Australians, and Tasmanians must have occupied their respective locations in such manner that Bass Strait stopped the march of the Australians, and Torres Strait of the Papuans.

It is now to be considered whether there are any data from which a fair inference may be drawn as to the former existence of a land bridge between Australia and Tasmania, across which the Tasmanians might pass to the latter country.

There has been much hesitation in accepting any great antiquity for man in Australia. Mr. R. Brough Smyth[1] pointed out, as far back as 1878, that in the hundreds of square miles of alluvial deposits which have been turned over by miners in Victoria very few aboriginal stone hatchets have been found, and those even at inconsiderable depths below the surface. Since that time, some evidence has been forthcoming which may be held to place man in Australia in possibly Pleistocene times.

It may be well, therefore, to bring together those instances which have come under my notice in order that the evidence from these sources may be seen concisely.

Mr. Bonwick[2] records the discovery of a "stone tool" by miners in Ballarat, 22 inches below the surface, in a place which had not been before disturbed. This author, however, according to his practice, gives no reference to his authority.

Dr. A. R. Wallace communicated to me, for the purpose of investigation, the discovery of an axe-head of basalt at Maryborough, in Victoria, in 1855, by Mr. A. C. Swinton, who was at the time engaged in mining.

Mr. Swinton says that he and Mr. M. C. Shore were sinking a shallow shaft on a small tributary, leading into the main lead, when at a depth of about 4 feet from the surface and 1 foot from the bottom, Mr. Shore drove his pick into an axe-head made of basalt. The shaft was sunk

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 364. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 45.

through cemented gravel with three false bottoms, and about half-way down there was a hard band of cement.

By the courtesy of Mr. James Travis, the Acting Secretary for Mines and Water Supply, Mr. Stanley Hunter, one of the officers of the Geological Survey, examined the place referred to by Mr. Swinton and marked by him upon a parish plan of Maryborough.

Mr. Hunter reported to the effect that the tributary referred to by Mr. Swinton is one of the heads of the main Bet Bet lead, and as that lead is covered by Pleistocene basalt, the lower strata in the contributary lead in question may be of the same age. Yet this is merely an assumption, as no fossil evidence of any kind is to be found.

In 1865 the late Mr. C. S. Wilkinson,[1] together with Mr. Forde, found flint chips, a sharpened stone tomahawk, and several bone spikes or needles, together with bones of animals, in the sand-dunes near Cape Otway. In the same locality they also found a similar bone spike with numerous seal-bones and shells of apparently existing species in beach material of pebbles and humus, resting upon carbonaceous sandstone, and apparently intermediate between it and the overlying dunes.

In 1870, when visiting the Upper Dargo River in Gippsland, I was informed by some miners that in cutting a race for mining purposes they had turned up a stone tomahawk at about 2 feet below the surface. But as the race was cut out of the shingly alluvium at the side of the valley, the find does not necessarily imply any great antiquity.

Mr. Bennett, in his *History of Australian Discovery*,[2] makes a statement that, in sinking wells and other excavations in the Hunter River Valley, flat rocks were found with marks such as are made by the aborigines in sharpening their stone tomahawks. These were at a depth of 30 feet or more below the present surface, and covered with a drift or alluvium.

[1] Etheridge, R., junior, "Observations on Sand-dunes of the Coast of Victoria," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria*, vol. xii. 1876.

[2] Bennett, Samuel, *The History of Australian Discovery and Colonisation*, p. 263. Sydney, 1867.

In 1896 an important find of aboriginal stone hatchets was made at Shea's Creek, near Sydney, at a depth of 11 feet below water-level, together with bones of dugong, bearing such cuts and scratches, not recent, as would be made by direct blows of a sharp-edged stone tomahawk. There were also several standing stumps of Eucalyptus botryoides, including a land surface, and the whole was covered by estuarine beds of marine shells. The total alteration in the level of the land and sea was about 15 feet below high water.

Mr. R. Etheridge, junior, Professor T. W. Edgworth David, and Mr. J. W. Grimshaw, the authors of the account of this discovery,[1] say that the date of the "aboriginal feast upon dugong" cannot be much below the limit of Post-Tertiary time, and it is even doubtful whether it is likely that the date can be carried back into Pleistocene times.

There may be added to this evidence the discovery of the crown of a human molar by the late Mr. Gerard Krefft in the Wellington Caves. As to this discovery, Mr. Etheridge, junior,[2] says that the tooth appears to be completely fossilised, for on comparing it with the teeth of the larger marsupials from the Wellington Caves, the normal condition is without question similar. Yet its position in the cave, and association with the other organic remains entombed there, is open to doubt; and as no other human remains have been found at Wellington under similar circumstances, its precise age must remain uncertain.

If any reliance may be placed upon aboriginal tradition, the affirmative belief in the presence of man in Victoria during the Newer Volcanic Era is strengthened.

It is said that there was a tradition to the effect that Mount Buninyong had at a distant time thrown out fire.

Mr. Dawson[3] reports a tradition among the aborigines of the western district of Victoria that fire came out of a hill near Mortlake, and of "stones which their fathers told them had been thrown out of the hill by the action of fire."

[1] Etheridge, R., junior, Professor T. W. E. David, and J. W. Grimshaw, *op. cit.* p. 23. [2] *Op. cit.*

[3] Murray, R. A. F., *Geology and Physical Geography of Victoria*, p. 129. Melbourne, 1887.

To the northward of Ballarat portions of the Main Divide is of volcanic formation, and a wide sheet extending northwards finally disappears under the Post-Tertiary deposits of the Loddon Valley, and covers the ancient river-courses which trend towards the Murray River.[1]

As seen in the Ballarat district, flows of basalt followed each other, separated by periods of time which permitted the accumulation of alluviums, until finally vast areas became basaltic plains, studded with volcanic cones.[1]

The older Dividing Range is in many parts covered, and the newer river-courses do not in places accord with the older drainage areas.

Thus were formed what are known to miners as the "deep leads," trending from Ballarat northwards towards the River Murray, and southwards towards Bass Strait.

It is not possible in the present state of information to fix with any degree of accuracy when in geological time these deep leads were formed, when volcanic activity commenced, or when it finally terminated with the volcanoes of south-western Victoria and the south-east of South Australia.

The latter are placed by Professor Tate in that time when Diprotodon and Phascolomys Pliocenus were still existing, and when the flora included Casuarina and Banksia.[2]

The discovery of bones of an extinct kangaroo in the mine of the Great Buninyong Estate Company, under two sheets of basalt, suggests that the Mount Buninyong volcano may have been of the same period.

If these views are correct, it may be said that the newer volcanic era, during which the river valleys of Central Victoria were sealed up by basaltic flows, may have extended into Pleistocene time.

I have been long impressed by the fact that the "deep leads" referred to—that is, the ancient river channels—are now at considerable depths below the surface over which the

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] R. Tate, "Anniversary Address," *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Adelaide*, 1878-79, p. 69.

modern rivers flow, with but a slight fall to the sea by way of the Murray River Valley.

During the past thirty years the Victorian Department of Mines has carried out an immense amount of boring with the diamond drill, by which the underground contours of the valleys, and also the trend of the deep leads extending north and south from Ballarat have been ascertained.

It seemed to me that a comparison of the data thus obtained might prove of interest, and for this purpose I have selected the statistics of bores put down furthest north on three main leads, where the hilly country subsides into the great levels of the plains through which the River Murray winds its course towards South Australia and the sea.

Each locality chosen is not far distant from the termination of the flow of basalt, by which the old valley had been levelled, and which itself is, at its termination, levelled off by the later alluviums of the plains.

The following are the data from which I have drawn certain conclusions :—

No. 9 *Bore at Bung Bong.*

Height of surface above sea-level	714 feet
Depth of Deep Lead channel below the surface [1]	300 ,,
Distance from the bore to Swan Hill on the River Murray, by way of Bet Bet Creek and the Loddon River	200 miles

No. 8 *Bore at Charlotte Plains.*

Height of surface above sea-level [2]	708 feet
Depth of Deep Lead channel below the surface	270 ,,
Distance from the bore to Swan Hill by way of Tallaroop Creek and the Loddon River	180 miles

No. 5 *Bore of Second Line near Baringhup.*

Height of surface above sea-level [3]	600 feet
Depth of Deep Lead channel below the surface	226 ,,
Distance from Swan Hill by way of the Loddon River	191 miles

[1] In each case, in order to approximate the conditions of the "lead" with those of the River Murray, I have deducted from the results of boring the depth of "wash," and have also allowed 5 feet for the possible depth of water.

[2] On the authority of Mr. A. Everett, chief draughtsman, Department of Mines and Water Supply, Victoria.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Jas. Travis, Secretary for Mines in Victoria, for this information.

The distance from Swan Hill to the sea, following the channel of the Murray River, is about 950 miles.

The fall of the surface to Swan Hill is—from Bung Bong, 2 feet 6 inches; from Charlotte Plains, 2 feet 9 inches; and from Baringhup, 2 feet per mile. But the fall of the surface to the sea, by way of the channel of the River Murray, is only 2.75 inches per mile, and even that is not much, since, at Morgan, 400 miles up from the sea, there is only from 3 to 10 feet above sea-level according to the season.[1]

Thus, if these Deep Leads are imagined as being restored to their former condition of rivers, they could not flow out to sea by way of the River Murray unless the land were raised up, taking the mean of the three examples first given, by about 270 feet above its present height as compared with the sea-level. This height of 270 feet may, moreover, be taken as the minimum elevation required, since it would give no more than the present fall, which is improbable, when the character of the sea bottom in Bass Strait is taken into consideration.

The fall southwards of the country from the Main Dividing Range, near Ballarat, to the sea is, also for a long distance over Newer Volcanic basaltic plains, analogous to those through which the above-mentioned bores have been put down.

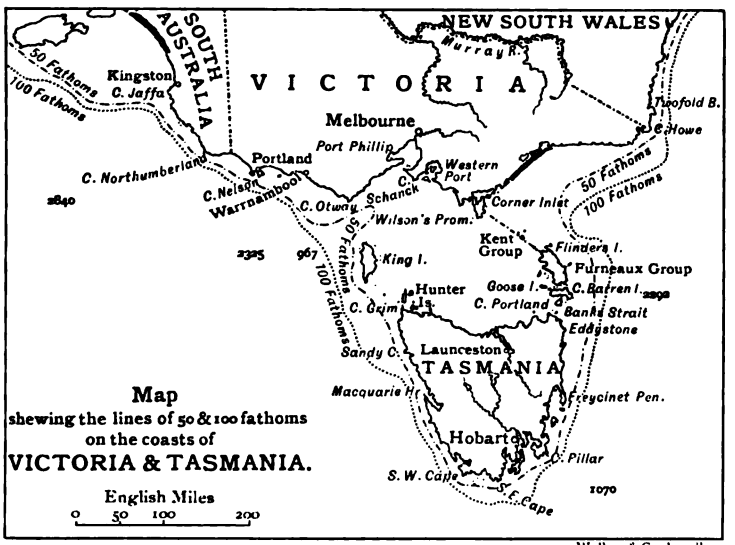
Here also the Deep Leads trending southwards have been proved by boring, and analogous results have been obtained. But it must be borne in mind that there is a marked difference in distance to the sea in this direction. From Bung Bong, for instance, to the sea is 1150 miles by the Murray River Valley, while from Mount Mercer, where there is one of the most southern bores, to Bass Strait is only 50 miles. Thus compared with the distance, the fall of the land in the latter case is much steeper.

A bore put down to the west of Mount Mercer proved the Deep Lead gutter at a depth of 113 feet from the surface, and one at Glenfine, near the Woady Yalloak River,

[1] Mr. Stewart Murray, Chief Engineer of Water Supply, Victoria, has furnished me with these heights above the sea of the River Murray.

bottomed at 161 feet 4 inches, of which 2 feet 9 inches was heavy wash. All that can be said as to the leads on this side of the Main Divide is, that they show the same general features as those on the northern side, but that any comparison with the outlets of those old rivers is not possible.

In order to test the conclusions drawn from the data obtained from considering the Deep Leads, I also examined the Admiralty Charts of Bass Strait, and of the coast of Tasmania, and the opposite Australian mainland.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

On the accompanying map are shown the 50 and 100 fathom lines of soundings in Bass Strait, extending westward to include the mouth of the Murray River, and eastward as far as Jervis Bay in New South Wales.[1]

A line of soundings is also shown connecting Wilson's Promontory, in Victoria, with Cape Portland, in Tasmania, by way of the islands lying between these points. On this line the greatest depth is 32 fathoms, between Wilson's

[1] Taken from the Admiralty Chart. Mr. Everett, chief draughtsman of the Department of Mines and Water Supply, has directed my attention to a paper read by Dr. Becker before the Philosophical Institute of Victoria, in which he points out the features referred to in this passage (vol. ii. p. 15).

Promontory and Kent Group. It is shallower between that island and Flinders Island, and still shallower thence to Cape Portland.

A 35-fathom line on either side would indicate a plateau 80 or 90 miles wide connecting the shores of the strait, and on the Victoria side widening out so as to extend up to Cape Howe.

On this there would be a low ridge from Wilson's Promontory to Cape Portland, with occasional elevations—now islands—rising at Mount Strzelecki to over 2700 feet above the sea. These islands are, therefore, a submerged continuation of that part of the Cordillera which ends in Victoria at Wilson's Promontory. The prevailing rocks, except a few isolated peaks of recent igneous origin, are granite and schists, which on the low-lying tracts are overlaid by deposits of Eocene age covered by recent formations.[1]

These islands are, therefore, composed of Palæozoic plutonic rocks and metamorphic schists similar to those largely represented in the Gippsland Mountains, which terminate in a southerly direction in Wilson's Promontory.

An inspection of the soundings shows that the 50-fathom line encloses a comparatively level plateau, which falls more rapidly and in places almost suddenly, to the 100-fathom line, especially on the western and southern side of Tasmania. Beyond this there are few soundings, but from those given the following statements may be noted.

The 50-fathom line is distant about 40 miles in a south-westerly direction from Cape Otway; at 10 miles further off is the 100-fathom line; at 20 miles further the depth is over 900 fathoms; finally, at 150 miles from Cape Otway, in the same direction, there is a sounding of over 2300 fathoms.

Similarly, in a south-easterly direction from the Ninety-mile Beach in Gippsland, the 50-fathom and 100-fathom lines are distant 50 and 70 miles respectively.

South-easterly from Cape Pillar, in the extreme south

[1] Johnston, Robt. M., *Systematic Account of Geology of Tasmania*, p. 365, Hobart, 1888.

of Tasmania, the soundings of 50, 100, and 1000 fathoms are distant respectively about 5, 8, and 50 miles.

The lines of 50 and 100 fathoms soundings off the Murray mouth are distant therefrom about 100 miles, the two lines being apparently no more than 5 miles apart. At 100 miles, further south, there is a sounding of 2840 fathoms.

The general conclusions derivable from a study of these charts are that the 50-fathom line represents a submerged plateau connecting Victoria approximately from Cape Howe to Cape Otway with Tasmania. From it there is a more rapid slope to the 100-fathom line, and thence a still greater slope into ocean depths. An elevation of 300 feet would therefore lay dry a tract of comparatively level country between Victoria and Tasmania, rising to a central ridge on the eastern side. The plateau would be mainly not more than 100 to 200 feet above sea-level, but in places rising up to 3000 feet. On the western side a deep bend to the north-east indicates the former channel of a river conveying the combined waters of all streams and rivers which now debouch between Cape Otway and Wilson's Promontory, whose deposits probably account for the unusual distance between the 50 and 100 fathom line, from the embouchure down to Cape Sorrell.

The plateau of low-lying land thus indicated flanking the eastern side of the chain of denuded and eroded mountains, whose peaks are now islands in Bass Strait, would probably resemble the sandy and swampy country covered with dwarf scrub and coarse sedges which border Corner Inlet, and separate Wilson's Promontory from the Gippsland coast ranges.

A great delta is indicated by these soundings, extending between Kangaroo Island and Cape Jaffa, 100 miles beyond the present Murray mouth.

That the elevation and subsidence of the land has been by widespread and not merely local movements is shown by the Eocene and Miocene marine series of Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, which, although subjected to elevation, are in the whole, at low angles, little beyond horizontal.

All that can perhaps be said as to the antiquity of man in the Australian continent appears to be, that he may have inhabited it as a contemporary of the extinct marsupial fauna, the giant forms of which, equally with himself, appear to have been isolated by those depressions of the surface which formed Torres and Bass Straits. Those changes in the physical geography of Australia may have occurred at a somewhat later geological period than seems to have been usually accepted.

I may now advance a further step and consider the origin of the primitive Tasmanians and Australians.

If the conclusions to which I have now been led are correct, it follows that the Tasmanians were the autochthonous inhabitants of Australia, and that their preservation in Tasmania was due to isolation by the formation of Bass Strait.

The occupation of the continent by the Australians, who, it may be reasonably held, were in a somewhat higher state of culture and who were better armed than the Tasmanians, must have resulted in the amalgamation of the two races, either by the subjection of the latter, or, what is more likely from what we know of the Australians of the present day, by the extermination of the former inhabitants, at least so far as regarded the males, and the absorption of the females into the conquering tribes.

At any rate, whatever the process may have been, the result of a strong negroid cross in the Australians may be accepted.

Deducting this negroid element, there remains a residuum from which also must be deducted the "Malay element" of Mr. Mathew, who finds in the Australian language traces of Malay influence. He says that they are not numerous, are not met with in the extreme north-west, where they might be expected, but turn up in unexpected parts of Australia, far removed from casual intercourse with Malays.[1]

In order to account for this Malay element, he introduces parties of Malays, who, either from choice or necessity, landed and became naturalised at various spots on the east, north, and west coasts of Australia. These Malays are thus

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 377.

supposed to have modified the speech of the people, first, immediately round them, and then landwards.[1]

As to this, it may be pointed out that Australia is three-fourths the size of Europe. What would be thought of an hypothesis based upon the landing of occasional parties of Asiatics upon the northern coasts of the Mediterranean, thereby introducing an Asiatic strain into the people inhabiting, for instance, Northern Germany?

The linguistic ground upon which this "Malayan" hypothesis rests consists, first, in identification of the interrogative pronouns, for instance, *minyanggai* or *minna* of the Kabi language in Queensland with the Malayan *mana*, which, as Mr. Mathew himself points out, is properly the adverb "where," but which is used idiomatically to signify "who," "whom," "which," and "what"; second, on twelve words selected from vocabularies of Australian tribes. Of these words, three, namely, the Malay terms for moon, rain, and sun, are, on reference to Dr. Codrington's work,[2] found to be also Melanesian. A fourth word, namely, the West Australian *yoora*, or *ura*, meaning "man," he identifies with *orang*, but does not rely on it. As to the remaining eight words which are scattered over the continent, it may be that some might also be identified with Malayan and Melanesian words, and as in the case of isolated occurrences, it is always open to doubt whether the average collector of Australian vocabularies has correctly reported them. Even to the occurrence of the word *bapa* over wide areas in Australia, meaning "father," much weight cannot be attached, since a similar or identical term may be found in languages the world over.

The Rev. Mr. Threlkeld, than whom no one has obtained so great a knowledge of an Australian language, denies that it has any close affinity with the Malay, either in word or construction.[3] This opinion carries weight, not only by reason of his special qualifications, but because it relates to

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 378.

[2] Codrington, Rev. R. H., *The Melanesian Languages*, p. 78. Oxford, 1885.

[3] Threlkeld, Rev. L. E., *Key to the Structure of the Aboriginal Language*, p. 82. Sydney, 1850.

the languages of south-eastern New South Wales, where Mr. Mathew finds a strong Malay element.

A passage in Crawfurd's *Grammar of the Malay Language*, published in 1852, speaks on this question with authority and with no uncertain voice.[1] He examined thirty languages from all the then discovered parts of Australia in quest of Malayan words without finding one, or the trace of one. They might have been expected in the language of Raffles Bay, not distant from the trepang fisheries of the natives of Celebes, but were absent from this as from all other of the languages. He remarks that, although the trepang fishers occasionally see natives of Australia, they hold no intercourse with them, and from what he knew of the opinions and prejudices of the former, he was satisfied that they would no more think of a social intercourse with them than with the kangaroo or wild dogs of the same country.

The trepang fishers here spoken of are the Bugis, a Malayan people, who form the principal nation of the Island of Celebes,[2] of whom M'Gillivray says that two years after the foundation of the English settlement at Raffles Bay they had taken advantage of the protection of Europeans to carry on the trepang fishery there.[3]

These remarks are confirmed by Captain Stokes,[4] who says, speaking of Raffles Bay, that six Malay proas came in, followed by others, soliciting permission to erect their establishments for curing trepang under the protection of the British flag, now for the first time secure from the attacks of the natives, whose hostility had until then forced every other man of them to keep under arms whilst the rest worked.

The visits of the Bugis to the north coast of Australia appear to have been far more numerous annually than might have been suspected. Mr. Earl, writing in 1837[5] of these very people, says that they visited the northern shore

[1] Crawfurd, John, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language, with a Preliminary Dissertation.* London, 1852.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. ccvi.

[3] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 141.

[4] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 388.

[5] Earl, Geo. Windsor, *The Eastern Seas: Voyages and Adventures in the Malay Archipelago in* 1832-33-34, p. 390. London, 1837.

of New Holland annually with from "80 to 100 praus," and that their trepang and tortoise-shell fishing afforded employment for 1000 men.

If this may be taken as having been a custom of long continuance, one might reasonably expect not only that there should be a strong Malay (Bugi?) cross in the tribes inhabiting the coast from Clarence Strait to Raffles Bay, but that there should be found a strong Malay element in the language of these aborigines. But from the quotations which I have given, the relations of the two peoples appear not to have been always friendly, and this may account for the absence of words of Malay origin in this very part of Australia where Mr. Mathew says we might expect to, but do not, find them.[1]

It seems that all that can perhaps be properly said as to the influence of Malays (Bugis) upon the Australian languages is that on the north coast, limited probably to the range of the trepang, words might become naturalised in the languages of coast tribes, and be thence transported inland to such distances as the interchange of women as wives by those tribes might extend.

As I have pointed out, three of the twelve words identified by Mr. Mathew as Malayan are found, on reference to Dr. Codrington's work on the Melanesian languages, to be also Melanesian. Dr. Codrington shows conclusively that the elements which are common to them and the Malay have not been derived from the latter, but are common to all the ocean languages, from the Malagasy in the west to the Hawaiian in the east and the Maori in the south. He says, further, that this indicates an original oceanic stock language, from which the Polynesian, Melanesian, and Malay tongues have derived their common elements, which is now extinct and of which the Malay is one of the younger descendants. The presence of certain common words in the ancient ocean languages testifies that the speakers made canoes, built houses, cultivated gardens, before the time when their posterity branched off on their way to Madagascar and Fiji.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 377.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 11, 26, 31, 78.

Such being the case, the primitive home of those speakers of the "ocean language" may be supposed to have been somewhere in the Indo-Malayan or Austro-Malayan regions, or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, in the ancient extensions of the Asiatic and Austral continents which they represent.

At any rate, the dispersal of the primitive speakers of the ocean stock-language must have been long after the migration of the Australians, and still longer after that of the Tasmanians.

It seems, however, not a little remarkable that the migrations of the offshoot, which is now represented by the Melanesians, should have extended from New Guinea, or perhaps from a point further west, around and beyond but not touching Australia.

Compared with the sea distances which must have been passed over (since the common stock-language proves that they were acquainted with canoes) before reaching Fiji, the stretches of sea between Timor and Australia, and New Guinea and Australia, must have been comparatively insignificant.

At any rate it would seem that Torres Strait separated the Papuans from the Australians almost as effectually as Bass Strait separated the latter from the Tasmanians.

The Melanesians occupy a vast insular extent, touching New Guinea at the one end and Fiji at the other, and probably represent the older race on which the Papuans have intruded.

It seems not unreasonable to consider these facts as indicating migrations of three branches of mankind in successive stages of ethnical development and culture.

If the Australians migrated from the north-west by way of New Guinea, as I have suggested, it may be that they brought with them some elements of language common to the ancient oceanic stock-language, to crop out here and there in the Australian speech as words having a resemblance to Malay.

But, it appears to me, there must be very grave doubts as to the Malayan element in the Australian aborigines as formulated by Mr. Mathew.

Deducting, therefore, the hypothetical Malay ethnical element, which, if it exists at all, may be considered as merely local in Northern Australia, there is yet a limited Papuan or Melanesian element in Northern or North-eastern Australia, which cannot be altogether attributed to the original cross of the primitive Tasmanians.

I was much struck, when comparing some men from Prince of Wales Island with other men from the Cloncurry River, on the mainland, by the marked Papuan character of the former, and the marked Australian character of the latter. The intermixture through friendly intercourse between the Kaurarega of Prince of Wales Island and the Gudang of Cape York is well known.

Deducting these various elements, the apparent strong cross of the Tasmanian stock, and the certainly small admixture on the northern coast due to visits by the Bugis and the Papuan Islanders, there remains a large residuum to which the distinctiveness of the Australian type may be attributed.

To which of the great divisions of the human family may this Australian stock, on which the Tasmanian scion has been grafted, be assigned? Here is a difficult problem; but this much may with safety be asserted, it is not Ethiopic or Mongolian, and leaving out the American stocks, which can scarcely be seriously considered, there remains only the so-called Caucasian as the great division to which the primitive type of the Australian may be referred.

In considering all the facts before me bearing upon the question of the origin of the Tasmanians and the Australians, I have been much impressed by the immense periods of time which seem to be essential to any solution of the problem.

The level of culture of the Tasmanians has been termed by Dr. E. B. Tylor "Eolithic,"[1] and that of the Australians probably stands in the Neolithic, if not as regards some tribes on the border between that and the Palæolithic age.

[1] *Op. cit.*

The tribes of the Barcoo Delta were, when I knew them, still in their completely savage condition forty years ago, and they used roughly-chipped flints either held in the hand or fastened in handles with sinews and gum. This was, however, not from want of acquaintance with the Australian form of ground and polished hatchets, since they obtained such by barter from the hill tribes to the south, but because their country did not supply the material of which such hatchets were made.

The level of culture of the Australians cannot be considered lower than that of the ancestral stock from which they separated, and their language discloses nothing that can point to a former knowledge of the arts higher than that of the present time, in their natural savage state.

It has been and still is frequently assumed that there is an ethnical relationship between the Australians and the Dravidian tribes of the Hindostan peninsula, and therefore this requires some special attention.

To connect the Australians with the Dravidians in the manner commonly done seems to entirely overlook some essential elements of the problem. These require that the original parent stock of the former existed far back in prehistoric or even in Pleistocene time, when the physical geography of the Asiatic and Austral continents and the racial character and distribution of the peoples inhabiting them must have differed very materially from those of the present time.

Therefore, any ethnical or linguistic connection between the Australians and the Dravidians must be considered to be merely the relationship of two tribes co-descendants from a common and distant ancestral stock.

I should be most unwilling to appear to underrate the great services which the science of philology is capable of rendering to anthropology; but it must be admitted that its professors are, unfortunately, not always possessed of that scientific caution which is so essential in all ethnological or anthropological inquiries. In Europe this has been shown by the results of the Aryan controversy; and it is sincerely to be hoped that no analogous results may be experienced

here through attempts to solve the Australian problem by the aid of philology alone.

That science is merely one of the components of the comprehensive science of anthropology, and is, therefore, incapable alone of being a safe guide when attempting a solution of so complicated a problem as the origin of the aborigines of Tasmania and Australia.

The various provisional conclusions to which I have so far been led will now admit of my advancing a step further in this inquiry and attempting to indicate what appears to be the most probable origin of the Tasmanians and Australians.

Of all the attempted solutions of this problem, that which has been offered by Sir W. H. Flower and Mr. R. Lydekker[1] appears to me most nearly to fit in with the requirements of this case. They suggest that Australia was originally peopled by frizzly-haired Melanesians, such as the Tasmanians, but that there was a strong infusion of some other race, probably a low form of Caucasian Melanochroi. As to the identification of the Tasmanians with the Melanesians, we find that Mr. H. Ling Roth has recorded certain conclusions, based upon the mass of data collected and discussed by him in his work on *The Aborigines of Tasmania*. Among others there is one which may be well accepted as agreeing with the weight of evidence, namely, that the Tasmanians were more closely related to the Andaman Islanders than to any other race.[2]

This would place them among the Oceanic Negritos, who are now found scattered in small tribes from the Andaman Islands to the Philippines and New Guinea,[3] and not among the later Melanesians.

It is noteworthy that all these scattered Oceanic Negritos appear to be mere survivals of a former widespread autochthonous race, which have been preserved either in inaccessible parts of Malaysia, like the Samangs of the Malay

[1] Flower, W. H., and Lydekker, R., *An Introduction to the Study of Mammals, Living and Extinct*, p. 748. London, 1891.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 351.

[3] Keane, A. H., *Ethnology*, p. 254. Cambridge Series, 1896.

Peninsula and the now extinct Kalangs of Java, or isolated in islands, and, like the Tasmanians and the Andamanese, have been cut off by subsidence of parts of a former continent.

While it may be accepted that the present distribution of the Oceanic Negritos indicates a primitive population spread over Malaysia, or rather inhabiting the former southern extension of the Indo-Asiatic continent, it does not necessarily follow that they all represent the same branch of the primitive stock, but rather, more or less, nearly successive offshoots.

As to the Melanesians, Dr. Codrington's argument, which I have already quoted, may be again referred to, in so far that the stock from which they have branched off must have been acquainted with (sea-going) canoes, houses, and the cultivation of gardens; therefore those ancient Melanesians, being in a far higher level of culture, could not have been the progenitors of the ancestors of the Tasmanians.

It seems to me also permissible to distinguish the Tasmanians and Andamanese from tribes such as the Samangs and Kalangs, and on these grounds I would suggest the following tentative hypothesis:—

An original Negrito population, as represented by the wild tribes of Malaysia; a subsequent offshoot, represented by the Andamanese and Tasmanians; and another offshoot, in a higher state of culture, originating the Melanesians.

As to the Australians, I may say that the discussion of the problem as to the origin of these savages, and of the Tasmanians, has led me to conclusions which require, as the original stock of the former, such a race as would be supplied by the "low form of Caucasian Melanochroi" suggested by Sir W. H. Flower and Mr. Lydekker. From such a stock the Dravidians may be also thought to have been in part derived.

Here and there in Asia are sporadic groups of people, characterised by black hair and dark eyes, with a skin of almost all shades from white to black, frequently with profuse beards and body hair, and being in many cases in a condition of low savages,[1] such as the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Hairy

[1] Keane, A. H., *op. cit.* p. 418.

Ainus of Japan, the Maoutze of China, and perhaps the Todas of India.

This stock might have given the characters of the hair to the otherwise negroid primitive inhabitants of Australia, and also certain peculiarities of feature which are occasionally observed, and which are evidently and certainly not negroid in character.

I have said before, and desire to repeat, that the conclusions to which I have been led as to the origin of the Tasmanians and Australians necessarily demand a vast antiquity on the Australian continent for the former and a very long period of at least prehistoric time for the latter.

In dealing with the origin of the aborigines of Tasmania and Australia I have attempted the solution of a most difficult problem. I have looked at the questions arising out of it from more than one standpoint, and I have thereby been led to conclusions which contradict the views held and enunciated by fellow-workers whose opinions are deserving of respectful consideration.

All that I claim is, that I have offered what seems to me to be a reasonably probable tentative hypothesis, based upon known facts.

My views will be accepted or rejected by competent authorities according as they stand the test of criticism, of time, and of the accumulation of further knowledge.

The conclusions to which this inquiry has led me may be doubtless modified by increased knowledge of new facts; but I venture to think, with some confidence, that the antiquity of occupation which I have postulated for the aborigines of both Australia and Tasmania in this continent will not be lessened.

CHAPTER II

THE TRIBAL ORGANISATION

Physical features of the country—Climatic conditions—Definition of word "tribe"—Divisions of the tribe—The local and social organisations—Lake Eyre tribes—Darling River tribes—Murray River tribes—Tribes of North-Western Victoria—Wiradjuri and Kamilaroi—Queensland tribes—Coast tribes of South Australia and Victoria—The Kurnai of Gippsland—Tableland tribes—The Biduelli tribe—The coast tribes of New South Wales—Queensland coast tribes.

As the title of this work implies, the area included within its scope is about one-quarter of the Australian continent. It extends on the north to near the tropic of Capricorn, and on the south is bordered by the Southern and Pacific Oceans connected by Bass Strait. This tract has a great range both of climate and temperature, from the dry continuous heat of Central Australia, to the severe winter climate of the Australian Alps, and the warm moisture of the coast lands. The most striking features of this part of Australia are the Dividing Range and the vast plains of the interior, through which the rivers, which rise on the inland fall of the Dividing Range, wind their tortuous course, in two great river systems, the one to the Southern Ocean, and the other to Lake Eyre, in Central Australia, where such water as can find its way there evaporates.

The sources of the Murray, which with its great tributary the Darling flows to the Southern Ocean, rise along the Dividing Range for a distance of over a thousand miles. Those of the Thomson and Barcoo, which lower down form Cooper's Creek, extend along the Dividing Range for a further distance of three hundred miles. The rivers which

rise on the other side of the Divide have short but vigorous courses to the sea.

THE COASTAL DISTRICTS

It is in the coastal districts that one finds the most favourable conditions for the native tribes, though at the head of the Great Australian Bight the desert extends nearly to the sea, for the Nullarbor Plains are waterless, and beyond them the desert, to where Sturt Creek ends in the northern parts of West Australia. Yet the Yerkla-mining people who live there are better off than those who inhabit the desert, having not only the land, but also the sea, from which to procure food. The advantages of the coast lands increase on coming eastwards; and from the Gulf of St. Vincent the country afforded ample food supplies, from the lakes at the Murray mouth and the country bordering upon them and the sea. Still more favourable conditions existed in Victoria, and especially in Gippsland, where again extensive lakes and adjacent country afforded an unfailing supply of fish and game. The tribes of the New South Wales coast enjoyed similar advantages, the principal difference being that the climate becomes warmer on proceeding northwards, and the food supplies more varied in character, until on the Queensland coast the tropical influence is met with. For instance, where the scope of my work ends, the blacks hunt the tree kangaroo, and ponds and lagoons furnish edible plants in abundance. The high mountains of the Dividing Range, which commences in Central Victoria, and its accompanying tablelands, extend northwards the whole length of the coast. In many parts they isolated the tribes of the coast from those inland, though there were tracks here and there by which friendly meetings or hostile raids took place between some of the tribes. The character of the coastal country itself also frequently isolated the tribes to some extent from their immediate neighbours.

Character of South Australia

There is no Dividing Range in South Australia, and hence its climate has not the marked distinctions which arise in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland from the existence of a high mountainous tract near the sea and a depressed low-lying interior. Two ranges of hills are met with running in a northerly direction: the first, the Mount Lofty Range, runs from the coast west of the Murray mouth, while the second commences at the head of Spencer Gulf, and as the Flinders Range continues in a picturesque chain to near Lake Blanch, south-east of Lake Eyre. But these ranges have no resemblance to the great forest-covered mountain ranges of the eastern coast of the continent.

The Tablelands

Throughout its whole length in Queensland and New South Wales the Dividing Range closely agrees, in direction, with that of a series of tablelands, which in the former State rise to a height of 1500 feet above the sea-level at the sources of the Belyando River, with a width of about one hundred miles, while further south on the Darling Downs the width of the plateau is two hundred. In New South Wales there are three such plateaux, called the Northern Tableland, rising to a height of 5000 feet at Ben Lomond, the Central Tableland, including the Blue Mountains (Mount Beemering, 4100 feet), and the Southern Tableland, which ends at the Victorian border, rising in Mount Kosciusko to the altitude of 8308 feet. In Victoria the tablelands are much broken up by the cutting back of the rivers on either side of the Divide, so that in some places there is merely a single narrow steep ridge separating the waters that flow on one side direct to Bass Strait, and on the other into the Murray; while the isolated plateaux are situated on one or the other side of the Divide.

It must be remarked that there were tribes of natives who regularly inhabited these mountain tablelands, with the

exception of the highest parts of the south of New South Wales and Victoria, which tracts, however, they visited yearly as soon as the inhospitable snows of winter had melted.

The Western Fall

The fall inland from the tablelands is much more gradual than that towards the sea, the hilly country becomes lower, the plain country wider, and at last the great levels of the interior are reached. The tribes who occupied the intermediate position between those living in the hot dry districts of Central Australia, and those who inhabited the tablelands and coast regions, lived under much more favourable conditions than the former. They had a better rainfall, and from the waters of the Thomson, Barcoo, Darling, Murray, and numerous other more or less permanent streams and surrounding country obtained supplies of fish and game. The tribes in Northern Victoria were in the same position. The south-western country in Queensland consists chiefly of plains crossed occasionally by low sandstone ridges and merging into vast tracts subject to inundation, as well as sandhill country which in normal seasons is arid, and in times of drought little better than a desert.

Central Australia

Central Australia may be described as the lower part of a shallow basin into which the drainage, when there is any, flows to Lake Eyre. Here and there out of the vast stretches of open country there arise at distant intervals isolated masses of rock, such as Mount Olga, or the remains of the desert sandstone show as lines of flat-topped hills. The lower country is either successive sand ridges, extending for long distances, sometimes as at Lake Hope, a hundred changeless miles, or there are what are called Gibber plains, which are well described by Spencer and Gillen as follows:—"On these Gibber plains the ground is covered with brown and purple stones, often set close

together as if they formed a tesselated pavement stretching to the horizon." [1]

The climatic conditions in Central Australia may be described as having a minimum of rainfall with a continuation of high temperature for many months, though in the winter nights the thermometer may fall below freezing-point. But the most important climatic features are long-continued times of drought, when nature is locked up and the native tribes are using all their magical powers to produce the rain which will turn the desert into a veritable garden. Whenever, at long intervals, great inundations are poured down by the rivers, wide plains of dried mud, usually cracked and fissured in all directions, become saturated with water. Then nature, which has been imprisoned by the drought, bursts forth in luxuriant vegetation such as no one can picture who has not seen it.

RAINFALL

The following table of observations of the mean annual rainfall taken at places between Lake Eyre and the southern and eastern coasts shows how the rainfall increases as the coast is approached.

[1] *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 70-73.

[TABLE

TABLE SHOWING THE RAINFALL BETWEEN LAKE EYRE AND THE COAST

Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.	Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.	Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.	Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.	Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.
Kanawana .	2.78	10	Mildura .	10.90	10	Mundi-mundi	7.11	6	Menindie .	9.56	22	Milparinka .	9.09	17
Killalpanina	5.92	18	Swan Hill .	13.66	16	Balranald .	12.37	21	Condobolin	18.98	18	Bourke .	16.42	28
Port Augusta	9.08	43	Ballarat .	26.86	30	Bombala .	24.23	15	Blue M'nt'ns	38.28	27	Glen Innes .	33.68	18
Adelaide .	29.09	46	Melbourne .	25.55	45	Eden . .	35.59	30	Sydney .	49.66	41	Grafton .	39.59	27

Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.	Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.	Locality.	Inches.	Mean of Years.
Innaminka .	5.43		Innaminka .	5.43		Innaminka .	5.43	
Mt. Howitt	10.05		Charleville .	19.48		Cunnamulla	15.32	
Aramac .	17.48		Miles .	27.33		Warwick .	29.00	
Mackay .	70.09		Maryborough	47.24		South Port .	62.62	

It is worth notice that at Birdsville, on the lower Diamantina, not far distant from the Lake Eyre district, the mean rainfall recorded for five years was only 3.16 inches. Captain Sturt described that place as an absolute desert. When I saw it in the year 1862, after a great flood, it was a pastoral paradise.

I am indebted to the Government Astronomers of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland for the above particulars.

This increase in rainfall means that the tribes enjoying it lead an easier life, which condition has probably assisted them in making the social advance which I shall show later on has taken place, especially in those tribes living on the coast.

FIG. 1.—KURNAI MAN WEARING OPOSSUM RUG.

As an indication of relative climates, I may point out that the tribes of Central Australia had no kind of clothing; I only saw one instance of a covering being worn in the tribes of the Delta of the Cooper, that of a woman suffering from disease who sheltered herself under a single pelican skin. The tribes who lived in the intermediate parts, and particularly those of the tablelands and coastal regions, made good rugs of opossum and other skins, which they used for both warmth and covering when necessary—at other times going naked.

Such, then, is the country in which the tribes of South-Eastern Australia have been living for ages, as part of an isolated aboriginal race free from disturbing external influences, and left to work out its social life.

Definition of Tribe

I use the word "tribe" as meaning a number of people who occupy a definite tract of country, who recognise a common relationship and have a common speech, or dialects of the same. The tribes-people recognise some common bond which distinguishes them from other tribes, usually a tribal name, which may be their word for "man," that is, an aboriginal of Australia.

In such cases there is a prefix or postfix meaning "people" or "tribe"; thus the Wotjo are collectively called Wotjo-baluk, that is to say, "tribe of men." Or the name may be derived from the word in their language for "no" or "yes," more frequently the former, as with the Woëworung of the Yarra River in Victoria, *Woë* meaning "no," and the postfix *Worung* "lip," hence "speech."

But while individual tribes are thus distinguished from others, there are numerous cases in which the word for "man" is common to the languages of a considerable number of more or less nearly related tribes, indicating a larger aggregate, for which, in default of a better term, I use the word "nation." For instance, the word "Kulin" (man) was used by tribes over most of the eastern half of Victoria, with the exception of Gippsland.

A distinction is drawn by tribes between themselves and aliens by some term applied to the latter, either of contempt or fear. Thus while the Kurnai speak of themselves as "men," they give the name of Brajerak, from *bra*, "man," and *jerak*, "rage" or "anger," to their neighbours, the Theddora of the Omeo tableland, the Ngarigo of the Manero tableland, and Murring of the south coast of New South Wales.

Those living in the Western Port district of Victoria they called Thurung or tiger-snakes, because, as I have heard them say, "they came sneaking about to kill us."

Divisions of the Community

In all the native tribes of Australia there are geographical divisions of the community determined by locality, and also

divisions of the tribe on which the marriage regulations are based. The former are distinguished by certain local names, while the latter are denoted by class names, or totems, and more frequently by both class names and totems.

In the aggregate of the whole community these two sets of divisions are conterminous, but under female descent no division of the one set is conterminous with any division of the other. That is to say, the people of any given locality are not all of the same class or totem, nor are the people of any one class or totem collected in the same locality. This is the rule where descent is in the female line, but when the line of descent has changed to that through males, we find cases in which all the people in a certain locality have come to bear the same class name and totem.

THE LOCAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS

Hence it is evident that the Australian aborigines are divided into tribes which are organised on certain lines in two independent directions. One I have termed the "local" and the other the "social" organisation, and since this is a matter of great importance, I deem it worthy of special consideration.

An entire community, tribe, nation, or whatever it may be termed, is divided socially into two exogamous intermarrying moieties, which for shortness may be designated A and B. In some parts of Australia these two principal moieties or classes have become divided, each into two sub-classes. In Central and Northern Australia there has been a further division of the sub-classes, resulting in eight sub-classes,[1] and the same process has taken place in Northern Queensland.[2]

To the classes and sub-classes together, or to the latter only without the former, a number of lesser groups are attached, having the names of material objects, even of natural phenomena, for which the term "totem" is appropriate. But as their sum only equals A and B, I

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 70-73.
[2] Dr. W. E. Roth.

need not take them into account at the present time. They will be dealt with in the next chapter.

It is this systematic division of the tribe which was called by Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself "the social organisation."[1]

As I have said, the tribe is also divided into a number of lesser groups, say X, Y, Z, etc. (I take these for the sake of convenience, but there may be many more); these divisions of the tribe are local, and therefore differ essentially from the classes or totems, which are groups of the social organisation. In order to prevent confusion between the lesser division of each of these different organisations of the tribe, the term "clan" is used for the subdivision of a tribe which has descent in the male line, and "horde" for that in which there is female descent. The clan and the horde are each therefore a geographical division of a tribe.

Thus the local organisations, X, Y, Z, etc., are made up of individuals belonging to both A and B. The children of the horde belong to the horde, *e.g.* the children of X males are of X horde and so forth, but since A (male) must marry B (female) with descent in the female line, the son of X is XB. In other words, the son is of the father's horde and tribe, but of the mother's totem and class; of the local division to which the father belongs, but of the mother's social division. In extreme cases, where descent has come to be in the male line, the hordes or clans as well as the social divisions are found to be exogamous; the exogamic law has, seemingly, passed over from the social to the local division, which therefore in such cases regulates marriage. It is as if an English village had determined that its children should marry beyond its bounds, the sons bringing their wives to the village, while the daughters went to the villages whence their brothers took their wives. In illustration of these statements I shall give instances, commencing with the Dieri, which is one of the socially backward standing tribes; going through the tribes in a socially progressive series, until the end is reached, with tribes of which the Kurnai are an example. In this way I hope to

[1] "On the Deme and the Horde," *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* November 1884.

be able not only to show the actual advances made in the local and social organisations, but also the character of those important changes.

In order to make clear the definition of the terms I use the following is given :—

(1) Nation is used to signify a group of tribes.

(2) Tribe is used in the sense given at p. 41.

(3) Horde, the primary geographical division of a tribe having female descent, for instance, the Ngadi-ngani below.

(4) Clan, the primary geographical division of a tribe with descent in the male line, for instance, the Krauatungalung.

The alliance of the tribes forming the nation comes into view on the occasion of one of the great ceremonies being held ; all the tribes which form the nation may attend the ceremonies and take part in them, a bond which holds the hordes or clans of a tribe together.

Lake Eyre Tribes

The Dieri tribe inhabits part of the Barcoo delta on the east and south-east of Lake Eyre, in Central Australia. It is one of a number of tribes which have the same organisation, with allied languages and ceremonies, customs and beliefs. These tribes, though submitting to the white man's supremacy, live their own lives in a great measure, and follow the ancestral customs as far as possible under changed conditions. What I have to say of them will describe what they were forty years ago, when I knew them in their savage state, and before their country was occupied by the white man for pastoral purposes.

The local division of the Dieri tribe into hordes is the following, and will serve as an example of that and other tribes surrounding Lake Eyre.

(1) The Ngadi-ngani or Bukatyiri inhabited the country around Lake Perigundi. The Ngadi-ngani connect the Dieri with the Yaurorka tribe, and the name Ngadi-ngani

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is derived from Ngadi, which affirms the statement of another person without using the word meaning "yes."[1]

(2) The Pando-etya or Pandola were the inhabitants of the country around Lake Hope (Bando pirna or Great Lake).

(3) The Kunari-kana, that is the Kunari "men," occupied the country around Kopperamana and Killalpanina. Kunara is the name of Cooper's Creek where it flows through the Kopperamana and Killalpanina districts, and during floods spreads over a width of 12 miles. *Pando* is "lake," and *la* "of" or "from" a place, and the termination *etya* implies a constant inhabiting, and is equivalent to our terminal "er" (Londoner).

(4) The Paritiltya-kana, that is the Paritiltya "men," were the people in the country from Kopperamana northwards to the Salt Creek. Paritiltya is derived from *pari*, "a valley," and *tiltya*, "a lowest place or part," hence meaning the bottom of the valley. It refers to the habit of these people of fixing their camps in a valley close to the creek so as to be near the water, while the other Dieri camp on the higher ground.[2]

In former times, according to Dieri traditions, their forefathers held the country now occupied by the Wonkanguru, by whom they were thrust out—the Wonkanguru having been themselves expelled from their country by the Wonkatyeri, who had been driven out by the Wonkamala. Such tribal changes no doubt frequently occurred in past ages.

[1] The following will show the use of *ngadi*—

Tankubana ngaldra ninki dandru puntilla nganai. Ngadi!
To-morrow morning we-two this place from away will. All right!

Ngato neyi ngakani nayina warai. Ngadi!
I elder-brother mine seen have. Indeed!

Nau muntya pirna nganai. Ngadi!
He sick very will (is). You don't say so!

Ani or *anai* is the native termination, and the *ng* is introduced for euphony. The alternative name Bukatyiri means "wood" or "forest," because in the country of this horde the trees and bushes are much more plentiful than in that of the Kunari.

[2] Professor Spencer tells me that the Purulu and Kumara always, when they can, pitch their camps on rising ground, and the Panunga and Bulthara on low ground near a creek, if one be present.

(5) The Tirari, who lived on the south-east shores of Lake Eyre, between the embouchures of Cooper's Creek and the Clayton River.

These five hordes of the Dieri tribe are again subdivided

FIG. 2.—MAN OF THE WONKANGURU TRIBE.

locally: for instance, the Pando-etya, who live at Lake Hope, are called Pando-pirnani; while another subdivision of the same horde, located about Kunabura, a lake some 6 miles to the westward of Lake Hope, are called the Kunabura-kana, or men of Kunabura.

In this manner a tribe is organised geographically in

local groups, each having a definite tract of hunting and food ground, and the aggregate of these groups forms the tribe. The sons inherit, or perhaps to speak more correctly occupy, as a matter of birthright, the country which their fathers hunted over. Such is the local organisation of a typical two-class tribe with descent in the female line.

To the south of the Dieri were the Mardala, a hill tribe inhabiting the terminations of the Flinders Range. At the time when I became acquainted with the Dieri, the Mardala were a source of great trouble to the settlers in that district, which was the frontier of the settlements. The leader in the attacks on the settlers was a Mardala black named Inabuthina, but better known to the whites as Pompey. He was a leading man in his tribe, but had to escape and take refuge with the Dieri for burning huts and killing white men —in other words, defending his country. His inveterate enmity to the white men extended to those blacks who assisted them in opening up the country. A black boy of that division of the Dieri tribe which lived about Blanchwater, and therefore immediately adjoined the Mardala, whom I had with me on an expedition, was killed after my return by Inabuthina for having acted as my guide and been too friendly with the white men.

Beyond the Mardala there was a tribe of the same organisation extending to the coast at Port Lincoln called Parnkalla.

Extending west from Port Lincoln, as far as Point Brown, and inland to the Gawler Ranges, is the Nauo or Willuro tribe. The Tidni tribe, also called Hilleri, extends from Point Brown to the head of the Great Australian Bight, and about 50 miles inland.

These tribes are all organised in the same manner as the Parnkalla, and therefore belong to the great group of tribes about Lake Eyre.

Extending from the Tidni tribe up to the boundaries of the southern Urabunna, the Kuyani and the Wiranguru, is a large tribe known as the Kukata, and spoken of by the Dieri as a fierce tribe, but having the same organisation as themselves.

Tribes of which the Dieri is an example surround Lake Eyre, and extend up the rivers which debouch into it from the north-west, the north, and the north-east. Spencer and Gillen have given particulars of the organisation of the

FIG. 3.—MAN OF THE WONKANGURU TRIBE.

Urabunna, whose northern boundary defines the extent in that direction of the two-class tribal system. To the north-east are many tribes which differ but little from the Dieri, such as the Yantruwunta, who occupied Cooper's Creek west of the Queensland boundary. It was these blacks who hospitably received John King, the only survivor of the

companions of Burke in his march across the continent to the Gulf of Carpentaria and back to Cooper's Creek. Tribes of similar organisation occur up the course of the Barcoo at least as far as Mount Howitt, where the now extinct Kurnandaburi lived, about 120 miles from the Yantruwunta country, but I do not know how far such tribes extend into the western deserts beyond the Tangara, of whom I know little more than the name.

The Darling River Tribes

To the east and south-east of the Dieri country are the Grey and Barrier Ranges, which separate the tribes I have been speaking of from others, whom the Yantruwunta described to me as being so stupid that they "called a snake fire," the word for fire in the Yantruwunta language being *Turo*, which in the other tongue means carpet snake.

The tribes to the east of the Grey and Barrier Ranges form two nations, which with another, the Barkinji, on the opposite side of the Darling, occupy practically the whole of its course from the Barwon River to its junction with the Murray.

The two former nations are the Itchumundi and Karamundi, the first of which comprises the following tribes:—

(1) Wilya, occupying the country about the Grey Ranges, and having its headquarters about Endeavour Lake.

(2) Kongait, north and south of Cadell's Range, and having its headquarters at Cobham Lake.

(3) Tongaranka, the country including Momba, Tarella, Wonominta, Yandarle, and the Daubeny Range, and having its headquarters at Momba and Tarella. The name means a hillside.

(4) Bulalli, the Barrier Range country, having its headquarters at Polamacca and Sturt's Meadow. Bulalli is from *bola*, "a hill."

Some of the tribes forming the Karamundi nation are:—

(1) Milpulko, on the Darling frontage from Wilcannia downwards.

(2) Naualko, the Darling frontage from Wilcannia upwards to about 70 miles below Bourke and extending back towards the Paroo River.

(3) Guerno. Thence up the river to Bourke, and extending up the Warrego to about Ford's Bridge.

(4) Barrumbinya, from Bourke up to the Barwon River.

There are three other tribes which I have not been able to assign to either of these nations. The Badjeri, who extend up the Paroo River from Currawinya, near Hungerford, to Eulo. The Barunga, who occupy the Wanaaring district on the Paroo River. Finally the Paruinji, from Hungerford down the Paroo to Bootha-bootha, a shallow waterhole in Gorimpa, and who claim also the country of the Barunga. There appears to be an overlapping of tribal boundaries in this case, and possibly an indication of a larger nation.

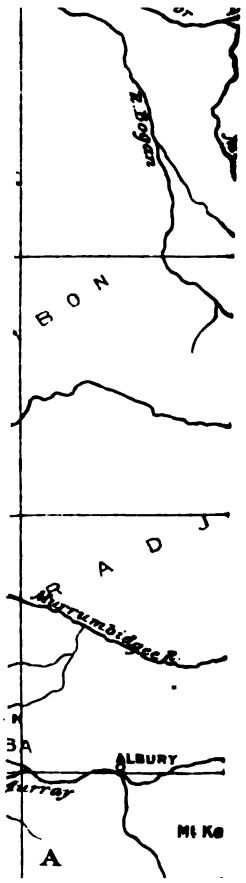
Most of these tribes speak the same language, but the speech of others differs so much that a native of one division may not understand one word of the language of another.

The third nation is the Barkinji, whose country, according to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron,[1] is on the Darling River, between the junction of the Bogan with it and a point about half-way between Menindie and Pooncarrie, although other information given me extends their range still further. It seems uncertain whether tribes belonging to the Barkinji nation are to be found on both sides of the Darling River. My information places them on the south-eastern side, occupying about 50 miles back from the river. This agrees with a sketch map of Mr. Cameron's, who says that the tribes adjoining it are the Wonghibon, a tribe with four subclasses, to the south-east, and the Ta-tathi, Muthi-muthi, Wathi-wathi, and Ithi-ithi[2] to the south.

These three nations are a good illustration of the terms used by me. The unit of local organisation is a small

[1] "Notes on Some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* vol. xiv. p. 344.

[2] *Science*, Nos. 11, 12, vol. ii. New Series.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group or family which hunts over a restricted area of country. A number of these form a horde, such as that at Momba, which with Tarella, Wonominta, Yandarle, and the locality called the Daubeny Range, form the Tongaranka tribe. The aggregation of tribes forms the Itchumundi nation, a Momba man being at the same time Tongaranka and Itchumundi.

There is a large extent of country, without any permanent surface water, between the Darling, Murray, and Murrumbidgee Rivers. This was occupied by the Berriait tribe, who, when the surface water failed them, obtained a supply from the Mallee, a species of Eucalypt, and from one of the Hakeas. At times of drought they were forced to go to the rivers for water, and as these were occupied by other tribes such as the Barkinji and the Wonghibon, they had to fight their way in strong parties.

Mr. A. L. P. Cameron has, in addition to the above, described to me the method used for obtaining water from the Mallee roots. Those selected are generally from 1 to 3 inches in diameter, and are easily dug up, as in many localities they extend laterally as far as 10 feet without varying much in thickness, and are not more than 9 or 10 inches below the surface. A good root, say 10 feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, would yield a quart of water, which, though not very palatable to those unaccustomed to it, is liked by those who have used it for a time.

All the tribes forming the above-mentioned nations are bound together over an enormous district by the same two-class system, having the same names for the classes, and being not only distinguished thereby from the analogous great organisation of which the Dieri is a representative, but also from other tribal groups to the south, now to be described.

Murray River Tribes

The Wiimbaio tribe before mentioned occupies the country at the junction of the Darling and the Murray Rivers,

and they were the people who attempted to prevent the descent of the Murray by Captain Sturt in the year 1829.

They were located on the Murray for about 30 miles up and down from the junction. The tribe on the Murray above the Wiimbaio was the Kerinma, speaking a different language. The Wiimbaio were essentially a river tribe, and their country did not go back southwards from the river more than about a day's journey, say 20 miles, at which distance the country of a branch of the Wotjobaluk commenced.

According to my native informant, the river tribes which occupied the course of the Murray River upwards from Wentworth were as follows :—

The Wiimbaio already mentioned extended for some 30 miles on the south bank where the country of the Kerinma or, as others said, the Grangema, commenced. This is an instance of the difficulties which beset these inquiries, since a group of blacks at a certain place may be called by their local name, or by the name of the dialect which they speak, or by the name of the tribe to which they belong.

Further on about Kulkyne were the Leitchi-leitchi, also on the southern bank. The Weki-weki lived about Pyangil, and between that place and Swan Hill were the Wathi-wathi, and thence to the junction of the Loddon with the Murray, the Bura-bura.

On the northern side of the Murray, between Wentworth and Euston, was a strong tribe, the Ta-tathi. West of the junction of the Murrumbidgee with the Murray were the Muthi-muthi, and in the junction of these rivers the Wi-thai-ja.

Proceeding further up-stream, on the south side beyond the Bura-bura were the Wamba-wamba on the Terrick plains.

On the north side of the Murray there were other tribes covering a considerable part of Riverina south of Hay and Deniliquin, of which the Baraba-baraba may be taken as the example. The country occupied by this tribe extended from Mathoura between Deniliquin and Moama on the

south to Jerilderie or Narandera on the east, to Moulamein on the south-east, and Dry Lake on the north-east.

With the exception of the Wiimbaio, whose name is taken from the word in their language *Wiim*, meaning "man," all the river tribes spoken of have been named from their language, or rather from their dialects, in which the negative is respectively *Taat* or *Taath*, *Leitchi*, *Weki*, *Wathi*, and so on, and reduplicated as their speech. This practice is common over a large part of Victoria, as for instance in the Wurunjerri tribe of the Yarra River, which, with other tribes, was commonly spoken of as the Woëworung, that is the "No-lip," hence "No speech."

Further up the River Murray on the Victorian side there was formerly a strong tribe called Bangerang, about which the works of Mr. E. M. Curr give some information.[1] He had personal acquaintance in 1841 with the tribes which occupied the southern frontage of the Murray, from Echuca to Cobram, and up the course of its southern confluents the Campaspe, Goulburn, and Broken River for some distance. This comprised an area extending as far south as Toolamba, fifty miles from the Murray and about the same distance east and west. He enumerates ten different tribes each of which occupied a definite area of country, and were approximately 1200 in number. Of these tribes he says that "properly there was only one tribe named Bangerang, which consisted of two independent sections, the Wongatpan and Towroonban who, when speaking of themselves collectively always used the term Bangerang. But besides these there were eight other tribes in the area above referred to, which sometimes spoke of themselves, and were always spoken of by others, as Bangerang."[2] South of this area he indicates the respective countries of other tribes, and he says that they spoke a language which differed from that of the Bangerang.

Properly speaking the river tribes, which, by the way, were confined to their respective sides of the river, were merely the local parts of a large organisation. Each one

[1] *The Australian Race*, vol. iii. p. 568.
[2] *Op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 567.

being certainly composed of lesser local groups analogous to these which I have already described and others yet to be mentioned. That such was the case can be reasonably inferred from the statement made by Mr. Curr that ten tribes were spoken of by themselves and by others as Bangerang.

The same organisation of river tribes extended without doubt up the Murray and its tributaries.

I have not been able to obtain any information as to the tribes occupying the course of the Murray between the Bangerang and Albury, or on the Ovens lower than the Buffalo Mountains. One of the tribes, allied to those on the Upper Goulburn River, was located on the Buffalo River, and representatives of it attended one of the great tribal meetings of the Wurunjerri tribe near Melbourne in the early forties of the last century. I was informed by one of the men (a Wurunjerri) who attended that meeting that that tribe was organised like his own.

Tribes of North-Western Victoria

In speaking of the Wiimbaio I said that their country adjoined the northern boundary of the Wotjobaluk tribe, who inhabited a tract of country lying between the Wimmera and Richardson Rivers. The tribal name is taken from the word *Wotjo*, meaning "man," and *baluk*, "people," the latter word being in its extended form *Wotjo-ba-laiuruk*, that is, "men and women." Less frequently the word *Guli* is used for *Wotjo*, thus showing a relation to the Kulin nation. The boundaries of this tribe were as follows:—Beginning about a mile north of Dimboola on the eastern bank of the Wimmera River and following it to Lake Hindmarsh; thence by that river to Lake Albakutya, and thence by the river to its termination at the Pine Plains Lake. Thence eastward to Lake Coorong, thence by the Warraknabeal Creek to Warraknabeal,[1] and west to the starting-point. Besides this area in which the Wotjobaluk proper lived, there was another tract where

[1] *Warrak*, "plain," *na*, "of," *Beäl*, "red gum tree," *Eucalyptus rostrata*.

there was what may be called a sub-tribe, who were reckoned as Wotjobaluk, but who called themselves Muk-jarawaint, and who were spread over the country defined by Ararat, Carr's Plains, the Richardson River, Horsham, Rosebrook, and back into the Grampian Mountains.

To the north of the Wotjobaluk was another sub-tribe with which they intermarried, the Banju-bunan, whose organisation was like theirs, a division into local hordes. To the east of the Wotjobaluk, and adjoining them, were the Jupa-galk-wourndich,[1] whose country extended into the Mallee scrubs, there joining the country of the river tribes before mentioned, and eastward to the Avoca River.

The Wotjobaluk, having descent through the mother, were divided into local hordes, the names of which were as follows:—

(1) The Gromiluk at Lake Hindmarsh.
(2) The Yakkil-baluk at Lake Albakutya.
(3) The Kretch-baluk at Dimboola.
(4) The Witch-wundaiuk[2] at Warraknabeal.
(5) The Yarikiluk at Lake Coorong.

A man of one of those places, for instance of Gromiluk, would be *Gromiluk-wotjo*, that is "Gromiluk man."

There were tribes adjoining the Wotjo nation which the latter considered aliens—the Doenbauraket[3] to the west, the Baluk-mernen[4] to the north, the Wengen-marongeitch to the east, and the Juro-baluk[5] to the south. I have not been able to locate the two latter.

THE WIRADJURI AND KAMILAROI

Having described the geographical and tribal organisation of the two-class tribes, I may now proceed a stage farther, and consider those tribes which have four sub-

[1] Jupa is the so-called "Native Box," also called "Myrtle," the Bursaria spinosa. *Galk* is "tree" and *wourndich*, "people."

[2] *Wundaiuk* is the equivalent of *baluk* or *balaiuk*, which latter I have heard used as well as *baluk*.

[3] *Doen* probably the same as *tuan*, the small "flying 'possum."

[4] *Mernen* is "sand-hill," and the *baluk mernen* are therefore the "sand-hill fellows."

[5] *Juro* is "plain or level country."

classes. I commence with the Wiradjuri, a very large tribe or nation of tribes occupying a vast extent of country in central New South Wales, and distinguished by a common language in dialectic forms, the name being derived from *Wirai*, "no."

The Wiradjuri boundaries, as given by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron [1] are as follows:—"On the west by the Ita-ita tribe, commencing at Hay. On the north-west by the Bargunji tribe (Barkinji?). On the north by the Wonghibon. On the north-east by the Kamilaroi. On the east by the Nungawal. On the south-east, south and south-west Burra-bura-ba. This tribe completes the circuit by joining the Ita-ita." The Nungawal is not known to me. The Burra-bura-ba tribe was between the Wiradjuri and the tribes of the Murray River, and I have heard it called Baraba-baraba.

That part of the Wiradjuri of which I had some little knowledge had its location between Hay and Yass, and was divided into a number of sections, which in this case were hordes, descent being in the female line. The principal of these divisions are as follows:—

(1) Narrandera (prickly lizard) about Narrandera.

(2) Kuta-mundra (river turtle) about Cootamundra.

(3) Murring-bulla (two bark canoes) about Murran-burra.

It will be seen from the above that these divisions of the tribes have been perpetuated in the names of the places where these sections had their headquarters.

The Wonghibon tribe occupied country to the north of the Lachlan River, which may be approximately defined by the townships of Mossgiel, Ivanhoe, Cobar, Nymagee, and Nyngan. The only permanent water would be at its north-eastern extremity, where it took in part of the Bogan River, so that those who lived in the south must have either gone to the Lachlan or Darling in periods of drought, or lived upon water obtained from Mallee and other roots.[2]

The eastern boundary of the Wiradjuri is the western

[1] *Science*, No. 11, vol. ii. New Series.

[2] A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* No. 11, vol. ii. New Series.

boundary of the Kamilaroi, a large nation consisting of many tribes under the same designation, which is derived from the negative *kamil* or *kumil*. The boundaries of the Kamilaroi are as follows :—

A narrow strip occupied on each side of the Hunter River up to Murrurundi, thence by the Dividing Range to the foot of the Moonbi, above Tamworth. Thence to Manilla, Barraba, Cobbedah, Bingera, and down the Gwydir and the Barwon to Wallget. From this place by a line a little east of Barradine and Conabarrabran to the Dividing Range, near the sources of the Talbragar Creek and the Goulburn River. In short, nearly the whole of the pastoral district of Liverpool Plains.[1]

North of the Gwydir, up to the Queensland border and on the Darling from Walgett to Bourke, we find Kamilaroi and Wollaroi mixed, and on the Castlereagh it is Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri.

The subdivisions of the Kamilaroi, which, since they have female descent, are hordes, occupy separate portions of the tribal territory, each claiming its own *taurai* or food and hunting grounds, the boundaries of which are well defined, and across which a stranger might not pass in search of food.[2]

The Unghi inhabited a tract of country lying between the Maranoa and Warrego Rivers in Queensland and extending southwards to the Balonne River, being an area of about 10,000 square miles.[3]

North of the Kamilaroi there was at least one other nation in New South Wales organised on the same lines. The Wollaroi or, as it is sometimes called, the Yualloroi, being named, as in the Kamilaroi, from the negative. To the eastward the Wollaroi did not extend beyond the Birie, the Culgoa, and the Maranoa Rivers, which probably also mark the western boundaries of the four sub-class tribes in this part of Australia, for at the Culgoa commences the

[1] These were the boundaries existing sixty years ago according to Mr. C. Naseby's knowledge.

[2] C. Naseby.

[3] A. L. P. Cameron.

Congaro language,[1] which extends to the Warrego where the two-class system obtains.

Where two large groups of tribes which speak different languages meet there will be found a tract of country where the language is composed of both. For instance, the Kamilaroi language extends northwards to the Gwydir River. To the west of the Upper Darling River and extending to the Culgoa it is Wollaroi. Between the Darling and the Gwydir the language is mixed Kamilaroi and Wollaroi. Similarly between the Bogan and the Kamilaroi boundary, which runs north-westward from Wonabarabra to the junction of the Peel River and the Darling, the language is a mixture of Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri.[2]

The Wollaroi, Kamilaroi, and Wiradjuri tribes have all the same social organisation, and their languages are branches of the same stock language. In such cases the people living respectively on either side of the common boundary speak a dialect compounded of both tongues, and probably could converse with members of either tribe.

With the most northern of the Kamilaroi we come into contact with other tribes having the same organisation and sub-class names, but speaking other languages. These are the Bigambul, the Ungorri, and other tribes of the same group. The former inhabited the Darling Downs and part of the Gwydir districts, about Gooniwindi, Warialdra, and Carol in the Namoi district. The name Bigambul, which is also that of the language, is derived from *biga*, meaning "like," the "same," "so much," "so many."[3] The Ungorri, speaking a language of the same name, were in the country extending to St. George, Charleville, Nive, Taroom, Surat, and Condamine.[4]

Some Queensland Tribes

Within 50 or 60 miles of Maryborough (Queensland) and including Great Sandy Island there were many tribes,

[1] R. Crowthers. [2] Frank Bucknall.

[3] *Biga anotha-mara*, *biga anotha-tina*, being "as many as I have fingers and toes." *Biga nabu na bogo*, "as many as there are leaves on the tree."

[4] J. Lalor.

Mondureah
BUNDABERG
Springfield
HERVEY

About the year 1859 these blacks might have been counted by thousands, and their customs and observances were strictly followed, but in the year 1888 all the fragments of the tribelets could not number 150 men, women and children.

The tribes may be divided into inland, fishing, and coast tribes, the inland people visiting the coast at intervals.

About 60 miles from Maryborough there was the Kaiabara tribe, who lived in the Bunya Mountains, and was one of the group of tribes just referred to. All these tribes had the same organisation, and met at the great tribal ceremonies. Indeed it was in the Kaiabara country that "Bunya-bunya feasts" were periodically held. The Kaiabaras were one of the above-mentioned "inland tribes."[1]

Somewhat farther to the north the tribes are also organised in four sub-classes, and there is a group of which I take the Kuinmurbura as an example. This tribe inhabits the peninsula between Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay north of Rockhampton. The name may be rendered as *Kuin*, "plains," and *bura*, "of or belonging," and the range of this allied group of tribes is indicated by the statement of the Kuinmurbura, that the adjoining tribes are their "mates," while the Rockhampton blacks are "of another country."[2] The following is a list of the tribes which, with the Kuinmurbura, form a nation :—

(1) Kutu-bura, meaning "belonging to the end," referring to their country being at the end of the peninsula.

(2) Riste-bura, "belonging to sandfly." Between Pine Mountain and Shoalwater Bay.

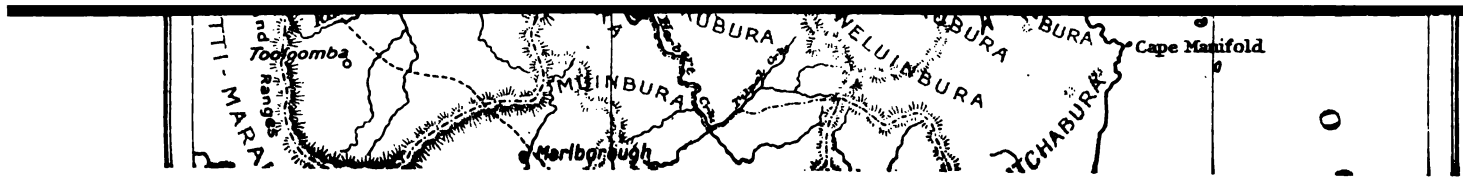
(3) Wandu-bura, "belonging to mountain." Between the head of Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay.

(4) Wuru-bura, "belonging to *Wuru*," that is, bread made from a nut called *Wuru*. On the east side of the head of Broad Sound.

(5) Pukan-bura, "belonging to a track or road (*pukan*)." In the Agapina range, to the west of the head of Broad Sound.

(6) Muin-bura, that is, "belonging to ashes." South of the Pukan-bura and opposite the Wuru-bura.

[1] Jocelyn Brooke. [2] W. H. Flowers.


Toowoomba
Maryborough
Cape Manifold

The tribes outside this small nation, between the Mackenzie and the sea, down to Gladstone, are as follows, being, however, not regarded by the *Kuinmurbura* as belonging to themselves:—

(1) Taru-bura, "belonging to fig." West of the head of Shoalwater Bay.

(2) Weluin-bura, "belonging to iguana's tail." East of the Wuru-bura.

(3) Rundu-bura, at Townshend's Island.

(4) Waran-bura, "belonging to sand." At Pearl Bay.

(5) Kuke-bura, "belonging to the green-headed ant." Between Cape Manifold and Cape Clinton.

(6) Butcha-bura, "belonging to *Butcha*." A species of Banksia about Mount Atherton.

(7) Baipul-bura, "belonging to 'big water' or river." On the Fitzroy River, near Woodville.

(8) Karun-bura, "belonging to *Karun*," that is, the water that exudes from a mussel when placed on the fire. South of Yamba.

(9) Buri-bura, "belonging to eels," or more properly the flames caused by their fat when placed on the fire. South of Yamba.

(10) Bikal-bura, "belonging to *Bikal*," that is a grub. On the river near Rockhampton.

(11) Konku-bura, "belonging to sickness, retching." On the coast of Keppel's Bay.

(12) Wara-bura, "belonging to *Wara*," a parasitical plant known as wild guava. South of Rockhampton.

(13) Bombarra-bura, "belonging to open country," that is the mainland west of Broad Sound.

My correspondent speaks of these as tribes, and the area occupied by them is so considerable that it supports this view, but on the other hand their names suggest "local divisions" of a large tribe. I am not able to decide this matter, and my correspondent is not now available.

Besides these, there are the following tribes, of which I know no more that their names and localities:—

The Taruin-bura, or "belonging to the Big River" west of the Broad Sound. The Yetti-maralla, south of them on the

Mackenzie River, from Woodville. The Tarumbul, south of Rockhampton and the Orambul, on the coast between Keppel Bay and Gladstone.

West of the Great Dividing Range, and separated by it from the tribes last described, there were many tribes having the four sub-class system on the waters of the Belyando, Barcoo, Thomson, and Flinders Rivers, and of which I take the Wakelbura as an example.[1]

They were formerly called Kerbulbura, from *Kerbul*, the edible root of a water-lily which grows in the swamps and flat watercourses; the present name of the tribe is derived from *Wakel* (eels), and the possessive postfix *bura*. It is somewhat uncertain whether the Wakelbura is to be considered as a tribe, a sub-tribe, or merely a horde of a large tribe. Perhaps the latter may be the true view to take, yet in such a case there ought to be some common name to show the extent of the tribe. My correspondent, however, has been unable to solve this question, although he has been acquainted with the Wakelbura since boyhood. It is now too late, for I have learned during the completion of this work that the tribe is practically extinct, having been "destroyed by the use of opium" acquired from the Chinese employed in the district. If the Wakelbura is a horde of a large tribe, the following would be the hordes composing it:—

(1) Wakelbura, situated on the Belyando River, above its junction with the Suttor River.

(2) The Kumbukabura, from *Kumbuka*, "the Broad-leaved Ironbark,"[2] occupied the country westward of the Belyando River across the sources of the Thomson River.

(3) The Auanbura, from *Auan*, "the young emu," on the Upper Belyando River, above the Wakelbura.

(4) The Dorobura, from *Doro*, "the root of a tree," on the east side of the Belyando River, above its junction with the Suttor River.

(5) The Mutherabura, from *Muthera*, a grub found in

[1] J. C. Muirhead.

[2] I have not been able to ascertain which tree this is.

RA AND KINDRED TRIBES.

the Brigalow tree.[1] In the years 1883-86 this tribe is said to have changed its name to Waralbura, from *waral*, "a canoe" or "boat." The change was made because the owners of the run on which the Waralbura lived put a large boat on a lagoon near the homestead, and the tribes-people called themselves after it. This shows how slight a circumstance might cause a change of name, but such a change would be unlikely to affect a whole tribe spread over so large a tract as that the Mutherabura occupied. It looks, therefore, to me as if the change was merely in the name of that small division which lived in the immediate vicinity of the homestead.

(6) The Munkibura, from the name given by these tribes to sheep. They lived about Natal Downs and on Cape River. Here again there is such a change as that just referred to, and the same argument may be applied to this case, namely, that the change was probably that of some one of the lesser divisions of the horde, or tribe if it were such.

Adjoining these hordes there were other tribes, or hordes of tribes, which were more or less nearly related to them. The Mutabura were to the south-west, on the Thomson River. The Kumbukabura, on the extreme source of the Thomson River, and the Tilbabura, who became extinct about the year 1865, and lived south-west of and adjoining the Auanbura. Two tribes also became extinct in the year 1865; and when the Bithelbura tribe, who lived north-east of the Auanbura, died out the latter took their country.

Beyond the Thomson River there were other tribes organised in the same manner. The strength of the bonds connecting the Wakelbura and the tribes farther out may be estimated by the following particulars. All the tribes, sub-tribes, or hordes mentioned, as the case might be, and with others still more distant, as for instance the Mutabura from the Upper Thomson River, did not come to the Wakelbura ceremonies in a body, nor did the Yankibura,

[1] There appear to be three trees in Queensland which are called by this name —*Acacia harpophylla*, *Acacia doratoxylon*, and *Acacia glaucescens*—but I do not know which it is that grows in the locality in question.

a still more distant tribe near Aramac. A few of them accompanied the Kumbukabura, and when the Wakelbura went to the Mutabura or the Yankibura ceremonies, it was only a few of them who did so, in company with Auanbura or Kumbukabura people. The same applies to all the distant tribes, which had some relations with the Wakelbura, and visited them. The rule was that the nearer tribe came in a body, and the more distant were represented by a few members, who accompanied some other friendly tribe.

Another tribe to be mentioned is the Dalebura, whose country was within a fifty-mile radius round Lammermoor Head Station at the Thomson River.

My correspondent spoke of this tribe as the "faithful Dalebura."[1]

The farthest range south of the four sub-class system of which I have taken the Wakelbura as the type, appears to be about Thargominda, 400 miles in a direct line from that tribe. The point is, however, the extreme limit also of the Buntamurra tribe, whose country extends from Thargominda to Kaiabara Creek in the north-west, the Paroo River in the east, and a considerable distance up the Bulloo River northwards.

It is, in fact, situated on the boundary of this class system, and in touch with the two-class system of the Darling River tribes.[2]

Similar statements have been made to me as to the tribes which occupied the country between the Belyando, the Burdekin, and the coast, thus connecting the inland tribes with those north and south of the Kuinmurbura.[3] The organisation of all these tribes on a geographical basis may be assumed, whether they are properly described as tribes or should be considered as their component parts.

The particulars given as to the tribes of this part of Australia are a good instance of the manner in which a large tract of country claimed by any one tribe is parcelled out among its lesser divisions. It is in such cases most difficult to decide whether one has to do with a single tribe,

[1] R. Christison. [2] J. H. Kirkham.
[3] G. F. Bridgeman.

with a group of sub-tribes, or a number of hordes where there is female descent, or clans where there is male descent. More especially is this difficulty apparent when the inquiries have to be made through a distant correspondent, however willing and careful he may be.

I may mention here that when investigating the social organisation of the Australian tribes some 30 years ago, I obtained information as to certain tribes as far north as the Mitchell River in Northern Queensland. This is far beyond the geographical limits fixed for this work, and as that part of Australia is included in the field now being so ably investigated by Dr. W. E. Roth, I omit further reference.

We may now turn to the coast tribes from the Great Australian Bight, along the south, south-east, and part of the east coast of Australia.

Coast Tribes

My starting-point is Eucla, where a coast tribe is located which calls itself Yerkla-mining.[1] The extent of country which they claimed was, from about 100 miles east to about 40 miles west of Eucla, along the coast, and as far inland as they dared to go. Owing to the barren nature of the country on the north, north-west, and north-east, they rarely went out in those directions farther than 25 or 30 miles, where lies the great Nullarbor Plain, the southern edge of which is about 25 miles from the coast. The Mining know little about this plain or what is beyond it, except that there are tribes of blacks living far to the north. They have a tradition that once long ago, during a wet season, some Mining went out in a north-westerly direction, but seeing footprints of men and marks of fire, and distant smokes, they fled back to the coast. Another reason these people give for not venturing far upon the Nullarbor Plains is that they say they are inhabited by a gigantic snake, which devours every living thing that is so unfortunate as to fall in its way. It does not even spare stones or trees, and its hideousness is beyond their description.

[1] W. Williams. *Yerkla* is "the morning star," *mining* is "man," or "men."

There is a dry creek about 120 miles from Fowler Bay, near Oldea, about which there is a tradition that it is the track

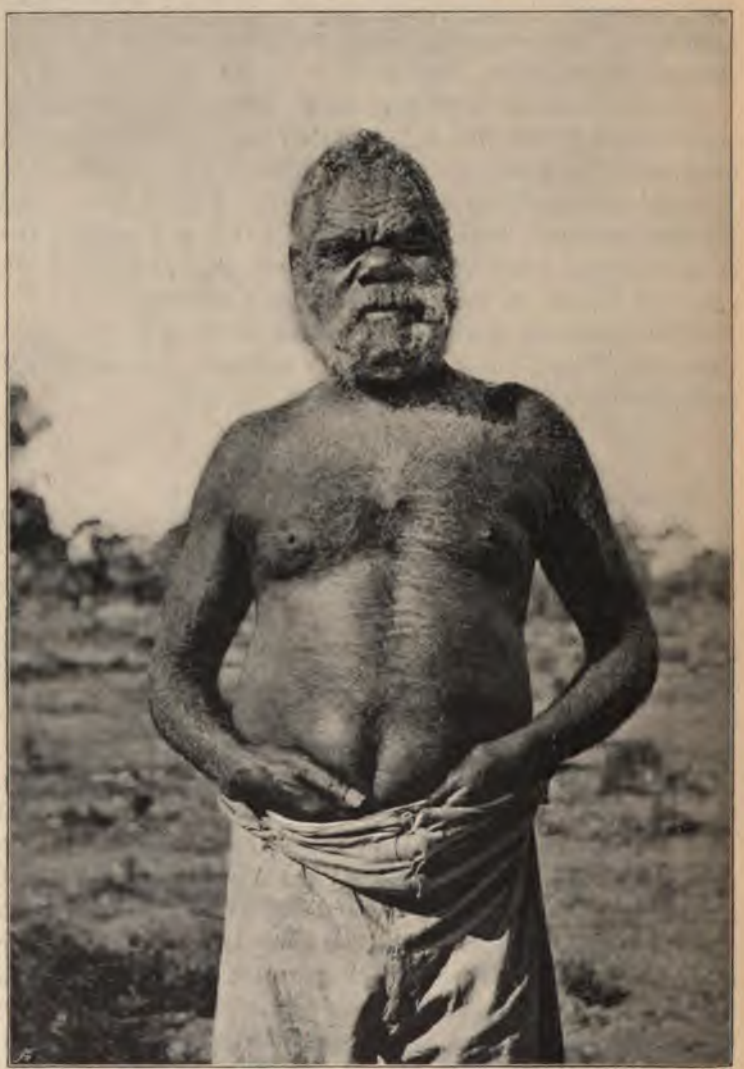


FIG. 4.—MAN OF THE NARRANG-GA TRIBE.

of a great serpent, which swallowed two men. The Kukata have a great dread of this creek and do not go near it.

Two lesser tribes on the coast to the west of the Yerklamining speak a dialect of their language. Beyond are aliens only known to them by names, meaning "long nose" and "snake men."

The western shores of Spencer Gulf was occupied by the Parnkalla tribe, having class names and a local organisation similar to that described for the Dieri. On the opposite side of the gulf is Yorke Peninsula, which was wholly occupied by the Narrang-ga.[1] The tribal country is divided into four parts—Kurnara, meaning "north," being the northern part of the peninsula south of Wallaroo, Kadina, and Clinton. Windera, meaning "east," being the eastern part of the peninsula, between Kurnara and Dilpa, which latter is the extreme southern end of the peninsula. Wari, meaning "west," being the western part of the peninsula between Kurnara and Dilpa.

The distribution of this tribe into localities, the sum of which makes up the whole of the tribal country, is a feature in the organisation of some of the coast tribes. This will be more fully studied in the second part of the chapter, but it may be mentioned here, that in such cases the local divisions and those of the class organisation coincide, usually accompanied by a change of descent from the female to the male line.

As there is male descent in this tribe, the local divisions are clans, and taking Kurnara as an example, its area coincides with the class division Kari ("emu"), all of whose members belong to it. This is a remarkable innovation

[1] I must mention that when I first investigated the organisation of this tribe in 1880, my correspondent, the Rev. Julius Kühn, gave me the tribal name as "Turra," in which form it appeared in the joint work of the Rev. Lorimer Fison and myself. Subsequently, Mr. Sutton, the manager of the aboriginal station in Yorke Peninsula, in making further investigation, gave it to me as Adjadura, with the meaning of "belonging to men." In 1899 Mr. F. J. Gillen resided for a time at Moonta, and had opportunities for making further inquiries. I learn from him that the tribal name is Narrang-ga. He gives the translation of Adjadura as "my people." This is no doubt correct, and it may be that Mr. Sutton's informants used the term in that sense in speaking of their fellow tribesmen, but on the other hand the term as given by Mr. Sutton seems to be analogous to the name of the tribe on the opposite side of the Gulf of St. Vincent, namely the Narrinyeri, which means "belonging to men." I shall in future gladly adopt the name supplied for this tribe by Mr. Gillen.

and an advance upon the Dieri *murdu*, the members of which are found distributed through all the local divisions (hordes).

The country of the Narrinyeri commences at Cape Jervis, on the opposite side of St. Vincent Gulf. An account of this tribe was given by the Rev. George Taplin,[1] in addition to which I have been able to obtain other explanatory facts through communications from him and also from the late Mr. T. W. Taplin. In order to bring this additional evidence into place I shall incorporate such particulars from the Rev. George Taplin's work as are necessary to show the local, and in the second part of this chapter, also the social organisation of the tribe. The Narrinyeri was essentially a coast tribe, and its country extended from Cape Jervis to Lacepede Bay, and inland up the Murray for about 30 miles above Lake Alexandrina. It was divided into eighteen local groups or clans, with male descent, each clan inhabiting a definite part of the tribal territory. As with the Narrang-ga the totems are localised in the divisions of the country held by the clans, showing that the local organisation existed in a more developed form than in the two-class tribes of which I have already spoken.

Somewhat west of Lacepede Bay the Narrinyeri were joined by tribes allied to the Buandik.[2] So far as I am aware, no particulars have been preserved of the local divisions of these tribes. In the absence of such information I am not able to say what were the local clans or hordes, but in the account given, it is said that the Buandik was one of the five following tribes, each occupying its own territory, and using different dialects of the same language.

The country of the Buandik was on the coast between the Glenelg River and Rivoli Bay. Between Rivoli Bay and Lacepede Bay was the Moatatunga tribe. From Lacepede Bay to the boundary of the Narrinyeri was the Taloinjunga

[1] *The Narrinyeri.* An account of the tribe of Australian aborigines inhabiting the country around the Lakes Alexandrina, Albert, and Coorong. Adelaide, 1847.

[2] *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines* by Mrs. James S. Smith. Adelaide Government Printer, 1880.

tribe. Inland from the Buandik was the Painchunga, and from the Moatatunga inland the Wiantunga. These are the five tribes referred to.

On the east side the Buandik adjoined the tribes of South-Western Victoria, of which I have very little information, and therefore gladly avail myself of the account given of them by the late Mr. Dawson,[1] to complete as far as possible the account of Victorian tribes, and especially those of the coast. The only tribe of South-Western Victoria of which I have a personal knowledge is a small one called the Gournditch-mara, whose headquarters were at Gournditch or Lake Condah, and they belonged to a nation calling themselves *Mara*, "men," which extended from the southern limits of the Muk-jarawaint to the sea, and from Mount Gambier to the Eumerella Creek, and included the Kuurn-kopan-noot and Peek-whuurong tribes described by Mr. Dawson. The Gournditch-mara [2] were, it seems, divided into four sections, *Kerup* ("water"), *Boom* ("mountain"), *Direk* ("swamp"), and *Gilger* ("river"), an arrangement not influencing marriage, and appearing to be merely one of the local designations. It may be compared with the Sea-coasters, Tree-climbers, and Mountaineers of the *Yuin* tribes. In the Gournditch-mara there was descent in the female line, that is, the child took the class-name and totem of his mother, but belonged to the local division of its father, and spoke his language.

The area occupied by the tribes described by Mr. Dawson may be roughly defined as lying between Portland, Colac, Ararat, and possibly Pitfield.

It seems that there were at least ten languages, or perhaps more correctly dialects, and it is reasonable to assume that there was the same number of tribes. The tribal territory was divided between its members, and each family had the exclusive right by inheritance to a part of

[1] *Australian Aborigines*, James Dawson. Robertson, Melbourne, 1881.

[2] Rev. J. H. Stähle. The Gournditch-mara recognised neighbouring tribes as friends because they were also "mara"; and on referring to Mr. Dawson's vocabulary I find that "maar" is given for "aboriginal man" in the Peek-whuurong dialect to the south and the Kuurn-kopan-noot to the east of the Gournditch-mara.

the tribal lands, which was named after its owner, and every child born on it was named after some object on it. When the boundaries met at lakes or swamps celebrated for game, well-defined portions of these were marked out, and any poaching or trespassing was severely punished. No individual of any neighbouring family or tribe could hunt or walk over the land of another without permission from the head of the family group which owned it, and a stranger found trespassing on it might legally be put to death.

We may assume that the tribes described by Mr. Dawson did not extend much to the east of Colac, where was the western boundary of one tribe of the Kulin nation. This nation occupied the country from Colac to Mount Baw Baw, and from Wangaratta and Murchison on the north to Port Phillip and Western Port on the south.

The following table shows all that I have been able to learn of the tribes which constituted the Kulin, and of their local organisation. It is a defective list, but will serve to give a general idea of the great extent of country covered by these tribes, who used, either wholly or alternatively with some other term, the word Kulin for man :—

Name of Tribe and Locality.	Language.
1. Wurunjerri-baluk [1] . . . . . Yarra River watershed.	Woëworung.
2. Gunung-willam-baluk . . . . . Western end of Mount Macedon, extending to Bullen-garook and Daylesford.	Woëworung.
3. Kurung-jang-baluk [2] . . . . . Werribee River.	Woëworung.
4. Ngaruk-willam [3] . . . . . South side Dandenong Mountains.	Woëworung.
5. Baluk-willam . . . . . About Cranbourne.	Woëworung.
6. Bunurong . . . . . Coast from Werribee River to Anderson's Inlet.	Bunurong.
7. Wudthaurung . . . . . Geelong to Mount Emu and Werribee River.	Wudthaurung.

[1] *Wurun* is "the white gum-tree" (river Gum), *Eucalyptus viminalis*. *Jerri* is a grub found in that tree.

[2] *Kurung-jang* is "red ground."

[3] *Ngaruk* is "stones" or "rocks," "stony" or "rocky."

Name of Tribe and Locality.	Language.
8. Nira-baluk[1] . . . . . Kilmore.	Thagunworung.
9. Jajaurung . . . . . From Daylesford to Boort and Castlemaine to Lake Buloke.	Jajaurung.
10. Buthera-baluk . . . . . Goulburn River, Seymour.	Thagunworung.
11. Nguralung-bula . . . . . Goulburn River, Murchison.	?
12. Yauung-illam-baluk . . . . . Alexandra Upper Yea River.	Thagunworung.
3. Waring-illam-baluk . . . . . Junction of Yea River and Goulburn.	Thagunworung.
14. Yirun-illam-baluk . . . . . Broken River above and below Benalla.	Thagunworung.
15. Balung-karak-mittung . . . . . Ovens River, Wangaratta.	?
16. Mogullum-bitch . . . . . Buffalo River.	?

The Wurunjerri-baluk (also called the Woëworung from their language) gave the following as the boundaries of their country.

From the junction of the Saltwater and the Yarra Rivers, along the course of the former to Mount Macedon,[2] thence to Mount Baw-Baw, along the Dividing Range, round the sources of the Plenty and Yarra to the Dandenong Mountains, thence by Gardiner's Creek and the Yarra to the starting-point.

It may be mentioned that a strip of country from the mouth of the Werribee River, and including what is now Williamstown and the southern suburbs of Melbourne, belonged to the Bunurong, a coast tribe, which occupied the coast line from there round Hobson's Bay to Mordialloc, the whole of the Mornington Peninsula, and the coast from Westernport Bay to Anderson's Inlet.

At the time when Melbourne was established, the Wurunjerri were divided into the following clans:—

1. The true Wurunjerri, under the headman, *Jakka-jakka*,[3]

[1] *Nira* is a "cave or a hole in the bank of a creek."

[2] The native name of this mountain is *Juraweit*.

[3] *Jakka-jakka* was one of those who signed the celebrated Batman deed by "his mark." To my ear, the name should be pronounced as written above.

occupied the Yarra flats and the upper part of that rive its source, including the northern slopes of the Danden Mountains, thence by Gardiner's Creek to the Yarra Ri and by it to the Darebin Creek.

(2) The Kurnaje-berreing, in two subdivisions: (*a*) un the headman *Billi-billeri*, lived at and had the custody the aboriginal stone quarry near Lancefield, occupied site of Melbourne and the country up the eastern side the Saltwater River and its western branch to Mo Macedon, also the western half of the country lying betw the Saltwater and Plenty Rivers; (*b*) under the headm *Bebe-jan*, the country on the Darebin Creek, and on the Y River thence to about Warrandyte, and also the waters of the Plenty River and Diamond Creek.

(3) The Boi-berrit, under their headman *Bunger*[1] lived on the western side of the Saltwater River, t their headquarters about Sunbury, and the western end Mount Macedon.

These clans were again divided into lesser groups people, and each had its own definite tract of country food ground.

Tribes belonging to the Kulin nation lived on all rivers rising in the Victorian Alps from the Yarra ro northwards to the Ovens River. The Wurunjerri was of them, and it may be well to say here something of country they inhabited, or at least visited, during summer months. The Great Dividing Range, which to west of Melbourne sinks to a comparatively low ridge, only isolated mountains, rises on the north-east to a g chain, which reaches its highest altitudes on either side the border between the States of Victoria and New So Wales. The great spurs of these mountains enclose val through which rivers flow northwards to the Murray, southwards to Bass Strait. Tribes such as the Wurun claimed the rivers flowing through their country, to t sources, where their summer hunting grounds were situa

[1] *Bungerim* also attached a mark to the Batman deed and appea *Bungarie*.

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THE KURNAI OF GIPPSLAND

The Bunurong tribe, whose eastern bounds were at Anderson's Inlet, were there met by the Kurnai, also a coast tribe, which occupied almost the whole of what is now Gippsland. This great area, 200 miles in length by about 70 in width, lies between the sea-coast and the Dividing Range. It was divided into five portions, each of which was inhabited by a clan of the Kurnai. These five clans spoke three dialects, more or less unintelligible to each other. The dialects spoken were Nulit by the Brayakaulung, the Brataualung, and the Tatungalung, the Muk-thang or "excellent" speech by the Brabralung, and Thangquai or "broad" speech by the Krauatungalung.[1]

The clans were divided into lesser groups, each of which had a special name, derived in some cases from their principal locality, while in other cases it was the local group which gave the name to the locality. For instance, a large section of the Brataua clan lived on the upper waters of the Avon River, and were called Kutbuntaura or fire-carriers. This name was also that of their country, with the postfix *wurk*, meaning "land" or "country."

Such large sections were again divided and subdivided, each subdivision having its own tract of hunting and food ground, until the unit was a small group of kindred, frequently an old man, his sons, married or unmarried, with their respective wives and children. Such an instance was that of the *Bunjil-baul*,[2] or men of the island, who lived on Raymond Island in Lake King, and who not only claimed that island, but also all the swans' eggs laid upon it, as their own exclusive property. Although it was separated from the mainland, which was the country of the Brabralung, by merely a narrow channel, and from that of the Tatunga-

[1] *Bra* is "male" or "man," *yak* is "west," and *lung* "of" or "belonging to." *Tatung* is the sea, sometimes spoken of as *gatching; gal* is a possessive suffix. *Muk* is "good," *thang* is "speech," *Krauat* is "east."

[2] *Bunjil* is a designation applied to men of mature age, and always with a word which expresses some characteristic. For instance, one old man was called *Bunjil-barlajan*, being Bunjil-platypus, he being a great hunter of that creature. *Baul* is "island."

lung by several miles of lake, the *Bunjil-baul* claimed to be "partly Tatungalung, and partly Brabralung, but mostly Tatungalung."

Each male received the name of *Bunjil-baul* at his initiation. The oldest male of the family had authority over the others, but they were all collectively *Bunjil-baul*.

FIG. 5.—ONE OF THE KRAUATUNGALUNG CLAN OF THE KURNAI TRIBE.

Any stranger who took swans' eggs on this island without the permission of one of the *Bunjil-baul* had to fight them, but there was no prohibition against friendly tribesmen who might visit the island taking any other kind of food or game.

Taking such a family as the tribal unit of the Kurnai, it was the aggregation of such families which formed what may be called a division, inhabiting a larger area, and the aggregate of the divisions formed the clan.

Collins, in his account of the establishment of the colony of New South Wales, says that a certain native named Ben-nil-long claimed the island of Me-mel (now known as Goat Island), close by Sydney Cove, as his own property, and that

FIG. 6.—ONE OF THE KRAUATUNGALUNG CLAN OF THE KURNAI TRIBE.

it had been his father's. He likewise spoke of other persons who possessed this kind of hereditary property.

The Kurnai extended to Cape Everard, where the Ben-kurnai, that is the people who lived at the Ben River (Sydenham Inlet), were the most easterly of the tribe and

the neighbours of the most southern of the Coast Murring tribes.

The following table, together with map, p. 80, will show, more distinctly than a mere verbal description, the local organisation of the Kurnai.

KURNAI TRIBE

Clans.	Divisions.
Krauatungalung, from *Krauat*, "east," and *galung*, a possessive postfix, "of" or "belonging to." Claimed the sea coast from near the entrance to the Gippsland Lakes to Cape Everard; Lake Tyers and its tributaries as far as Mount Naua-Naua. All the streams flowing into Ewing's Marsh. The Snowy River up as far as Willis. East of the Snowy River they only had a narrow strip along the coast, the inland country being held by the Biduelli tribe.	(*a*) Ben, Sydenham Inlet. (*b*) Dura, Orbost about twelve miles up the Snowy River from the sea. (*c*) Wurnung-gatti, Lake Tyers. (*d*) Brt-brita, Jimmy's Point, now called Kalimna.
Brabralung, from *Bra*, "man"; the reduplication may be taken as "manly." Claimed all the country watered by the Tambo, Nicholson, and Mitchell Rivers and their tributaries to their extreme sources, and west of the Mitchell River to Providence Ponds, with a corresponding frontage to the Gippsland Lakes.	(*e*) Bruthen, on the Tambo River. (*f*) Waiung. This word as Wy-Yung gives a name to a parish near Bairnsdale. (*g*) Wuk-wuk, Lindenow. Also pronounced Wurk-wurk, or "ground," "earth." (*h*) Dairgo, the Dargo River. (*i*) Munji, North Shore of Lake Victoria, colloquially "there."
Brayakaulung, from *Bra* and *yak*, "west." They claimed all the country west of Providence Ponds watered by the Avon, Macalister, Thompson, and La Trobe Rivers, down to the junction of the two latter, thence following the east side of the La Trobe to Lake Wellington. Thence eastward by the Lakes to near Roseneath; thence northwards to Providence Ponds.	(*k*) Kutbuntaura, Bushy Park. *Kut-bun*, to "carry" or "have," *taura*, "fire"; also the name of a hill near Bushy Park. (*l*) Bunjil Nullung, the country between the Avon and Providence Ponds; also name of a man. *Nullung* is "mud." (*m*) Bunjil Daan, the country between the Avon, Macalister, and Thompson Rivers. The name of a man. *Daan* is "snow." (*n*) Bunjil Kraura, all the country of the clan, west of (*m*). The name of a man.

KURNAI TRIBE—*continued*

Clans.	Divisions.
Bratauralung. Claimed all the country from the La Trobe River to Cape Liptrap, and from the southern watershed to the sea.	(*o*) Kut-wut, the Agnes River. (*p*) Yauung, Warrigal Creek. (*q*) Drelin, Merriman's Creek.
Tatungalung. *Tat* is the sea, also the south. Claimed all the country west of the Krauatun, and east of the Brataua, lying between the Gippsland Lakes and the sea, together with all the islands in the Lakes, excepting Flanagan Island, which belonged to the Brt-brita division of the Krauatungalung clan.	(*r*) Yunthur, adjoining and east of Merriman's Creek. (*s*) Ngarawut, the south side of Lake Victoria. (*t*) Binnajerra, part of *Baul-baul*, that is, the sandy country, lying between the Lakes and the sea.

TABLELAND TRIBES

Beyond the sources of the Yarra and the Goulburn the Dividing Range widens out into great alpine plateaux, with tracts of grassy downs and mountain summits, clothed in summer time with alpine flowers. Such tablelands extend through Victoria from near Woodspoint, at the sources of the Goulburn and Macalister Rivers, to New South Wales, where their highest elevation is reached in Mount Kosciusko. The highest plateaux are in winter covered deeply with snow, but the lower ones, such as that of Omeo, are habitable all the year round. On such elevated plateaux were located certain tribes, such as the Ya-itma-thang,[1] the Wolgal, and the Ngarigo.

The Ya-itma-thang, commonly called the Omeo tribe, was divided into two sections—(*a*) the Theddora-mittung, occupying the sources of the Mitta-Mitta River and its tributaries down to about the Gibbo Mountain, the Upper Kiewa River and the Ovens River to the Buffalo Mountain, thus being the neighbours of the Mogullum-bitch, the furthest out of the Kulin tribes. (*b*) The Kandangora-mittung, who lived on the Omeo plains, the Limestone

[1] The name may come from *Ya-yau*, "yes," and *thang*, "speech" or "tongue."

River down to its junction with the Indi River, and the Tambo River to Tongiomungie. On the latter river they were in contact with the Kurnai. It is worth noting that the old road from Omeo to Bruthen follows the trail by which the Gippsland and Omeo blacks made hostile incursions into each other's countries.

The first mentioned, the now extinct Ya-itma-thang, occupied the mountain country in which rise the rivers Mitta-Mitta and Tambo, and some of the sources of the Ovens, and extended north at least as far as the Upper Yackandanda River, called by them Yakonda.[1] I have been able to learn but little of the local organisation of the Theddora. Their country was discovered and occupied about the year 1838. In 1852 gold was discovered at Livingstone Creek, one of the confluents of the Mitta-Mitta, and a great rush of miners set into the Omeo diggings. In 1862 there only remained four or five of this once numerous tribe.

The eastern boundary of the Ya-itma-thang was about the Cobbora Mountains, and thence down the Indi River to Tom Groggin's Run, their neighbours on that side being the Wolgal and Ngarigo tribes.

The Wolgal lived on the tablelands of the highest of the Australian Alps, and in the country falling from them to the north. The boundaries of their country commenced at Kauwambat[2] near to the Pilot Mountain, following the Indi River to Walleregang, thence to the starting-point, Kauwambat, by Tumberumba, Tumut, Queenbean, Cooma, and the Great Dividing Range.

The Ngarigo had the Wolgal on the north, the Ya-itma-thang on the north-west, the Kurnai on the west and south-west, and the Yuin or Coast Murring to the south-east. The Ngarigo in fact occupied the Manero tableland. The name of this tribe was that of its language, and the tribespeople called themselves "Murring," that is "men,"

[1] An intelligent Theddora woman told me that her tribe extended as far as the upper waters of the Yakonda (Yackandanda), from which place she went as a wife of one of the Omeo Theddora. The term *mittung* appears to be the equivalent of the *baluk* of the Kulin.

[2] *Kauwambat* means "woman" in the Wolgal speech.

indicating that it belonged to another nation who used that term in common.

The Biduelli Tribe[1]

In that part of Eastern Victoria called Croajingolong there was a small tribe called the Biduelli, who occupied the forest and jungle covered country between the high coast

FIG. 7.—A KURNAI WOMAN.

ranges and the immediate coast along which the Kurnai lived. This tribe may be considered an appendix to the Ngarigo, Murring, and Kurnai, being a mixture from them all.

They had the two sex totems of the Kurnai, some of the Murring totem names, and also the two class names of the Ngarigo. These people were enclosed in one of the most inhospitable tracts of country which I know of in south-eastern Australia, lying behind a narrow strip of

[1] This name is derived from *brida*, "scrub," and *uelli*, "dweller."

coast country which the Krauatun Kurnai held between the Snowy River and Cape Everard. The Ngarigo lived beyond the coast range to the north of them, and the Coast Murring along the littoral tract north of Cape Howe. I have traversed the mountains, swamps, and scrubs of this piece of country three times, before it was occupied by white settlers, and as compared with the adjacent parts, there was but little animal life. The Biduelli were few in number, inhabiting small open spaces in the dense jungle, and called themselves "men" (*maap*).

After lengthened inquiries from their survivors, and from their neighbours the Kurnai, the Ngarigo, and Murring, I have ascertained the following facts:—

They spoke a mixture of the adjacent languages, they intermarried with adjacent tribes, and it seems that their country formed a refuge for what one may term "broken men."

This *prima facie* case of a mixed descent is strengthened by the case of a Biduelli man, who claimed as his country the upper valley of the Brodribb River.[1] He told me that his "father's father" was a Kurnai of Bukkan-munji,[2] who left his country and settled in the small open tract, known as Goungra Valley, west of Mount Ellery.[3] His son obtained a wife from the Theddora of Omeo, and the son of this marriage, my informant, married a Ngarigo woman. This pedigree accounts for *Yiirung* and *Yukembruk*, as sex totem and class name.

Such a case as that of my informant's grandfather corresponds with the account given to me by the Kurnai of a man who broke the marriage law of his tribe, by taking for a wife a woman who stood in the relation of tribal daughter to him, escaped with her from the vengeance of

[1] It was only in the year 1870-71 that this man "came in," that is, abandoned his wild life and went to live among the stations of the Manero tableland. He was the last remaining "wild black" in Gippsland.

[2] This place is now written Buchan, and is supposed to be a Scotch name given by some early settler from North Britain. It should properly be spelled as I have written it, being the native name for the bag in which the Kurnai carries various articles. Bukkan-munji means "bag there" or "the place of the bag."

[3] The Krauatun name for this mountain is Bur-umpa.

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the offended kindred, and only reappeared when the whites had settled the country, and he could thus find protection from tribal punishment.

I can feel no doubt that the Biduelli country was an Australian "cave of Adullam"; that the tribe was built up by refugees from tribal justice, or individual vengeance, and that they organised themselves, as far as they could do so, on the old-accustomed lines. It is a good example of what Dr. Hearn has called the formation of a non-genealogical tribe.[1]

While the Kurnai considered the Kulin on their western border, and the Theddora and Ngarigo on the north and north-east as enemies, they recognised in the Biduelli a sort of distant kinship, and spoke of them as Biduelli, not by the opprobrious names which they usually applied to other outsiders.

The Kurnai tribe carries us to the border of New South Wales, and the Wolgal, who extended down the Upper Murray to near Albury, leaves only a comparatively small part of Victoria, as to which I have not obtained information about the native tribes which inhabited it.

This is the country lying on the south bank of the Murray, and extending some distance up the Mitta-Mitta, Kiewa, Yackandanda, and Ovens Rivers. I feel pretty safe in saying that such a tract of country would be occupied by tribes in the same way as the Bangerang occupied similar country at the junction of the Campaspe, Goulburn, and Broken Rivers with the Murray.

The Coast Tribes of New South Wales

Reverting to the coast tribes, I now turn to the Murring, or more especially the Yuin tribes. These claimed the country from Cape Howe to the Shoalhaven River, in New South Wales. They formed two large sub-tribes or sub-divisions, called respectively Guyangal and Kurial, from the words *guya*, "south," and *kuru*, "north," *gal* being the possessive postfix. The inland extent of their country

[1] *The Aryan Household*, p. 297.

included the fall from the coast range to the sea, and their local organisation is as follows :—

Sub-tribes.	Clans.
Guyangal-Yuin (South-Yuin)	(1) Thauaira,[1] east of Malagoota Inlet. (2) Tadera-manji,[2] in the Bega district. (3) Bugelli-manji, in the Moruya district.
Kurial-Yuin (North-Yuin)	(4) Name not ascertained, in the Braidwood district. (5) Name not ascertained, in the Ulladulla district. (6) Gurungatta-manji, in the Lower Shoalhaven River district.

Not only are the Coast Murring divided into the "southerners" and "northerners," but they are also divided into those who live on the coast and those who live inland. The former are the Katungal, from *Katung*, "the sea," called by the whites "fishermen." Those who live inland from the sea are called Paiendra, from *Paien*, "a tomahawk," and are called by the whites "Waddymen," from the word "Waddy," an aboriginal term for a tree, and referring to their climbing trees in search of game for food. Those who live on the high mountains still further back are called the Bemeringal or mountaineers, from *Bemering*, "a mountain." Perhaps strictly the Bemering include the people living on the Manero tableland, and even those on the high country as far as Kiandra, but not those on the fall thence to the north.

The Katungal commence at Moruya, and extend far up the coast including distant tribes. Yuin is also a general name for all the tribes from Merimbula to Port Jackson, and "maan" for those from Merimbula to Cape Howe. Beyond the most distant Bemeringal known to the Yuin, namely at Kiandra, there were tribes they called Woradjera and also Kunamildan, or "come by night," who had at times crossed the mountains and killed the Murring. The former are clearly the Wiradjuri, some of whom lived on the lower Tumut River.

Claims to particular tracts of country arose in certain of

[1] This clan takes its name from the language spoken by it.

[2] *Manji* means "there, at some place," and is therefore the same as the Kurnai word *munju*, "there at that place."

these tribes by birth. When a child was born among the Yuin, its father pointed out some hills, lakes, or rivers to the men and women there present as being the bounds of his child's country, being that where his father lived, or where he himself was born and had lived. It was just the same with a girl, who had her mother's country, and also that in which she was born. Besides this the father took the country where his child was born, if away from his own locality, and the mother took that where her daughter was born under similar circumstances.

A leading man of the Snowy River Krauatungalung, who acted as my messenger to the Yuin, concerning the holding of a Kuringal, was born in their country, and therefore claimed it as his; his mother was a Ngarigo woman, and therefore he claimed her country. He was the accredited messenger between the Krautun Kurnai and the Ngarigo and Yuin.

The son of one of the headmen of the Theddora was born in the Ngarigo country, to which his mother belonged. It was therefore his country, and, as he put it, it would be just the same "for any one who was born there." One of the old men of the Wolgal said that "the place where a man is born is his country, and he always has a right to hunt over it, and all others born there had also the right to do so."

Of the coast tribes between the Shoalhaven River and Newcastle I know but little. All that I could learn from the Coast Murring was that the tribes, so far as they knew, were Katungal, and had Bunan ceremonies like theirs.

Collins, in his description of the natives of Botany Bay and Port Jackson, says that "each family has a particular place of residence from which is derived its distinguishing name. This is formed by adding the monosyllable 'gal' to the name of the place; thus the southern shore of Botany Bay is called Gwea, and the people who inhabit it style themselves Gwea-gal. Those who live on the north shore of Port Jackson are called Cam-mer-ray-gal, that part of the harbour being distinguished from the others by the name of Cam-mer-ray. Of this last family, or tribe, the settlers had heard Ben-nil-long and other natives speak (before they were

otherwise known) as a very powerful people, who could oblige them to attend wherever and whenever they desired."

He also says that the natives on the sea coast had little other support than fish, and men, women, and children were employed in procuring them, the men killing them with a fizgig, while the females used the hook and line. He says elsewhere that the wood natives had to climb trees after honey, or small animals such as the flying squirrel and opossum, and they also had a laborious method of snaring animals.[1] In this he evidently refers to those local divisions of the tribes called by the Yuin Katungal and Paiendra.

Of the tribes, however, which inhabited the watersheds of the Hunter and Manning Rivers, and the coast between Port Hunter and the Broadwater River, I have been able to gather some particulars which may be supplemented by extracts from a but little known account of Port Stephens, written by Robert Dawson in the year 1830.[2]

The tribe on the coast at Lake Macquarie was the Awabakal, whose language is recorded in the interesting treatises of the Rev. L. E. Threlkeld.[3] Inland from the Awabakal was the Geawe-gal tribe,[4] whose country was part of the valley of the Hunter River, extending to each lateral watershed, and from 20 to 30 miles along the valley on each side of Glendon. These aborigines spoke the language of, and intermarried with, those of Maitland, less frequently with those of the Paterson River, and rarely with those of Mussel Brook. They were always in dread of war with the Kamilaroi, who followed down the heads of the Hunter across from the Talbragar to the Nunmurra waters, and even occasionally made raids as far as Jerry's Plains. A section of the Kamilaroi occupied the upper waters flowing into the Hunter River, and those which form the heads of the Goulburn River, for instance the Munmurra Creek. The Dividing Range, between the Munmurra and the Talbragar,

[1] *English Colony of New South Wales*, p. 353. London, 1804.
[2] *The Present State of Australia.* London, 1830.
[3] *An Australian Language as Spoken by the Awabakal*, by L. E. Threlkeld. Re-arranged, condensed, and edited by John Fraser, B.A. Sydney, 1892.
[4] *The Geawe-gal Tribe*, G. W. Rusden. Appendix G, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Fison and Howitt. Melbourne, 1880.

sinks down so that a traveller would not think that he was crossing the boundary between any waters, much less those which divide the Darling waters from the Hunter River. This probably facilitated the spread of the powerful Kamilaroi.

To the north-east and adjoining the Geawe-gal were two tribes, or perhaps two sections of a large tribe, one on the Paterson River and the other, to which my correspondent refers, being on the Williams and its tributary, the Chichester.[1] After careful inquiries I have not succeeded in learning the name of this tribe with certainty. So far, however, as I am able to form an opinion, the name Gringai may be used, since it is given for those blacks who lived in that part of the country lying about Dungog.[2] They were distributed over the country in local groups called by them "Nurra."

Their territory extended up the valley of the Williams and its tributaries to their sources, and southwards for about 8 miles below Dungog. There were Nurras all over this district, at convenient distances apart, each of which consisted of six to nine huts, or families. In 1840 the blacks in this tract of country numbered about 250 all told. They intermarried with the people of the Paterson River on the one side, and those of the Gloucester on the other.

From Port Stephens to the Queensland border there is a stretch of coast of over 300 miles in length. It is a comparatively narrow strip of well-watered and generally fertile country between the sea and the Great Dividing Range. Formerly it was inhabited by numerous tribes which have now almost become extinct.

Very little has been recorded as to their tribal organisation, beliefs and customs, but what there is suggests to me that they probably differed from the inland Kamilaroi tribes much as other coast tribes further south differed from those inland, but not so much perhaps in their local, as in their social, organisation.

Amongst these were the Kombaingheri,[3] whose four sub-

[1] Dr. E. M. M'Kinley. [2] J. W. Boydell. [3] E. Palmer.

classes and the rules of their intermarriage are record the following chapters.

Coast Tribes of Southern Queensland

On the coast immediately to the north of the bou between New South Wales and Queensland there is a called Chepara whose territory is said to have exte from Danger Point to near Brisbane.

It is to be noted that the country claimed by this overlaps that of the Turrbal tribe, whose boundaries are to have been the Pine River on the north, and the L River to the south, extending about 20 miles inl and including the present site of Brisbane and its subu These people were divided into local groups which together at set times—for instance, the "mullet season."

The Chepara tribe was divided into at least the foll ing clans with male descent, and each of the clans subdivided into local groups.

(1) Chepara. This was the principal clan, and gave name to the whole tribe. Its country was to the south Brisbane, somewhat inland, but also along the coast.

(2) Mungulkabultu, in the Pimpana district.

(3) Munnadali, about the sources of the Albert River.

(4) Kuttibul, about the sources of the Logan River.

(5) Yungurpan, in the Coomera and Merang districts.

(6) Birrin, at the Tweed River.

(7) Burginmeri, in the Cleveland district.

(8) Chermanpura, the district along the coast.

There were some minor offshoots, which are not rem bered by the blacks who were my informant's authorities.

The names of the clans were derived from lo associations, as, for instance, Chepara means the co Mungulkabultu the neighbourhood of the mountains; other names are from trees, shrubs, etc.

The Chepara was, so tradition says, originally the wh tribe, but in consequence of internal feuds it became brol up into the clans mentioned. This however seems, notwi standing the positive assertions of the Chepara informa

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to require some corroboration, which cannot now be given. The oldest of the native informants, a man of about fifty years of age in the year 1880, spoke with certainty of this tradition, and said that after a time the clans became again friendly, and had during the whole of his lifetime considered the Chepara the principal clan.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

As a general rule all Australian tribes are divided into two intermarrying moieties —Use of the terms "class," "clan," and "horde"—Tribes with two classes and female descent—Class names and rules of the Lake Eyre tribes—Tribes on the Darling River in Western New South Wales—The Wiimbaio, Ngarigo, and Wolgal—Tribes with four sub-classes and male descent—Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri, Wonghibon, Unghi, Wollaroi, Emon, Ungorri, Kuinmurbura, Wakelbura, and Buntamura tribes—Tribes with four sub-classes and male descent—The Kaiabara, Muruburra, Annan River tribes—Tribes with eight sub-classes and female descent—The Arunta and Urabunna—Tribes with anomalous class systems and female descent—The Wotjobaluk, Buandik, and Gournditch-mara—Tribes with two-class system and male descent—The Wurunjerri and other Kulin tribes—Tribes with anomalous class systems and male descent—The Yerkla-mining, the Narrang-ga, the Narrinyeri, the Yuin—Tribes with no class system—The Kurnai of Gippsland—The Chepara of Queensland—The equivalence of class names—The two classes were evidently made by the segmentation of original, undivided commune—Totemism—Inherited and acquired totems—Sex totems—Totemism combined with exogamy at root of the social organisation—Views of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, Dr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. Andrew Lang, and Dr. Hadden—There is not sufficient data available to allow of a safe hypothesis as to the origin of totemistic names.

IT may be laid down as a general rule that all Australian tribes are divided into two moieties, which intermarry, but each of which is forbidden to marry within itself.

For these two moieties the term "classes" used by Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself, and since adopted by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and other writers on Australian anthropology, may now be regarded as the recognised term. The expression "tribe" has been used by some writers in this sense, but the "tribe" includes two organisations, the "local," already described, and the "social," to be dealt with now. The terms "clan" and "phratry" are both objectionable, because a definite meaning has become attached to

them, which I do not desire to apply to the analogous organisations found in Australia; but have used the term "clan" to mean the principal geographical and territorial division of a tribe, in which descent is in the male line. Then some term seemed necessary to denote the divisions of a tribe in which descent is counted in the female line, and for this, as before stated, I use "horde," without including in my meaning any reference to the use made of it by other writers on anthropological theories.

The division of the people of the tribe into two classes is the foundation from which the whole social organisation of the native tribes of Australia has been developed.

In two tribes very far apart from each other, not only in geographical position but in customs, there are analogous legends purporting to explain how this division of the tribe came about. One is a Dieri legend from Central Australia; and the other from the Wurunjerri in Southern Victoria. I have considered them fully in Chapter VIII., and need only mention here that they agree in the essential point that the division of the tribe was made with intent to regulate the relations of the sexes.

These legends have no historical authority, but are good evidence of the belief of these aborigines that this universal basis of their social system was brought about by intention, and according to one of the legends had a supernatural sanction.

From what I know of the Australian savage I can see very clearly how such a social change might be brought about. They universally believe that their deceased ancestors and kindred visit them during sleep, and counsel or warn them against dangers, or communicate to them song-charms against magic. I have known many such cases, and I also know that the medicine-men see visions that are to them realities. Such a man if of great repute in his tribe might readily bring about a social change, by announcing to his fellow medicine-men a command received from some supernatural being such as Kutchi of the Dieri, Bunjil of the Wurunjerri, or Daramulun of the Coast Murring. If they received it favourably, the next step might be to announce it to the assembled headmen at one of the ceremonial gatherings

as a supernatural command, and this would be accepted a true without question by the tribes-people.

That such an identical legendary explanation of th origin of the classes and totems existed in two tribes so f distant from each other may be accepted as indicating widespread belief in the supernatural origin of a practic which is universal throughout Australia.

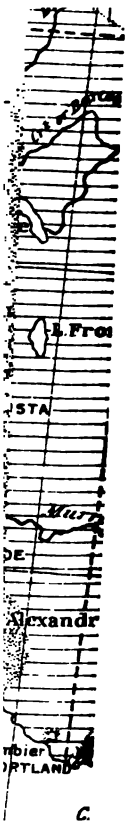
To bring into view the class divisions with their sub divisions and totems, and to consider their bearing upo aboriginal society and the process of social development which they bear witness, it will be necessary to tabulate number of cases, taken from such localities as will enabl the reader to obtain a fairly representative picture of the whol structure ; and in doing so I shall, as before, commence wit the Lake Eyre tribes, taking the Dieri as their type.

The progressive alteration of the two-class organisatio has been in two divergent directions. In one the classe have been again segmented, producing four sub-classes i certain parts of Australia, and eight in other parts by stil further segmentation.

The alteration in the other direction has been caused either by the production of an anomalous system of clas and totem, or by the extinction of the class system altogethe in which case the local organisation usually regulates marriage The nature and sequence of these changes will be shown i this chapter, and in the following one the manner in which the rules of marriage and descent have been affected.

Tribes with Two Classes and Female Descent

The Dieri tribal community is divided into two exogam ous intermarrying moieties, called by them *murdu*. In Chapter VIII., which deals with the Dieri beliefs, an account is given of the origin of the *murdus*. Originally animals they became human beings, and their descendants are the Dieri and other Lake Eyre tribes. The subjoined tables give the class names and totems of some of these tribes and als show how the same totems are found in all, either by th same or some equivalent name. It must be noted that th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Dieri, Tirari, Wonkanguru,[1] Ngameni, Wonkamala, and Yaurorka call the class and totem *Murdu;* but with the Yantruwunta it is *Kamiri* both for class and totem, and the class names *Tiniwa* and *Kulpuru* answer to *Matteri* and *Kararu.*

As my inquiries were carried on in the Dieri country mainly by Mr. Siebert, the list of the Dieri *murdus* is the most complete, but even with the Dieri the totems are more numerous than those recorded, and the same remark applies to many if not all of the lists of totems given in this chapter. The lists are drawn up in the same numerical order, showing the occurrence or absence of any particular totem in the tribes.

DIERI MURDUS

	KARARU.		MATTERI.	
1.	Talara	rain	Muluru[2]	a caterpillar
2.	Woma	carpet-snake	Malura	cormorant
3.	Kaualka	crow	Warogati	emu
4.	Puralko	native companion	Karawora	eagle-hawk
5.	Karku	red ochre	Markara	a fish
6.	Tidnama	a small frog	Kuntyiri	*Acacia* sp.
7.	Kananguru	seed of *Claytonia* sp.	Kintala	dingo
8.	Maiaru	a rat	Yikaura	native cat
9.			Kirhapara	
10.	Tapaiuru	a bat	Kokula	small marsupial
11.	Dokubirabira	the pan-beetle[3]	Kanunga	kangaroo-rat
12.	Milketyelparu			
13.	Kaladiri	a frog		
14.	Piramoku (Kapita)	the rabbit-bandicoot		
15.				
16.				
17.				
18.				
19.				
20.				
21.	Punta	shrew-mouse		
22.				
23.				
24.				
25.				
26.	Karabana	a small mouse		

[1] *Wonk* means "language."

[2] The Witchetty grub of Spencer and Gillen.

[3] *Heleus perforatus.*

WONKANGURU MURDUS

	KARARU.		MATTERI.	
1.	Kuraura	rain	Wonamara	a caterpillar
2.	Wadnangani	carpet-snake	Tantani	cormorant
3.	Wokula	crow	Warogati	emu
4.			Karawora	eagle-hawk
5.	Harkaba	red ochre		
6.	Tidnamara	small frog		
7.	Kanangara	seed of *Claytonia* sp.	Madla	dingo
8.	Maiaru	a rat		
9.	Tapairu	a bat	Kokula	a small marsupial
11.				
12.			Pitcheri	*Duboisia Hopwoodii*
14.	Talka	the rabbit-bandicoot		

YANTRUWUNTA KAMIRI

	KULPURU.		TINIWA.	
1.	Ngantyara	rain	Padingura-padi	a caterpillar
2.	Manga	carpet-snake		
5.			Ngampuru	a caterpillar
7.			Tirta or Dirangatha	dingo
8.	Kunamari	a rat		
9.	Kanunga		Widla	
10.			Padipadi	a pouch-mouse
11.	Dokubirabira	the pan-beetle		
12.			Pitcheri	*Duboisia Hopwoodii*
13.	Kutyarku	a frog		
14.	Naramoku	the rabbit-bandicoot	Mungalli	a lizard
15.			Kani	iguana-lizard
16.			Willangu	curlew
17.			Pinyangu	shell-parakeet
18.			Malparu	a crane, black with white on wings
21.	Punta	shrew-mouse		
22.	Kuruma			
24.			Kuyaku	bream
25.			Dirangatha	dingo

On the south side of Lake Eyre there is a tribe, or perhaps more properly a horde of the Urabunna calling themselves Yendakarangu, and their *murdus* are as follows, as far as I have been able to ascertain; but it is evident that these are only a part of the totems that the Yendakarangu must have possessed in common with the other tribes of Lake Eyre:—

YENDAKARANGU MURDUS

Kararu.		Matteri.	
3. Wakalo	crow		
2.		Tantani	cormorant
4.		Kuraru	eagle-hawk
5. Arkaba	red ochre		
7.		Mudla	dog

It is to be noted that the totems which were obtained for me some years ago in the Yendakarangu district[1] differ in some respects from those given by Spencer and Gillen,[2] in the first place the class names in my list are those of the Dieri, while in the latter they are Kirarawa and Matthurie. As regards Matthurie, the difference may be due merely to the different pronunciation by the native informant, or the inability of my correspondent to seize the exact pronunciation, but I do not think this will apply to the other class name, because the difference seems too marked to have been overlooked. It seems possible that the Yendakarangu, who are near neighbours of the southern Dieri and of the Tirari, may, in fact, have the same form of class names as both, and also have those *murdus* which are not given in the list by Spencer and Gillen. But I feel that it is only fair to these authors to say, that where there is doubt as to the totems of the Urabunna, who include the Yendakarangu, I should incline to their view, rather than that of my correspondent, who had not their scientific training or wide knowledge of the subject.

[1] J. Hogarth. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 114.

URABUNNA MURDUS[1]

KIRARAWA.		MATTHURIE.	
1. Kurara	rain	Wonamara	a caterpillar
2. Wadnangari	carpet-snake	Tantani	cormorant
3. Wokala	crow	Warogati	emu
4.		Karawora	eagle-hawk
5. Harkaba	red ochre		
6. Tidnamara	a small frog		
7.		Madla	dingo
10.		Kokula	a small marsupial
13. Kelka	a frog		
14. Talka	the rabbit-bandicoot		

NGAMENI MURDUS

KARARU.		MATTERI.	
1. Kurara	rain	Muruwali	a caterpillar
2. Woma	carpet-snake	Tantani	cormorant
3. Kaualka	crow	Warkityi	emu
4. Puralko	native companion	Karawora	eagle-hawk
5.		Markara	a fish
6. Tidnamara	a small frog	Kutyiri	a variety of Acacia
7. Kagnara	seed of *Claytonia* sp.	Tirta	dingo
8.		Yikaura	native cat
9.		Kirrhapara	
10. Tapairu	a bat	Kokula	a small marsupial
11. Dokubirabira	the pan-beetle	Kanta-wateri	kangaroo-rat
12. Milkityerpara		Pitcheri	*Duboisia Hopwoodii*
13. Taralyu	a frog	Bukatu	expedition for red ochre
14. Piramoku	the rabbit-bandicoot	Wompirka	a lizard
15. Kadapa	slow-worm	Kadni	iguana-lizard
16. Balyara	a small pouched mouse	Wilyuru	curlew
17. Chukuru	kangaroo	Katatara	shell-parakeet
18.		Malparu	a crane, black with white on the wings

[1] Professor Baldwin Spencer tells me that in the northern part of the Urabunna tribe the totem is called *Paltinta*, and that Mr. Gillen found it at William's Creek to be *Thunthunnie*. At the Peak the class names were Kirara and Matthurie.

WONKAMALA MURDUS

	Kararu.		Matteri.	
1.	Kuraura	rain	Padi	a caterpillar
2.	Chirka	carpet-snake	Tantani	cormorant
3.	Kaualka	crow	Pulkara	emu
5.	Harkaba	red ochre		
10.			Kokula	a pouched mouse
12.			Pitcheri	*Duboisia Hopwoodii*
14.			Wolkutyi	

YAURORKA KAMIRI

	Kararu.		Matteri.	
1.	Ngantyara	rain	Muluru	a caterpillar
2.	Woma	carpet-snake	Malura	cormorant
3.			Kewora	emu
4.	Puralko	native companion	Kariwora	eagle-hawk
5.	Kambara	red ochre	Ngampuru	a fish
7.	Mapara	seed of *Claytonia* sp.	Pandi	dingo
8.			Yikaura	native cat
9.			Widla	
11.	Dokubirabira	pan-beetle	Kanunga	kangaroo-rat
12.			Pitcheri	*Duboisia Hopwoodii*
13.	Kuyarku	a frog		
14.	Naramoku	the rabbit-bandicoot	Karingara	
15.	Mithindi	slow-worm	Kani	iguana-lizard
16.	Baliyara	a small pouched mouse	Wilangu	curlew
17.			Tillngaru	
18.			Malparu	a crane, black with white on wing
19.	Ngarumba	Box eucalyptus		
20.	Tundubulyeru	water-rat		
21.	Punta	shrew-mouse		
22.			Miltyipalu	a large grey hawk
23.	Yudlanti	mesembrianthemum		

The Perigundi legend explains the origin of the *Murdus* and finally relates how, having become human, they dispersed

in all directions, thus accounting for the fact that the totem names are scattered over the tribal countries, yet not equally, some occurring more plentifully in one place than in another. The following list shows this distribution at the present time :—

Universally distributed. Woma, Karku, Warogati, Padi, Kaualka, Karawora, Malura, Kuraura, Markara, Kintala.

In the south and south-east, at Hergott Springs, Beltana, Lake Frome, Flinders Range etc. Malka,[1] Kapiri, Bukato, Malburu, Wilyuru, Kani, Yirauka, Chukuru, Tiwiltya, Kapita, Pildra.[2]

In the west and north-west. Mudlakupa, Kirhapara, Kokula, Kanunga, Kanangara, Kaladiri, Tidnamara, Pildra, Kani, Kapiri, Yunda-yunda.

In the north, at the Diamantina and Warburton. Kallakupa, Yana,[3] Maiaru, Wonduru,[4] Punta, Pitcheri, Kuntyiri, Kanangara.

In the north-east and east, and on all the Cooper and its waters. Katatara, Dokubira-bira, Milketyelpara, Puralko, Mitindi, Tabaira, Talyara, Watari, Waparu,[5] Manpi,[6] Jimbalunga,[7] Ngarumba, Piramoku, Wolanguru, Yudlanti, Karabana, Kuruma, Milkiwaru, Tundubulyuru.[8]

Following up the course of the Cooper from the Yantruwunta tribe, the next tribe of which I have any information is the Kurnandaburi, who occupied the country now known as Mt. Howitt Station, on the eastern branch of Cooper's Creek.

By it the two classes and the totems are called Gaura, and the relation of persons of the same class or totem is "Gaura-molli," the equivalent for the Dieri "Murdu-mara," and also of our word "kinship."

[1] *Acacia aneura.*
[2] Opossum.
[3] A small edible bulb.
[4] A large snake.
[5] A bat.
[6] An owl.
[7] Australian robin.
[8] A water-rat.

KURNANDABURI GAURA

YUNGO.		MATARA.	
Taldra	kangaroo	Korimora	brown snake
Kunlara	native companion	Kulbara	emu
Turra-gurra	iguana	Kanni	frilled-lizard
Muro-muro	large black cormorant	Wirri-pirra	kangaroo-rat
Taragoro	small black cormorant	Kopula	speckled brown snake
Kogun-ya	blue crane	Mirraltiera	opossum
Jitti	dingo	Kokula	small bandicoot
Waranguim	carpet-snake	Korinya	small burrowing rat
Warogatchi	crow		
Karru-wogona	small crow		
Paringoro	small grubs found in trees		
Orekomatu	a frog		
Parina	a rat		
Willungari	teal-duck		

The class names suggest that *Matara* represents *Matteri*, and *Yungo*, *Kararu*; but as to this I have no information, nor does the arrangement of the totems under the two classes give any certainty. Half of the totems under *Matara* are also under *Matteri*, and eight of those under *Yungo* are also under *Kararu*. The others are either under the opposite class or are not found in the lists given.

But this is certain, that the social organisation of the Yantruwunta and the other Lake Eyre tribes must extend up the Cooper at least as far as the Kurnandaburi tribe.

To the eastward of the Dieri the bounds of the class names Matteri and Kararu are approximately marked by the Grey and Barrier Ranges. These also divide two great groups of tribes, having the two-class system, of which the Dieri is the type on the one side, and the Wilya tribe, whose class names are Kilpara and Mukwara, is the type on the other. The latter group is of great extent, appearing to consist of several nations, of which three, namely, the Itchumundi, the Karamundi, and the Barkinji are known to me. The Wilya tribe is an example of the first.[1]

[1] J. W. Boultbee.

WILYA TRIBE. GREY RANGE

Classes.		Totems.	
Mukwara	Bilyara	eagle-hawk	
	Tirlta	kangaroo	
	Burkunia	bandicoot	
	Kultapa	duck	
	Karni	frilled-lizard	
	Yaranga	opossum	
	Kurli	dingo	
Kilpara	Kulthi	emu	
	Turu	carpet-snake	
	Namba	bone-fish	
	Bauanyal	padi-melon	
	Wongaru	wallaby	

This system obtains not only in the Wilya tribe but also in the Kongait, Bulali, and Tongaranka tribes which, with the Wilya, form the Itchumundi nation, all the members bearing that name as well as that of their own tribe. The country occupied by these tribes may be described as lying back from the Darling River, and bounded on the west by the Grey and Barrier Ranges.

The tribes between the junction of the Culgoa with the Darling and Wilcannia form the Karamundi nation, and its class system may be represented by that of the Milpulko tribe.

MILPULKO TRIBE.[1]

Classes.		Totems.	
Mukwara	Bilyara	eagle-hawk	
	Turlta	kangaroo	
	Burkunia	bandicoot	
	Uleburri	duck	
	Karni	frilled-lizard	
Kilpara	Kulthi	emu	
	Turru	carpet-snake	
	Namba	bone-fish	
	Birnal	iguana	
	Bauanya	padi-melon	
	Yerilpari	opossum	
	Muringa	wallaby	

[1] J. W. Boultbee.

There is reason for thinking that the Karamundi nation also includes tribes on the courses of the Paroo and Warrego Rivers. I have enumerated these in the first part of this chapter, and I now give the class system obtaining on the Paroo.

PARUINJI TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Totems.	
Mukwara	Bilyara	eagle-hawk
	Thurlta	kangaroo
	Burkannia	bandicoot
	Yeringi	opossum
	Karni	lizard
Kilpara	Kulti	emu
	Munji	bream
	Tharu	carpet-snake
	Burna	iguana

The name Barkinji includes a great number of tribes forming a nation, the approximate position of which I have already given. The following is taken from Mr. Cameron's notes :—

BARKINJI TRIBE[2]

Classes.	Totems.	
Mukwara	Billiara	eagle-hawk
	Turlta	kangaroo
	Kurtae (Bilbae)	a rabbit-like burrowing animal
	Tickara	turkey
	Kultuppa	whistling duck
	Barkunia	bandicoot
Kilpara	Kulthi	emu
	Turru	snake
	Karni	lizard
	Murinya	wallaby
	Buuna	iguana
	Kuntara	native companion

I have no information as to the tribes lower down the

[1] M. J. Feehan.

[2] A. L. P. Cameron. *Op. cit. Journal Anthrop. Inst.* vol. xiv. p. 348.

Murray than the Rufus, to which place the Wiimbaio tribe extended.

All that I have been able to ascertain of the class system of that tribe is as follows, but it suffices to show that it must have been very similar to the systems already given for tribes higher up the Darling River. This tribe extended for about 60 miles up the Murray on the south side.

WIIMBAIO TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Totems.
Mukwara . . .	? eagle-hawk Karni-wari lizard and others
Kilpara	? crow Namba bone-fish and others

On the northern side of the river there is the Ta-tathi tribe, whose class names are Mukwara and Kilpara, but I am unable to say to which class the two groups of totems given below belonged, unless by analogy with other tribes, Eagle-hawk, Teal-duck, and Jew-lizard, should be Mukwara, and Crow, Iguana, and brown Eagle-hawk, Kilpara.

THE TA-TATHI TRIBE[2]

Classes.	Totems.
	Waip-illi large brown eagle-hawk Parn-ira teal-duck Wirak-gintha Jew-lizard Wala-kili crow. Wai-im-bali iguana. Wa-ip-ili brown-coloured eagle-hawk

Tribes having these class names extended up the Murray River as far as the Loddon, and I have no doubt that, had

[1] J. Bulmer. [2] A. L. P. Cameron. *Op. cit.* p. 349.

any one recorded their totems, they would have been found to be analogous to those of the Ta-tathi tribe.

From the Loddon upwards the class names were the Bunjil and Waang of the Kulin, but to judge by the Bangerang tribe, descent was in the male line, and therefore such tribes will be spoken of later in this part.

In the absence of direct evidence of the range of such tribes up the Murray from the Bangerang, I can only conjecture that it may have been as far as where the class names of Bunjil and Waang ceased, and others came in. This was perhaps at the northern boundary of the Wolgal tribe at Walaregang on the Murray River.

The only remaining tribes, known to me, which can be included in this section, are situated on the upper waters of the Murray, Murrumbidgee, Snowy, and Tambo Rivers, the Ya-itma-thang, Ngarigo, and Wolgal.

As said before, the first named became extinct at an early date in the history of Victoria, and very little was recorded concerning it. All I can say is that among the totems were Tchuteba the rabbit-rat, and Najatejan, the bat, which also occur in the neighbouring Ngarigo tribe, with which the Theddora branch of the Ya-itma-thang intermarried. That these two totems were on the opposite side of the tribe is shown by the fact that when the people played at ball, Tchuteba was on one side and Najatejan on the other.

The Ngarigo adjoined the Theddora on the east and had the sub-joined class system.

NGARIGO TRIBE

Classes.	Totems.	
Merung Eagle-hawk	Bellet-bellet	lyre-bird
	Nadjatajan	bat
	Bulemba	flying-squirrel
	Mundarung	tuan
	Mumung	black-snake
	Mulan or Munja	a fish
	But-the-wark	the mopoke
	Kauunga	black opossum
	Waat	red wallaby

NGARIGO TRIBE—*continued*

Classes.	Totems.	
Yukembruk Crow	Bra-ar-gar	a small hawk
	Tchuteba	rabbit-rat
	Baua	flying-squirrel next in size to bulemba
	Burru	kangaroo
	Berribong	emu
	Budaluk	lace-lizard
	Kuriur	native companion
	Kauar	spiny ant-eater
	Ulunbau	sleeping lizard

To the north of the Ngarigo were the Wolgal, who extended over the great alpine ranges in which the Murray and the Murrumbidgee rise. This tribe like that at Omeo had in 1870 become almost extinct, there being only a few individuals left, one of whom had been the bard or singer of his people and had, when I knew him, attached himself to the Ngarigo. The Wolgal class system is as follows :[1]

WOLGAL TRIBE

Classes.	Totems.	
Malian Eagle-hawk	Banda	kangaroo
	Nuron	emu
	Ebai	hawk
	Mari	dingo
	Wutherin	flying-squirrel
	Bellit-bellit	lyre-bird
	Natjanajan	bat
Umbe Crow	Megindang	wombat
	Maralang	brown snake
	Biringal	a star (? Venus)
	Maniyuk	bandicoot
	Wandeli	spiny ant-eater
	Tchuteba	rabbit-rat

I have said in the last chapter that the Biduelli, a small tribe which lived in the dense forest country between the coast range, the Lower Snowy River and the sea,

[1] Rev. J. Bulmer, verified by me.

must be considered as having originated by the association of "broken men" from the adjacent tribes. A consideration of their social organisation also suggests the same conclusion. I found one family with the Ngarigo class name Yukembruk Crow, and the Ngarigo, Theddora, and Murring totem, Tchuteba, the rabbit-rat. Another family was Bunjil, apparently connecting the Biduelli with the Mogullum-bitch, a Kulin tribe on the Upper Ovens River. They had also the sex totems of the Kurnai, Yiirung, and Djiitgun, Emu, Wren, and Superb warbler.

These classes and totems descended through the female line, with the exception of the sex totems, which are everywhere respectively the brother or sister, as the case may be, of the individual.

There being female descent, the Biduelli may be conveniently placed as an appendix to the Ngarigo, their northern neighbours.

TRIBES WITH FOUR SUB-CLASSES AND FEMALE DESCENT

The pastoral settlers in the country of the Kamilaroi tribes must from early times have known of the existence of the four sub-class names of this nation, for it was common for an aboriginal to be addressed by the name proper to him or herself. But they were, so far as I know, first published by the Rev. W. Ridley, whose attention had been called to them by Mr. T. E. Lance.[1] Mr. Ridley pointed them out to Dr. Lorimer Fison in 1871, who sent a memorandum on them to Dr. Lewis H. Morgan, following Mr. Ridley's method of spelling, and in that guise they appeared in Dr. Morgan's *Ancient Society*.[2] Subsequently Mr. Lance informed Dr. Fison that the spelling aforesaid did not correctly represent the sound of the words. After a careful inquiry from several competent informants, he altered the spelling to that given in our work, *Kamilaroi* and *Kurnai*.

It was shown at that time which of these names intermarried, and also which names were borne by the children of the several marriages.

[1] *J.A.I.* ii. p. 259. [2] P. 56

Our critical examination of these "rules of marriage and descent," and the fact that the four names represented four divisions of the tribe, led us to feel satisfied that they must be subdivisions of two primary classes, of whose existence in many parts of Australia we were not then aware.

It was only after long-continued inquiry that I learned through a valued correspondent, Mr. Cyrus E. Doyle, then living at Moree in the country of the northern Kamilaroi, of the existence there of the two class names, of which the four sub-class names are the subdivisions. Subsequently I found he two class names in tribes of Southern Queensland, which have descent in the male line, finally in some of the Wiradjuri tribes in Western New South Wales.

Not only was the discovery of these two primary class names important, as connecting the two-class systems with those having four sub-classes, but they afforded me the means of ascertaining with absolute certainty, in any given case where they existed, whether descent was in the male or female line. This will be further detailed in Chapter V.

The following is the complete class system of the Kamilaroi of the Gwydir river, with the exception that, as in other cases, it is not certain that the totems are numerically correct :—

KAMILAROI TRIBE

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Kupathin	Ipai Kumbo	kangaroo, opossum, bandicoot, black duck, padi-melon, eagle-hawk, scrub-turkey, yellow-fish, honey-fish, bream
Dilbi	Murri Kubbi	emu, carpet-snake, black snake, red kangaroo, honey, walleroo, frog, codfish

Kupathin and Dilbi divide the tribal community into two moieties, just as Matteri and Kararu or any other of the pairs of class names do. Omitting for a moment the four sub-classes, there remain only the two classes, each with its group of totems, and the analogy to the two-class system is

at once apparent. It is clear that the difference consists in the interpolation between the totems and the two classes of four sub-classes; or perhaps the more correct statement would be that each primary class has been divided into two moieties, and that the totems either remain with the primary, and are common to both, as in some tribes, or as in others, have been divided between the sub-classes. When this occurs it is evidently a further stage in the process of subdivision.

The consideration of the effects produced by these changes will be found in the following pages; but it may be said now that descent runs directly in the primary classes and the totems, and indirectly in the sub-classes.

As an appendix to the Kamilaroi tribe, I add some particulars about the Geawe-gal of the Hunter River. I learn that this tribe had the complete sub-class system of the Kamilaroi, but my informant, Mr. G. W. Rusden, said that although he could not recollect all their class divisions, they had certainly the great divisions Yippai and Kombo.

There was a small tribe on the Bellinger River on the east coast of New South Wales called Kombaingheri, which had the following four sub-classes, each having a separate male and female name. This peculiarity has not come under my notice in any other tribe of South-Eastern Australia.

Male.	Female.
Kurbo	Kuran
Wombo	Wirikin
Maro	Kurgan
Wiro	Wongan [1]

I have no information which would enable me to say which of these form the pairs representing the two moieties of the tribe, and therefore the line of descent cannot be given.

To the West and South-west of the Kamilaroi is the Wiradjuri nation, and as an example I take that tribe of it which occupied the greater part of Riverina. The following table gives its social organisation as far as I have been able to ascertain it: [2]—

[1] E. Palmer.

[2] J. B. Gribble.

WIRADJURI TRIBE

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.		
Moiety A	Yibai (*a*)	Malian	eagle-hawk	1
		Yungai	mallee hen	2
		Giramul	opossum	3
		Burimul	fly	4
		Buragin	English bee	5
		?	kangaroo-rat	6
		Ngurin	native bee	7
	Wumba (*b*)	Narung	bloodsucker-lizard	8
		Gunir	padi-melon	9
		Wagan	crow	10
Moiety B	Murri (*c*)	Biringun	red kangaroo	1
		Dulin	a small lizard	2
		Wungaglan	young emu	3
	Kubbi (*d*)	Butharung	flying-squirrel	4
		Guro	bush-rat	5
		Bidija	chicken-hawk	6
		?	bandicoot	7

The class names have not been found in this tribe. I have added the capital letters A and B to represent them, the letter attached to the sub-classes and the numbers attached to the totems are referred to elsewhere. The marriages are given in the chapter on "Marriage Rules."

The foregoing table shows that the four sub-classes are the same as those of the Kamilaroi, and the absence of the two primary class names in this system means either that they have fallen into abeyance, or that my informant was not able to ascertain them. That they exist, at least in some of these tribes, is shown by their occurrence in that Wiradjuri tribe which occupied the country about Mossgiel, north of the Lachlan River.

The following table shows the classes, sub-classes, and totems of that tribe: [1]—

[1] The same is the case with the tribes of the Itchumundi nation, the two names being Mukolo and Ngielpuru, and these names accompany the class names Mukwara and Kilpara.

WIRADJURI TRIBES, LACHLAN RIVER[1]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.		
Mukula A	Ipai (*a*)	Yunghai	mallee hen	1
		Gunarr	padi-melon	2
		Willi	opossum	3
	Kumbo (*b*)	Yunghai	mallee hen	1
		Uroaine	emu	2
		Willi	opossum	3
Budthurung B	Murri (*c*)	Murri	red kangaroo	1
		Gurung	bandicoot	2
		Budthurung	black duck	3
		Thurungai	snake	4
		Dihulin	lace-lizard	5
	Kubbi (*d*)	Murri	red kangaroo	1
		Budthurung[2]	black duck	3
		Dihulin	lace-lizard	5
		Gurung	bandicoot	6

In the above, the totems are common to both the sub-classes, or in other words remain with the class, and have not been, as in other cases, distributed between them. Some of the marriages and descents in this branch of the Wiradjuri are quite abnormal, and are discussed in the next chapter.

The Baraba-baraba tribe occupied the country to the south of the Wiradjuri, and was most probably related to it.

Mr. A. L. P. Cameron writes the name "Bura-burabra" or shortly "Burabra." The following list gives the sub-class names, and some of the totems, for which I am indebted to him :—

Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Yipai	opossum
Wumbi	?
Murri	birakal, the root of the quandong tree
Kubbi	kutembruk, the blue crane

To the north of the Wiradjuri of the Lachlan River, and

[1] A. L. P. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 345, and subsequent correspondence.

[2] There is no explanation why *Budthurung* is also a totem.

extending to the Bogan, is the country of the Wonghibon tribe. The Wonghibon appear to be an offshoot or branch of the Wiradjuri nation; for, as put to Mr. Cameron by one of the Wathi-wathi tribe, the Wiradjuri and Wonghibon are "all the same, only they talk a little different; Wiradjuri blackfellow say 'wira' for 'no,' and Wonghi blackfellow say 'wonghi,' but they are all friends." The class system is as follows:—

WONGHIBON TRIBE

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Ngielbumurra	Ipai	mallee hen
	Kumbo	emu
		opossum
Mukumurra	Murri	black duck
	Kubbi	bandicoot
		red kangaroo

The similarity of the Wonghibon class system to that of the Wiradjuri is apparent, as is also that of the totems, making them seem almost identical.

The class system of the Unghi tribe near Charleville[1] is as follows:—

UNGHI TRIBE

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Not known	Hepai	kangaroo
		dingo
	Kombo	emu
		opossum
Not known	Muri	Not ascertained
	Kubi	

The classes and totems of the Yualaroi or Wollaroi are those of the Kamilaroi,[2] but the existence of the primary

[1] A. L. P. Cameron. [2] Robert Crowthers.

classes has not been ascertained. Indeed it is open to conjecture that all the tribes which have the Kamilaroi class names are in fact parts of the same great tribal aggregate, although distance may have in some cases practically severed them from each other. This view would also include in this aggregate the Bigambul tribe, which inhabited the Darling Downs and Gwydir district. The Bigambul tribe may be taken as the most northern of those having the Kamilaroi class system, and it is in this part of Queensland that two other systems with four sub-classes meet that of the Kamilaroi. The three tribes which are the examples of this are the Bigambul, the Emon about Taroom, and the Ungorri in the country comprising St. George, Charleville, Nive, Taroom, Surat, and Condamine.[1]

The sub-class names of these tribes and their relative equivalents are shown in the following table :—

Bigambul.	Emon.	Ungorri.
Hipai	Taran	Urgilla
Kombo	Bondan	Anbeir
Murri	Barah	Wungo
Kobi	Bondurr	Ubur

The more fully stated class systems of the Emon and Ungorri tribe are as follows :—

EMON TRIBE[2]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.	
{	Taran	Nguran	emu
{	Bondan	Amu	water
{	Barah	Abbul	carpet snake
{	Bondurr	Woggun	scrub turkey

[1] James Lalor. [2] *Id.*

UNGORRI TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.	
	Urgilla	Ngorgu	kangaroo
	Anbeir	Bondun	bandicoot
	Wungo	Tonga	opossum
		Bulbora	flying fox
	Ubur	Tambul	brown snake
		Abboia	lizard

The Ungorri are another instance of the totems being divided between the sub-classes. They appear to me to be incomplete as to number, but my informant gave them as complete, and his long experience entitles his statements to be accepted with respect. In the absence of a tabulated statement of a number of marriages and descents, showing the respective inherited sub-classes and totems, I am unable to say more, and give the table as it was given to me.

Neither in the Emon nor in the Ungorri tribe were the two class names obtainable.

The Emon tribe probably represents the western example of tribes which extend from the Bunya-Bunya Mountains northwards to Wide Bay, and possibly even as far as Port Curtis, having four sub-class names differing slightly in accordance with their dialects. The Ungorri tribe represents a third large group of tribes, with four sub-classes, the names of which are substantially the same as those of the Ungorri. These sub-class names extend northwards, at least as far as the Maikolon tribe on the Upper Cloncurry River.[2] They occur on the coast at Gladstone, and extend westwards to the Thomson River and other sources of the Barcoo, as well as the Upper Diamantina and the Hamilton River.[3]

The social organisation of the Emon tribe is represented by that of the Kaiabara tribe which inhabited the Bunya-Bunya Mountains, and the latter connects this system with that of the Kamilaroi by its two class names; but, as male

[1] J. Lalor. [2] E. Palmer. [3] D. M'Donald.

descent obtains, the discussion of this will be deferred to a later part of this chapter.

Passing over for the present those tribes which have four sub-classes and male descent, the next tribe to be noted here is the Kuinmurbura, which claimed the peninsula between Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay. This tribe is one of a considerable number which may be merely sub-tribes, hordes of a larger one, or possibly component parts of a nation, but I can form no conclusion on the subject.

KUINMURBURA TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.		Totems.	
Yungeru	Kurpal	the barrimundi	Bor	black eagle-hawk
	Kuialla	a hawk	Merkein	laughing jackass
Witteru	Karilbura	good water	Bingarra	curlew
			Kauara	clear water
	Munal	iguana	Boal	scrub wallaby
			Kolpobora	a hawk

The female name is formed by the postfix *an*, as (male) *Kurpal*, (female) *Kurpalan*. This postfix is also attached to the class names and totems.

This is one of the rare instances of class or sub-class names being totems; the others are the Kulin tribes of Victoria, and the Wolgal and Ngarigo of New South Wales, and the Annan River tribe in Queensland.

The country between the Mackenzie River and the Lower Dawson, therefore south-westerly from the Kuinmurbura tribe, was occupied by the Kongulu tribe up to 1895. Probably it has become extinct, because at that time it was terribly demoralised by the wholesale distribution of opium in lieu of wages, and given as bribes, as well as by the retail distribution of it.[2]

The class system of this tribe is as follows:—

Yung-nguru { Bunya / Jarbain — Wut-thuru { Kairawa / Bunjur

[1] W. H. Flowers.

[2] "Girroon bah" in the *Queenslander*, December 28, 1895.

The totems were called Baikain, and were transmitted from mother to child. They were usually animals, but also trees. The totem names appear to have been grouped under other names, such as Mirunjul, the effect of which has not been explained, but possibly they may resemble the arrangement of the Wotjobaluk totems. The following list gives the totems and collective names so far as they have been recorded :—

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.	
	Mirunjul	Mulloaru	black or brush wallaby
		Mahnul	black iguana
		Kurithulla	eagle-hawk
		Buljir	sandal-wood
	Jiimi	Chewar	great owl
		Walukumbi	frilled iguana
		Kapulla	brigalow
	Kulpuwura	Wataern	crow
		Waiya	scrub wallaby

Westward of the tribes of which the Kuinmurbura is the example, and on the waters falling into the Burdekin River, there is the class system of which the Ungorri is one of the most southern extensions, and which has apparently the widest range of the four sub-class systems of Queensland. As a typical example of this form of social organisation I take the Wakelbura tribe of the Belyando River.

WAKELBURA TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Malera	Kurgilla	Opossum, spiney ant-eater, eagle-hawk, turkey, iguana, black bee, kangaroo
	Banbe	Forest kangaroo, ringtail opossum, iguana
Wuthera	Wungo	Emu, carpet snake, gidya tree, wallaby
	Obu	Black duck, carpet snake, large bee, emu, walleroo, gidya tree, wallaby

[1] J. C. Muirhead.

These two class names extend as far as Charters Towers, where the Akulbura tribe speaks a different dialect and has different names for the classes and sub-classes. At about Muttabura, on the Thompson River, and near Clermont, these class names cease with the Bathalibura.

The Bathalibura classes are Yungaru and Wutheru, but the sub-classes are the same as those of the Wakelbura. In this latter tribe there is a group of totems attached to each class division; this group divides between the two sub-classes, and yet there are some totems which are common to both, this being perhaps a survival of the time when the sub-classes had not yet come into existence.

Certain animals are the especial game of each class. Obu, for instance, claims as his game emu and wallaby, and if he wishes to invite his fellows of the same sub-class, in a neighbouring tribe, to hunt the common game, he must do this by means of a message-stick, made from the wood of a tree which is, like themselves, of the Obu sub-class. When a man desires to perform some magical act, he must use for it only objects which are of the same class as himself, and when he dies he is laid on a stage made of the branches and covered with the leafy boughs of a tree of his class. Among all the natural objects of his class, there is some one which is nearer to him than any other. He bears its name, and it is his totem.

Another example of the system is that of the Buntamurra tribe, whose country is on the Bulloo River, extending southwards as far as Thargominda, 400 miles in a straight line from the Wakelbura country.

The class system of the Buntamurra is as follows:—

BUNTAMURRA TRIBE[1]

Class.	Sub-Class.	Totem.
Not ascertained	Gurgilla	kangaroo padi-melon wallaby eagle-hawk

[1] J. H. Kirkham.

BUNTAMURRA TRIBE—*continued*

Class.	Sub-Class.	Totem.
Not ascertained.	Banburi	crow
		mountain snake
		porcupine (Echidna sp.)
	Wongo	wild goose
		wild turkey
		white duck
		swan
		opossum
		diving duck
	Gubero	bandicoot
		iguana
		smallest iguana

The feminine name is formed by the postfix *gun*, as *Gubero* and *Guberogun*.

This tribe appears to be on the boundary of this sub-class system, and of the class system of the Darling River with the names Mukwara and Kilpara.

Tribes with Four Sub-Classes and Male Descent

The next stage of social development is where there are two primary classes and four sub-classes, with descent in the male line.

When our knowledge only extends to the four sub-classes, with their marriages and descents, it is possible by pairing them in different ways to produce either female or male descent.

But when the class names are known, no such difficulty can arise. Failing this knowledge, the totems will give a clue, except in tribes like the Arunta, where the totemic name is not inherited. In the absence of these guides, custom will serve: for instance, in games played with a ball, the two segments of one class will play together against those of the other; or when the whole tribe is gathered

together on some ceremonial occasion, the two pairs of sub-classes will camp on opposite sides of a creek. In ceremonial or expiatory encounters, one pair of fellow sub-classes will always side together against the other two.

I have found a simple diagram of very great assistance in working out the class system of a tribe, especially as a test of the line of descent.

In this diagram I substitute letters and numerals for the primary classes and sub-classes. Where I introduce the totems I use numbers. The Kamilaroi will serve as the type of tribes which had four sub-classes and female descent, and the class system is thus diagrammatically represented, "A" being Kupathin and "B" Dilbi; then *a* is Ipai, *b* Kumbo, *c* Murri, and *d* Kubbi. Anticipating the statement in the next chapter, that Ipai marries Kubbitha, and that the children are Murri and Matha, the diagram, using the above symbols, would be as under, m. = male, and f. = female.

DIAGRAM I

$$A \begin{Bmatrix} a & c \\ b & d \end{Bmatrix} B$$

$$\frac{\text{m. A}a}{\text{f. B}d}$$

$$\frac{\text{m. B}c \ldots | \ldots \text{f. B}c}{\text{etc.}}$$

This diagram shows clearly that the child Bc inherits its mother's class name, and the fellow sub-class to hers.

Tribes having four sub-classes, and also in some cases the two primary classes, with male descent, extend for some 200 miles inland from the coast at Maryborough (Queensland), and also are surrounded inland by tribes with four sub-classes, but with female descent.

I take the Kaiabara tribe living in the Bunya-Bunya Mountains as my example, because I first obtained, in its class system, the two primary classes which connect it with the great Kamilaroi organisation. The system as I have obtained it is as follows :—

THE KAIABARA TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Kubatine A	Bulkoin (*a*)	carpet snake (1), flood-water (2)
	Bunda (*b*)	native cat (3), white eagle-hawk (4)
Dilebi B	Baring (*c*)	turtle (5), lightning (6), rock carpet snake (7)
	Turowaine (*d*)	bat (8), black eagle-hawk (9)

Making use of the diagram as an illustration, we have the following result. The letters are attached to the names in the table, the numerals attached to the totems being made use of in the next chapter.

DIAGRAM II

$$\frac{\text{m. A}a}{\text{f. B}d}$$

$$\frac{\text{m. A}b \ldots\ldots \text{ f. A}b}{\text{etc.}}$$

This shows that the child takes the class name of its father and that sub-class which with his represents his class Kubatine.

The line of descent is therefore in the male line, being thus in strong contrast with all the tribes having four sub-class systems which I have enumerated.

Tribes which have the same class system extend over a considerable tract of country between the Kaiabara and the coast. Mr. Harry E. Aldridge obtained particulars of their class systems many years ago, and also enabled me to show their positions on the map which faces page 58.

Their sub-class names are the same as those of the Kaiabara with slight differences due to local dialects. In the following example the two class names are given, thus

[1] Jocelyn Brooke.

showing a wider extension of the names which were first observed in one of the Kamilaroi tribes.

TRIBES ABOUT MARYBOROUGH

Classes.	Sub-Classes.
Kupathin	Balgoin
	Bunda
Tilbi	Parang
	Theirwain

In Great Sandy Island there is the same system, and I obtained the following from a man who was Theirwein-wurumi.

MURUBURRA TRIBE, WHITE CLIFFS

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.	
Not known	Balgoin	Thulla	water snake
		Kogea	carpet snake
		Murri	red kangaroo
		Moroin	emu
		Mebeit	turtle
		Worowe	iguana
	Bunda	Meri	black dingo
		Murong	black duck
		Brongun	thunder
		Wotcha	yellow dingo
	Baring	Waga	fish-hawk
		Huntcha	bream
	Therwain	Wurumi	fire
		Gorgoi	opossum

In this tribe, and probably in all tribes between the Bunya-Bunya Mountains and Great Sandy Island, descent is in the male line. For instance my informant, Theirwein-wurumi, took his class and totem names from his father.

I am not able to define the northern limits of this class

system, but it must be south of Rockhampton, for a new set of names comes in there with female descent, of which the Kuinmurbura tribe, which occupied the peninsula between Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay, is the example.

The Kongulu tribe, south-westerly from the Kuinmurbura, also marks the limits of this system.

I am indebted to Dr. W. E. Roth for the following example of a tribe with male descent at the Annan River near Cooktown.

ANNAN RIVER TRIBE.

Classes.		Sub-Classes.	
Walar	a bee	Wandi	eagle-hawk
		Walar	a bee
Murla	a bee	Jorro	a bee
		Kutchal	salt-water eagle-hawk

This system is peculiar in that the classes and the sub-classes have animal names, and are apparently totems, which, as before mentioned, is a rare occurrence. In this tribe descent is in the male line, for instance the children of a man who is, say, Murla-Jorro are Murla-Kutchal.

Tribes with Eight Sub-Classes and Male Descent

The occurrence of tribes in Central Australia with four sub-classes and apparently male descent came under the notice of Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself before the year 1880, but in the absence of further information it was not made use of. It is due to the epoch-making work of Spencer and Gillen that a full knowledge of the organisation of the native tribes of that part of Australia has been obtained. They have pointed out that in the Arunta tribe descent runs in the male line, and we may regard the Arunta as typical of the large group of tribes inhabiting the centre of the continent, from Lake Eyre in the south to

near Port Darwin in the north, in which descent is thus counted.

In all that vast extent of country the development of the social organisation has been from four sub-classes to eight, and on the basis of male descent. It is therefore not surprising that so far no tribes have been met with with the eight sub-classes and descent still maintained in the female line.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen point out that each sub-class in the Arunta tribe is in fact further divided into two groups, with the effect that, while for example a Panunga man marries one of the Purula women, those women are divided into two groups, the members of one of which stand in the relationship of "Unawa," whom he may marry, while the members of the other stand in the relationship of "Unkulla," whom he may not marry.[1]

The other two sub-classes are similarly divided, so that the complete eight sub-class system is shown in the diagram below[2]:—

Panunga	Panunga	Purula	Purula
	Uknaria	Ungalla	
Bulthara	Bulthara	Kumara	Kumara
	Appungerta	Umbitchana	

The fact that the old name is still used for one-half of a sub-class, while a new one has been given to the other half, is very significant of the manner in which the segmentation of the class divisions has been made by deliberate intention.

The eight sub-class system prevails in a large number of tribes extending from the Urabunna a little north of Lake Eyre to near Port Darwin, in all of which descent is counted in the male line.

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 71, 72. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 72.

Tribes with Anomalous Class System and Female Descent

I have traced the progressive development of the social organisation, from the two-class system with maternal descent through various stages, to eight sub-classes and descent counted in the male line. I now return to the two-class system, with female descent, in order to trace out the alteration of the social organisation, in another direction, with different results.

The most convenient starting-point in this line of inquiry will be the Wotjobaluk tribe, whose northern limits adjoin the southern boundary of the Wiimbaio, whose class names, Mukwara and Kilpara, are the equivalents of the Wotjobaluk classes Gamutch and Krokitch respectively. The class system of this tribe is in some respects peculiar.

WOTJOBALUK TRIBE.

Classes.	Totems.		Sub-Totems.	
Gamutch	Jalan	deaf adder	Yurn	native cat
			Gunewara	black swan
			Berejul	tiger-snake
			Jinap	sulphur-crested cockatoo
			Waa	crow
			Wilkri	dingo
	Ngungul	the sea	Sub-totems not known	
	Batya-ngal	pelican	?	thunder
			Goruk	magpie
			Boam-berik	native cat
			Wanyip	fire
			Jarb-juk	white gull
			Burtita	white-bellied cormorant
			Borup	small black cormorant
			Wangwung	large cormorant
			Ngari	bull oak (*Casuarina glauca*)
			Karimbel	a wader
			Barnga	grey heron
			Proporn	chough
	Wurant	black cockatoo	Joya	a small iguana
			Ngar-nur	lace-lizard
			Nguri	black duck
			Gurmil	a small snake
			Bernera	teal duck
			Jering	a bird
Krokitch	Ngaui	the sun	Bunjil	the star Fomalhault
			Gurau	plains turkey
			?	opossum
			Gur	a grub
			Garuka	a tuber
			Gori	grey kangaroo
			Burra	red kangaroo
	Garchuka	galah cockatoo	Gotjun	native companion
			Bok	bandicoot
			Kau-ur	emu
			Jallup	mussel
			Julwil	musk duck
			Bit-jan-gur	mountain duck
			Ngaru-wara	magpie goose
	Barewun	a cave	Sub-totems not ascertainable	
	Batya-ngal	pelican	Do.	
	Moiwilluk	carpet snake	Do.	
	Wartwut	the hot wind	Tikomai	a venomous snake
			Mindai	a small snake
			Morokut	Pennant's lorikeet
			Wurip	a small bird
			Mitjen	the moon
	Munya	a tuber	Sub-totems not ascertainable	

The class names, totems, and sub-totems are called *mir*.

This system seems to be a peculiar development of the class systems of the Darling River tribes. But in this case some of the totems have advanced almost to the grade of sub-classes, and they have a markedly independent existence.

The new features are the numerous groups of sub-totems attached to the classes Gamutch and Krokitch respectively. It seems as if some of the totems of a two-class system had grown in importance, leaving the remaining totems behind in obscurity; and probably this has arisen through this tribe dividing the whole universe between the two classes, as, for instance, the Wiraduri do. Another peculiarity is that some of the totems have synonyms. Thus Ngaui has a second name, Ngaui-na-guli, or men of the sun. Moreover, it is said to be closely attached to Garchuka, which one of my informants claimed as a "second name of his *mir*," in fact, that both Ngaui and Garchuka were his names, but he said that Ngaui was specially his name, because "Garchuka came a little behind it." On the other hand, another informant, who also claimed to be both Ngaui and Garchuka, said that he was specially Garchuka, and that "Ngaui came a little behind." Wherein the difference lay I was quite unable to ascertain, but it seemed that Ngaui and Garchuka were in fact slightly divergent appendages of the class Krokitch, under new names. This view is strengthened by the fact that the mortuary totems which will be referred to later are the same for both Ngaui and Garchuka. Gamutch-batchangal has also a second name, which is said to be only a name and not a *mir*. Its members are called "darau-yau-ngau-uing," "we are warming ourselves," because *Wanyip*, "fire," is one of their sub-totems.

The system as tabulated is not complete. The old men who were my informants knew their own *mir* and the various objects which they respectively claimed as belonging to the *mir*, and therefore to themselves, but they were not so clear as to the other totems, excepting Batya-ngal, as to which they knew a number of objects it claimed. They said that it was formerly a very strong *mir*. Regarding the totems *Barewun*, "a cave"; *Ngungul*, "the sea"; and

Munya, "a yam," they could not remember more than some of the mortuary totems.

The class and totem pass from mother to child, and the feminine name is formed by the postfix *Gurk*, as *Gamutch-gurk*, *jalan-gurk*. Thus each individual has two names when living, and after death receives another, which I have called the mortuary totem. One of my informants was Krokitch-ngaui. When he died, he would become Wurti-ngaui, which means "behind the sun," or a shadow cast behind the speaker by the sun.

The objects which are claimed by each totem are also called *mir*, but no one is named after them. They only belong to a person because they belong to the totem to which the person belongs. Thus one of my informants was Krokitch-ngaui, and therefore claimed Kangaroos as belonging to him. Another man of the same class and totem claimed Bunjil as belonging to him, but he is not Bunjil and does not take it for a name; he is Ngaui but not Bunjil. The true totem owns him, but he owns the sub-totem.

The system of the Buandik tribe, with the classes and totems so far as they have been ascertained, is as follows:—

BUANDIK TRIBE[1]

Classes.	Totems.		Sub-Totems.
Kroki	Wereo	ti-tree	duck, wallaby, owl, cray-fish, etc.
	Wirmal	an owl	?
	Murna	an edible root	bustard, quail, small kangaroo, etc.
	Karaal	white crestless cockatoo	kangaroo, she-oak, summer, sun, autumn, wind, etc.[2]
Kumite	Mula	fish-hawk	smoke, Banksia, etc.
	Parangal	pelican	dog, *Acacia melanoxylon*, fire, frost, etc.
	Waa	crow	lightning, thunder, rain, clouds, hail, winter, etc.
	Wila	black cockatoo	moon, stars, etc.
	Karato	a harmless snake	fish, eels, seals, stringbark tree, etc.

[1] Mrs. J. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. ix. x.; *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, D. S. Stewart, p. 168.

[2] "Autumn" and "wind" are feminine.

Each of these totems has the prefix *burt*, which means "dry," as *burt-wereo*, but the prefix has been omitted for clearness.

In this tribe, as in the Wotjobaluk, not only mankind but things in general are subject to these divisions, and Mr. Stewart's remarks as follows are worth quoting.[1] "All this appears very arbitrary. I have tried in vain to find some reason for the arrangement. I asked, 'To what division does a bullock belong?' After a pause came the answer, 'It eats grass; it is *Boort-wereo*.' I then said, 'A cray-fish does not eat grass; why is it *Boort-wereo?*' Then came the reason for all puzzling questions, 'That is what our fathers said it was.'"

According to the Wotjobaluk, the tribes to the south were related to them, and, as I have said, may have formed another nation, which can be distinguished by the name for "man," in their language, namely *Mara*. My example is the Gournditch-mara.

GOURNDITCH-MARA TRIBE[2]

Classes.	Totems.	Sub-Totems.
Krokitch	white cockatoo	pelican, laughing jackass, parrot, owl, mopoke, large kangaroo, native companion
Kaputch	black cockatoo	emu, whip-snake, opossum, brush-kangaroo, native bear, swan, eagle-hawk, sparrow-hawk

The feminine form of the name, either of the class or the totem, is formed by the postfix *Jarr*, thus Krokitch and Krokitch-jarr.

This system evidently connects with the Wotjobaluk to the north, the Mt. Gambier tribe on the west, and with the tribes described by Mr. Dawson on the east. I again quote his work as to the tribes which are to the east of the Gournditch-mara, and to which the latter evidently belongs.

Mr. Dawson mentions no class names which might be

[1] *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 169.

[2] Rev. J. H. Stähle.

the equivalents of those of the Buandik or the Wotjobaluk, and it may be inferred from his long experience that he would not have overlooked them did they exist. It seems to me probable, therefore, that, like others of the coast tribes, these have undergone social changes which have much modified their class systems.

He gives five totems, and says that the two first and the third and fourth form respectively "sister classes":—

	Totems.
Kuurokeetch	long-billed cockatoo
Kartpoerappa	pelican
Kappatch	Banksian cockatoo
Kirtuuk	boa snake
Kuunamit	quail

The traditions of their origin say that the first progenitor of the tribes, the Kuhkur-minjer, or first great-great-grandfather, was by descent a long-billed cockatoo, who had for wife a Banksian cockatoo, who is called Kuurorappa-moel, or "first great-great-grandmother." Their sons and daughters belonged to the class of their mother.[1]

The first four are totems of the Wotjobaluk, the third is one of the totems of the Gournditch-mara, and the fifth is one of the sub-totems of the Buandik. Some years ago Mr. A. L. P. Cameron was so good as to make inquiries from the natives near Mortlake, which is within the boundaries given by Mr. Dawson, and found that they had the following totemic system:—

	Totems.
Krokage	white cockatoo, red crest
Karperap	pelican
Kubitch	black cockatoo
Kartuk	whip snake

He says that Karperap is supplementary to Krokage, and Kartuk to Kubitch. Krokage may marry either Kubitch or Kartuk, and Kubitch may marry either Krokage or Karperap, and the children belong to the mother's totem. These are clearly four of the "classes" given by Mr. Dawson, and it is evident that in "Kuurokeetch" we have Krokage, and that Krokage is the equivalent of Kroki of the Buandik, and Krokitch of the Wotjobaluk; while Kaputch of the Gournditch-mara is Kubitch, or Gamutch of the Wotjobaluk.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 26.

TRIBES WITH THE TWO-CLASS SYSTEM AND MALE DESCENT

On the eastern side of the Wotjobaluk and the tribes described by Mr. Dawson, which together occupy western Victoria, there was the Kulin nation described in the last chapter. Very little has been recorded as to the class organisation of this nation, and all that I have been able to preserve has been obtained from the few survivors of the Wurunjerri, Thagunworung, and Galgalbaluk tribes which are now practically extinct. As to the other tribes of the nation, all that I can say is that they had the two class names, and that no totems were known to my informants other than the one given below :—

WURUNJERRI TRIBE

Classes.		Totems.	
Bunjil	eagle-hawk	Thara	small hawk
Waang	crow	No totem	

I must here draw a distinction between the Kulin nation and a number of other tribes with these class names, the languages of which differed in so far that their word for "man" was not Kulin.

Even then a further important distinction comes into view arising out of the local organisation. The class names Bunjil and Waang are common to all with slight variation ; for instance, with the Jajaurung the word Wrepil replaces Bunjil, both meaning eagle-hawk. The extent to which the class names occurred over Victoria may be roughly indicated by the extreme points known to me. North to south, from Echuca to the Port Phillip Heads, and east to west, from St. Arnaud to Mount Buffalo, being 170 miles by 200 miles at least. All these tribes, as far as I have been able to ascertain, had descent through the male line ; but in the northern tribes, as for instance the Bangerang, the people who were respec-

tively Bunjil and Waang were scattered over the tribal country in the same manner as, for instance, the Krokitch and Gamutch people of the Wotjo nation. In the southern tribes, however, such as the Wurunjerri and the Bunurong, the Bunjil and Waang people were segregated into separate localities. In this they resembled the Narrang-ga and the Narrinyeri, and the following table shows their respective distribution.

I am not able to indicate how much farther north this peculiar localisation of the social organisation extended, the intermediate tribes being extinct.

Name and Locality of Tribe.	Class Name.	Language.
1. Wurunjerri-baluk Yarra River watershed	Waang crow	Woëworung.
2. Gunung-willam-baluk The western end of Mount Macedon, extending to Bullengarook	do.	do.
3. Kurung-jang-baluk Werribee River	do.	do.
4. Ngaruk-willam South side of Dandenong Mountains	do.	do.
5. Buluk-willam About Cranbourne	do.	do.
6. Bunurong coast From Werribee River to Anderson's Inlet, and inland to south boundaries of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.	Bunjil	Bunurong.

The Bunurong tribe is mentioned by the name of its language, and those numbered 1 to 5 might also be all grouped together as Woëworung. The Bunurong certainly consisted of a number of tribes speaking that language. But the view might be justified that there are here merely two tribes, and that 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, might be looked upon as clans of the Woëworung-speaking tribe.

The Wurunjerri class system is clearly a modification of such a one as that of the Murray River tribes, or the Wolgal or Ngarigo, or perhaps it would be better expressed if I were to say that it is a survival of such a system. The single totem Thara is a survival, and the legends seem to bear witness of the others. They relate the doings of super-

natural beings such as Bunjil, who is anthropomorphic, while the others are animal and yet human. The legends speak of Bunjil's "sons," or of Bunjil's "boys," who are said to have been carried up with him when he went aloft in a whirlwind to the Tharangalk-bek. When I came to inquire further as to these sons of Bunjil I found that they are stars. The following table shows what they are, and it is not an unreasonable assumption that they represent some, if not all, of the totems of the class Bunjil. The first column gives the names of Bunjil's sons, and the second that of the star.

Tadjeri	Achernar	Phascologale pennicillata	Brush-tailed Phascologale.
Turnung	?	Petaurus pigmæus	Flying mouse.
Yukope	α Crucis	Zinchoglossus porphyriocephalus	Green parroquet.
Dantun	β Crucis	Trychoglossus multicolor	Blue mountain parrot.
Thara	α Centauri	?	Swamp hawk.
Jurt-jurt	β Centauri	Tinnunculus cenchroides	Nankeen kestrel.

The belief that these stars were the totems is strengthened by the fact that Thara, the one remaining totem of Bunjil, is one of his "boys" in the above list. Bunjil is Altair;[1] while Nurong, Bunjil's brother, is Antares.[2] The two stars on either side of Bunjil are his wives, being of the totem Ganewara (black swan). The stars on either side of Nurong are his wives, but the legend does not record their totems. The star which is Turnung was pointed out to me, but I cannot now identify it.

The Wurunjerri used a curious *aide mémoire* for Bunjil and his "boys." The little finger of the left hand is Tadjeri, the ring-finger Turnung, the middle finger Yukope, the forefinger Dantun, the thumb Thara, and the thumb of the right hand is Jurt-jurt. Here the record ends.

The totems which the class Waang must have had seem

[1] I have here to correct a previous statement in my paper, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal Anthrop. Inst.*, August 1888, in which I said that Fomalhault was Bunjil. Further inquiries have satisfied me that Bunjil with the Wurunjerri was Altair, but with the Wotjobaluk it was, as I have said, Fomalhault. In the Western District tribes, according to Dawson, it was also Fomalhault. It is a curious coincidence that the principal star in the constellation Aquila is the eagle-hawk of the Wurunjerri.

[2] I have to thank Mr. Jas. Shaw for kindly taking much pains to ascertain this for me.

to have become totally extinct, with the exception of Ganewara, who, as the wife of Bunjil, must have been of the other class name. My informant, Berak, who was of the Waang class, knew of no totems belonging to it. He was an extraordinary repository of information as to his tribe, and had there been any legends as to the sons of Waang I am satisfied that he would have known of them.

Tribes with Anomalous Class Systems and Male Descent

I commence this series with the Yerkla tribe. The class system of this tribe has some peculiarities to which I drew the attention of my correspondent, but after further inquiries he saw no reason to alter the statement made. I have not been able to make further inquiries to explain these peculiarities, and give the system as I received it. Further reference is made to this in the next chapter.

YERKLA TRIBE[1]

	Totems.
Budera	root
Budu	digger (one who digs)[2]
Kura	dingo
Wenung	wombat

These totems appear to be localised, because the Budera and the Budu live on the back or cliff country, while the Kura and Wenung live on the immediate sea-coast. In this they resemble the Yuin, who also divide their people into those who live on the coast, those who live in the forest inland from the coast, and those who live in the mountains.

The tribes which live on the coast between Eucla and Spencer's Gulf evidently belong to the Lake Eyre group, having the same class names in variations of Matteri and Kararu. I have not been able to obtain fuller particulars as to them.

In York's Peninsula were the Narrang-ga whose class system is as follows :—

[1] D. Elphinstone Roe.

[2] This tribe calls itself *Mining*, "men." And *Budu* is explained thus: *Mining-budu*, "a man digs"; *Mining budera budu*, "a man digs roots."

NARRANG-GA TRIBE

Classes.	Totems.		Local Divisions.
Kari—emu	Miduga	swallow	Kurnara—the northern part of the peninsula south of Wallaroo, Kadina, and Clinton
	Bolara	mullet	
	Waltha	wild turkey	
	Murtu	magpie	
	Winta	mopoke	
	Waldaru	lark	
	Kadli	dingo	
Waui—red kangaroo	All totems together with the class name are extinct.		Windera—the eastern part of the peninsula
Wiltu—eagle-hawk	Wortu	wombat	Wari—the western part of the peninsula
	Wolda	wallaby	
	Nantu	kangaroo	
	Multa	seal	
	Gua	crow	
Wilthuthu—shark	Maiabado	wild goose	Dilpa—the extreme part of the peninsula
	Willi	pelican	
	Kangburra	butter-fish	
	Monditu	sting-ray	
	Walaltu	whiting	

I have added to this table the local divisions in order to show at a glance how the class organisation and the local organisation cover the same ground.

The Narrinyeri tribe[1] was divided into eighteen local clans, each inhabiting a different tract of country. That is to say, in each of fourteen there was one totem only; in three there were three each, and in one there were two. From this we see that the process was nearly complete, of confining one totem to one locality. In the Narrang-ga tribe it was complete, but in the Narrinyeri it was in process of completion. In this process of localisation the class or sub-class, which from a process of analogy we may well believe once existed, must have died out. With the Wurunjerri it was the totems all but one which disappeared, the class names having survived. In the following table are the totems, each of which represents a clan, with the exceptions before mentioned.

The names of the clans are such as might have been at one time totems. For instance, Piltinyeri, which means

[1] *Kornar* = "man," *inyeri* = "belonging to or of."—Rev. G. Taplin and Mr. F. W. Taplin.

"belonging to ants," has three sub-totems—leech, cat-fish, and lace-lizard. This is analogous to the system of the neighbouring Buandik, and to the totems and sub-totems of the Wotjobaluk. In others the name is strictly local, and resembles the local designations of the Narrang-ga and of the Kurnai.

NARRINYERI TRIBE

Name of Clan.[1]	English of the Name.	Totem.	
Bamir-inyeri	rumaii, the west	wirulde or tangari	wattle gum
Tanganarin	where shall we go?	manguritpuri or nori	the pelican
Kandarl-inyeri	whales	kandarli	whales
Lungundararn	seaside men	tyellityelli	fern
Turarorn	coot men	turi or tettituri	coot
Park-inyeri	deep water	kunguldi	butter-fish
Kanmeraorn	mullet men	kanmeri	mullet
Kaikalab-inyeri	watching	(1) ngulgar-inyeri	bull-ant
		(2) pingi	a water-weed
Mungul-inyeri	thick or muddy water	wanyi	chocolate sheldrake
Rangul-inyeri	howling dog	turiit-pani	dark-coloured dingo
Karat-inyeri	signal smoke	turiit-pani	light-coloured dingo
Pilt-inyeri	ants	maninki	leech
		pomeri	cat-fish
		kallkalli	a lace-lizard
Talk-inyeri	fulness	?	leech[2]
		?	cat-fish
	Artemus sp.	tiyawi	a lace-lizard
Wulloke	the wood-sparrow	?	leech
		?	cat-fish
		?	a lace-lizard
Karowalli	gone over there	waiyi	whip-snake
Punguratpula	place of bulrushes	peldi	musk duck
Wel-inyeri	belonging to itself or by itself	nakare	black duck
		ngumundi	black snake with red belly
Luth-inyeri	belonging to the sun-rising	kungari	black swan
		ngeraki	seal
		kikinummi	black snake with grey belly
Wunyakulde	corruption of *walkande*, the north	nakkare	black duck
Ngrangatari or Gurrangwari	at the south-west or at the south-east	waukawiye	kangaroo rat

[1] The postfix *yeri* or *inyeri*, "belonging to," is omitted from some of the names in the translation.

[2] The names of the leech and cat-fish totems of Talk-inyeri and Wulloke have not been ascertained.

The Raminyeri are the most westerly clan of the Narrinyeri.

The Tanganarin occupy the country at the bend of the Murray mouth. Tradition says that the tribe was non-plussed when they came down the river and found that it went into the sea, and said to one another "Where shall we go?" The Kandarl-inyeri inhabit a tract of country near the Murray mouth. Whales were frequently stranded on their coast, being possibly flurried by getting into the volume of fresh water of the Murray River. The Park-inyeri owned the deepest part of the Coorong. The Kaikalab-inyeri occupied a promontory running partly across the Coorong, and were in a good position to watch all that went to and fro. The Rangul-inyeri and the Karat-inyeri had a country infested by wild dogs. The Karat-inyeri possess a bold bluff on the shores of Lake Alexandrina, which was a good position for making and observing signals, and at this spot a lighthouse has since been built. The Pilt-inyeri is the name by which this clan is usually known, Talk-inyeri and Wulloke being in some sort sub-clans. Their arrangement of totem is singular, there being three kinds of leeches, cat-fish, and lace-lizards, and each one of these has a distinct name. Maninki is a large dark-coloured leech; Pomeri is the largest kind of cat-fish, and also is the name of cat-fish generally. Kallkalli is the dark-coloured lace-lizard. These are the totems belonging to the Pilt-inyeri. The Tiyawi, belonging to the Talk-inyeri, is a spotted lace-lizard. The Warrangumbi belonging to the Wulloke is a very large species of lace-lizard. The Luth-inyeri called themselves by this name, but their neighbours call them Kalatin-yeri. "Kalatin" means shining, this clan having grassy slopes that are visible at a long distance when the sun shines on them. Lath-inyeri is probably a corruption of the same word. Wunyakulde is evidently a corruption of "Walkande," north; and it was almost impossible to distinguish the difference between the two words Ngrangatari and Gurrangwari, indeed an old black would tell you to sound the "t" or not as you liked. The narrow sheet of water which trends to the south-east from the Murray mouth, and which is called

Coorong by the whites, is probably a corruption of the word "Gurrangh," which means south-east.

The Yuin is another instance of a tribe in which the class system is in a decadent condition. There are no class names, or even traces of them, but very numerous totems scattered over the country, as is the case in the tribes with descent in the female line. But in this case the totem names are inherited from the father, and not from the mother. The totem name was called *Budjan*, and it was said to be more like *Joïa*, or magic, than a name; and it was in one sense a secret name, for with it an enemy might cause injury to its bearer by magic. Thus very few people knew the totem names of others, the name being told to a youth by his father at his initiation. In many cases I found that men had two *Budjan*, one inherited, and the other given by some medicine-man at his initiation. The following is the list of the totems which I obtained from the Yuin old men :—

YUIN TRIBE

Totem Names.		Totem Names.	
Kaual-gar	kangaroo	Burimi	bream
?	emu	Gumbera	black snake
Wungalli	bush-rat	Umbara	black duck
Guragur	kangaroo rat	Jaruat	a small owl
Merigong	dingo	Tiska	a small owl
Munyunga	eagle-hawk	Kumbo	fat
Wagora	crow	Janan-gabatch	Echidna histrix (?)
Gurung-aba	pelican	Bilinga	grey magpie
Berimbarmin	white-breasted cormorant	Merrit-jigga	bandicoot
Burnagga	lace-lizard	Ngariba	water-hen
Murumbul	brown snake	Gunimbil	?

Although the totem was little more than a name, it still followed the old exogamous rule of not marrying within itself, although in this tribe the locality governed marriage, as in other tribes with male descent, such as the Kulin and Kurnai.

From this point along the coast northwards the evidence which I have is very fragmentary, and affords little or nothing to show the social organisation of the coast tribes north of Sydney.

Tribes without Class Systems

The Kurnai is a tribe without class divisions. There is, therefore, no social organisation in the sense in which that term is used by me, and the local organisation, as will be explained in Chapter V., controls marriage in so far that it can only properly take place between members of certain reciprocal localities.

The question arises whether the Kurnai ever had a class system, or whether having had one it has died out. There is no direct proof of the former, but I think that a fair case can be made out for the latter assumption. Similarity of language points to the Kulin tribes as the stock from which the Kurnai were an offshoot. Tradition and legend both point to the Bunurong or the Wurunjerri being the parent stock.

At the time when Gippsland was settled after 1842 the oldest man in the Kutwut division of the Brataua clan, who lived on the Albert River, said that the fathers of his people came from the west, from a country where there were a great number of blacks.[1] A Wurunjerri legend relates that long ago Loän, who may be described, in the words of Mr. Andrew Lang, as a "non-natural man," wandered from the Yarra River, following the migration of the swans, first to the inlets of Western Port Bay and then to Corner Inlet, between Wilson's Promontory and the mainland, where he took up his abode. This is far within the country of the Kurnai, whose legends also speak of him living there with his wife Loäntuka, as the guardian of the Brataua clan.

To judge from the similarities of language, from tradition, and from common customs, the Kurnai may be considered an offshoot of the Kulin, and to have probably carried with them the Kulin class system. If the Kurnai use of the name Bunjil points to the former name of a class, then the reverence which they show to Ngarugal, the crow, may also indicate the second class name. The crow is said to be the friend of the Kurnai. It was wrong to kill a crow,

[1] J. M'Alpine.

and doing so, they thought, would bring on stormy weather. Tankowillin, a man whom I have mentioned elsewhere, said when I spoke to him about this belief, "I know that I should not kill and eat crow, but I have often eaten his children without his doing me any harm." Crows have a habit of following people in the bush, flying from tree to tree, and peering down at the person followed while doing so; the Kurnai say that a crow understands their language, and answers their questions by its caw, which is their affirmative *ngaa*.

Each Kurnai received the name of some marsupial, bird, reptile, or fish, from his father, when he was about ten years old, or at initiation. A man would say, pointing to the creature in question, "That is your *thundung;* do not hurt it." In two cases I know of, he said, "It will be yours when I am dead." The term *thundung* means "elder brother," and, while the individual was the protector of his *thundung*, it also protected its "younger brother," the man, by warning him in dreams of approaching danger, or, by coming towards him in its bodily shape, it assisted him, as in the case of the man Bunjil-bataluk mentioned elsewhere, or was appealed to by song charms to relieve sickness.

The *thundung* of the Kurnai known to me are as follows:—

Narut	wombat
Jirha	kangaroo
Barlajan	platypus
Gliun	water-hen
Blit-buring	a small bird
Gwanamurrung	eagle-hawk
Thurung	tiger-snake
Bibing	sea-salmon
Burra	small conger-eel
Noy yang	large conger-eel

The *thundung* are clearly the equivalents of the totems of other tribes, and form a vestigiary survival of a class system, but I have no means of saying to which of the moieties of the tribe they once belonged, assuming those moieties to have been distinguished as Bunjil and Ngarugal.

On the Queensland border there was another coast tribe, the *Chepara*, who stand much in the same position as the

Kurnai. They had no social organisation in classes or totems, the regulation of marriage being by locality and descent of name in the male line. When I was inquiring into the organisation of this tribe, the absence of classes and totems seemed to me so remarkable that I caused my

FIG. 8.—ONE OF THE KRAUATUNGALUNG CLAN OF THE KURNAI TRIBE.

correspondent[1] to make further investigation. He did so, and reported to me that his informants assured him that they had no such names. His principal informant, one of the oldest of the men, was well acquainted with the *Kamilaroi* sub-class names, and was therefore in a position to speak with certainty, and he said that there were no such in his tribe. It was apparently the same with the Turrbal

[1] Jas. Gibson.

tribe on the Pine River near Brisbane, whose country overlapped that claimed by the Chepara.[1]

The Equivalence of Class Names

The equivalence of class or sub-classes long ago attracted my attention when I was studying the organisation of the Kamilaroi tribes. I found on comparing the class divisions of any large group of allied tribes such as the Kamilaroi, that the several tribes have more or less marked differences in their classes and sub-classes, either in the names themselves or in extreme cases in their arrangement. These differences are often merely dialetic variations of name; but in other cases they amount to differences in the structure of the system itself. When a still larger group of tribes is examined the variations become wider and the differences greater. Nevertheless the general identity of structure and of the fundamental laws of the classes over wide areas proves, beyond doubt, that these varied forms are substantially equivalent.

I may note here that the boundaries of a class system are usually wider than those of a tribe, and that the boundaries of any one type of system have a still wider range, and include those aggregates of tribes which I have termed nations. All such aggregates are bound together by a community of class organisation which indicates a community of descent.

A few instances will show how this equivalence of class is recognised. In the Wotjobaluk tribe the two class names are Krokitch and Gamutch. To the north the Wotjobaluk adjoined the Wiimbaio, whose class names are Mukwara and Kilpara. A Wotjobaluk man, who was Krokitch, told me that when he went to the latter tribe he was Kilpara, and that the people there told him that Gamutch was the same as Mukwara.

A similar statement was made to me by a man of the tribe which is the next to the Wiimbaio up the Murray River.

[1] Tom Petrie.

He said that he was Kilpara, but when he went south into the Wimmera country he was Krokitch, and his wife added that, being Mukwara, she was Gamutch.

I learned from a survivor of the Gal-gal-baluk clan of the Jajaurung tribe, who belonged to the Avoca River, that two sets of class names met there, Bunjil and Waang, of his tribe, and Krokitch and Gamutch of the tribe living to the west of that river. In the south-west of Victoria the same sets of class names meet between Geelong and Colac, where Kroki is equal to Bunjil and Kumitch to Waang.[1]

On the Maranoa River, in southern Queensland, two types of the four sub-class system meet, the equivalents of the Kamilaroi names on the one side, and of the northern Queensland names on the other. There, as it was put to me, "a Hippai man is also Kurgilla," and so on with the other names.[2] To the north-east of the Maranoa three types of the four class systems meet, as pointed out a few pages back. The Ungorri names are on the one side the equivalents of the sub-class names Hipai, Kombo, Murri, Kobi, and on the other those of the Emon tribe, Urgilla, Anbeir, Wungo, and Ubur.

The Maikolon names on the Cloncurry River are the equivalents of those of the Kugobathi on the Mitchell River, on the east side of the Gulf of Carpentaria.[3]

West of the Wiradjuri nation is a vast area occupied by two-class tribes. The names Kilpara and Mukwara extend to the Grey Range in a north-west direction, and there adjoin the class names of tribes such as the Yantruwunta, namely, Kulpuru and Tiniwa. In this case it seems that Kulpuru is the equivalent of Kilpara, and Tiniwa of Mukwara. The Yantruwunta names are the equivalents of the Dieri names, Tiniwa being the same as Kararu, and Kulpuru as Matteri.

This identification would therefore take us southwards through a number of tribes to Port Lincoln, where those latter names occur.

To the westward of Lake Eyre there is the Urabunna tribe, with the same class names as the Dieri, in the form given by Spencer and Gillen, of Matthurie and Kirarawa.

[1] A. L. P. Cameron. [2] R. Lethbridge. [3] Edward Palmer.

This tribe adjoins the Arunta on the north, and the remarks of those authors as to the equivalence of the four sub-classes of the Arunta and the two classes of the "Urabunna" are so apposite, that I quote them to exemplify what I have said on this subject.

They say that it not infrequently happens that a man from the neighbouring Arunta tribe comes to live among the Urabunna. In the former there are four sub-classes, viz. Bulthara and Panunga, Kumara and Purula, and in addition descent is counted in the male line. Accordingly the men of the Bulthara and Purula sub-classes are regarded as equivalent to the Matthurie moiety of the Urabunna tribe, and those of the Panunga and Kumara sub-classes as the equivalents of the Kirarawa. In just the same way a Matthurie man going into the Arunta tribe becomes either a Bulthara or Purula, and a Kirarawa man becomes either Panunga or Kumara. Which of the two a Matthurie man belongs to is decided by the old men of the group into which he goes. This deliberate change in the grouping of the classes and sub-classes so as to make them fit in with the maternal line of descent, or with the paternal, as the case may be, will be more easily understood from the accompanying table.

Arunta.		Urabunna Arrangement of the Arunta Sub-Class.	
Bulthara, Panunga	Moiety A	Bulthara, Purula	Moiety A (Matthurie)
Kumara, Purula	Moiety B	Panunga, Kumara	Moiety B (Kirarawa)

The working out of this has the result that the children belong to the right moiety of the tribe into which the man has gone.[1]

The authors very justly observe that the natives are quite capable of thinking such things out for themselves, and it is perhaps not without a degree of suggestiveness in regard to the difficult question of how a change in the line of descent might be brought about.

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 68, 69.

I am indebted to Dr. Roth for the following particulars as to the Annan River tribe. The sub-class names are held to be equivalent to those of an adjacent tribe belonging to those which have the four names, Kurkilla, Banbari, Wungko, Kupuru, but arranged in the following order, the effect being to bring out descent in the male line, thus agreeing with the descent in the Annandale tribe. It follows that in corresponding marriages in the adjacent tribe the arrangement of the Annan River sub-class names would be reversed.

Annan River Sub-Classes.		Wakelbura Sub-Classes.	
Wandi, Walar	Moiety A	Wungko, Kurkilla	Moiety A
Jorri, Kutchal	Moiety B	Kupuru, Banbari	Moiety B

This is another instance of a change made intentionally to effect a purpose.

To this I would add that it strengthens the view which Dr. Fison and I long ago advanced, that the changes made in the social organisation of the tribes, including the classificatory system of relationships, were matters of deliberate intention and not the result of chance.

In the following table I have given some of the systems which are the equivalents of each other. I have taken the classes and in some cases the sub-classes for comparison, omitting the totems which are not essential for my purpose, and which would be of use mainly to determine some doubtful case of equivalence. For the purpose of bringing this question into the shortest range of view, I have abbreviated the connected chain by taking those cases which are most typical, and which I have specially noticed in this section. But it must not be supposed that the tribes noticed touch each other in all cases, for some of them are hundreds of miles apart. It is the class system which touches another class system, as that of the Wotjobaluk touches that of the Wiimbaio, and the equivalence would be recognised by tribes of the respective

organisations, who, though living far apart, are aware of the fact by seeing men of the other class at the great tribal meetings. In the south-west of Victoria, if a man of the Lake Bolac tribe, being a Krokitch, were to marry a woman or the Woëworung-speaking people, she would be of the Bunjil class, that being the equivalent of Krokitch, while Krokitch equals Waang. An instance of the manner in which this works is within my own experience. I happened to meet with a man from the Upper Diamantina River who had been brought down south. In speaking to him of the place he came from, I said that I thought the names Kurgila, Banbe, Wungo, and Kuburu were to be found there. He said, "Yes, I am Wungo." Then I said that away farther south of that place there were four names different to those of his tribe, Ipai, Kumbo, Murri, and Kubbi, and that, if I were there, blackfellows might call me Ipai, and that Ipai is the same as Kurgila. He thought for a moment and then said, "Then you are the same as brother to my father." This was quite correct, for Kurgila marries Kuburuan and their son is Wungo. Among themselves this would have formed a real class relationship, and the respective rights and duties attached to it would have been recognised and acted on as a matter of course.

In the table given below the chain apparently ends at the Belyando River, but in fact this class system extends to the upper waters of the Flinders River in a slightly varied form of names. Its furthest point occurs on the Upper Cloncurry River where it is followed by that of the Maikolon tribe.[1] I have not been able to make out the equivalence of the Wakelbura type of names with those of the Maikolon, but when this is done, the link will be supplied to complete the chain of equivalent systems from Mount Gambier to the Mitchell River in Queensland, a distance of over 1500 miles in a straight line.

Wherever two systems touch each other the members of the adjacent tribes invariably know which of the neighbouring classes corresponds to their own, and therefore the individual knows well with which class or sub-class of the other

[1] E. Palmer.

tribe his own intermarries; and he knows also, though perhaps not quite so well, the marriage relations of the other class or sub-class as the case may be.

TABLE SHOWING THE EQUIVALENCE OF THE CLASSES AND SUB-CLASSES

Buandik	Wotjobaluk	Wiimbaio	Kamilaroi	Kaiabara	Wakelbura
Mount Gambier	Wimmera	Murray River	Gwydir River	Bunya Mountains	Belyando
South Australia	Victoria	New South Wales	New South Wales	Queensland	Queensland
Kroki Kumite	Krokitch Gamutch	Kilpara Mukwara	Kupathin Dilbi	Kubatine Dilebi	Malera Wuthera

I have endeavoured to bring into orderly review in this chapter the various states of development of the social organisation of the native tribes, and so to arrange my materials that the tribes should form a series commencing with those in the most primitive condition socially, and terminating with those in whose organisation the greatest changes have taken place. The series commences with tribes in which the two organisations are in existence and, of the two, the social is most vigorous. The two class divisions into which we may suppose the hypothetical Undivided Commune was segmented control marriage, and are transmitted in the female line of descent. The further consecutive changes are in two directions, one by the segmentation successively in different tribes of the two into four and finally eight sub-classes. In some tribes the descent continued in the female line, while in others it has changed to the male line. In the other direction the changes are of various kind and degree, but all tend to produce what I may term atrophy in the classes and the totems, with the establishment of descent in the male line, finally ending in such tribes as the Kurnai and Chepara with the extinction of the classes and, as to the latter, of the totems. The local organisation remains and controls marriage by requiring it to be between those of reciprocal localities, thus continuing the principle of exogamy, which is established by the class law.

While the latter series of changes leads to the extinction of the class system, the process of development by the segmentation of the sub-classes seems to tend to permanence. Why this should be, it is not easy to say. It may be because the tribes along the coast, amongst whom the extinction of the class system has been most evident, are much smaller and more isolated than the tribes on the great inland stretches of country where the same conditions extend for hundreds of miles. The area occupied by a tribe like the Kurnai is small and very isolated in comparison to that occupied by the Lake Eyre tribes, but infinitely better watered and more prolific in food supplies.

The two exogamous class divisions begin the series of changes which I have described, and it may now be asked how they themselves originated. My opinion is, that it was by the same process as that by which the four arose from the two, namely by the division of an original whole, which I have referred to as the Undivided Commune.

The two classes have been intentionally divided into four and eight sub-classes, so that it does not seem to me unreasonable to conclude also that the segmentation of the hypothetical Commune was made intentionally by the ancestors of the Australian aborigines.

In his late work Mr. Andrew Lang dissents from this hypothesis,[1] and quotes a number of writers in support of his opinion to prove that the two exogamous classes had their origin in the amalgamation of two separate and independent local totem groups. Of the writers he has quoted, only one, viz. the Rev. John Mathew, has or had a personal acquaintance with the Australian blacks. He advances a similar theory to that of Mr. Lang, based on some bird myths and legends of Victorian tribes.[2] He speaks of a pristine conflict between two races of men contesting for the possession of Australia, "the taller and more powerful and more fierce Eagle-hawk race overcoming and in places exterminating the weaker, more scantily equipped sable Crows." This hypothesis, as I understand it, infers that the two class

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 36.
[2] *Eagle-hawk and Crow*, p. 9.

divisions arose from the amalgamation of two groups, the totem of one being Eagle-hawk, and of the other Crow. I still see no reason to vary the opinion first advanced by Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself, and subsequently endorsed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, than whom none have had better opportunities of forming an independent opinion as to the probabilities of the case. I say "probabilities" advisedly, for the momentous change in the social system must have occurred in the far distance of prehistoric time. We can see the results, but can only infer the possible causes.

Totems and Totemism

In speaking of the social organisation I have given a considerable number of lists of totems in connection with the class and sub-class divisions. In the chapter on Marriage and Descent I have further considered the totems in regard to these subjects. Something remains to be said as to the relations of the individual and the totem when it is a living creature. Each totem name represents a group of persons, and for this totem the term "group totem" is appropriate. It represents those persons who, to use a Wiradjuri expression, are all of the same *budjan*. The group totem is in some tribes inherited from the mother, in others from the father; while in some, such as the Arunta, it is not inherited, the child being the reincarnated Alcheringa ancestor.

But there is another totem which is not inherited, but which is given to a youth at his initiation, as for instance at the Burbung of the Wiradjuri. The case of Murri-kangaroo, mentioned elsewhere, is in point. His group *budjan* was Kangaroo, inherited from his mother; his personal *budjan* was Tiger-snake, which he received during the apparently hypnotic suggestions to which his father, a noted medicine-man of that tribe, subjected him.

A third totem is not inherited, nor is it given, because a child when born becomes at once its brother if a boy, or its sister if a girl. This is the sex totem, of which the Wotjobaluk tribe gives one of the best examples. In it the Bat,

Ngunun-ngunut, is the brother of all the men, and Yartatgurk, the Owlet-nightjar, is the sister of all the women. In this tribe the group totem is called by the terms *Mir*, *Ngirabul*, and *Yauruk*, the latter word meaning flesh, frequently expanded into *Yauruk-gologeitch*, that is "flesh-of-all." These terms apply equally to the group and sex totems. I know of no personal totems in this tribe, probably because it had no initiation ceremonies of the Burbung type at which such names are given.

Very little came under my notice in Victorian tribes as to any objection to kill or eat the totem. This is partly due, I think, to the fact that in the Kulin tribes there was only one totem attached to the class Bunjil, and none to that of Waang. These tribes covered a great part of that State. They leave only the tribes of the Western District, with those along the course of the Murray River and in the extreme North-eastern District, unaccounted for.

As to the tribes of the south-west, they have been described at length by Mr. James Dawson, but there appears not to be any mention in his work of the totems in connection with any subject but marriage. His acquaintance with these tribes dated back to such an early time in the settlement of Victoria that I can scarcely imagine that, if there had been any marked beliefs as to the totem names, he must have become acquainted with them. But, on the other hand, these tribes had for neighbours on the west the Buandik, whose beliefs as to the totems I shall quote shortly. On the north-west the tribes which Mr. Dawson describes were the neighbours of the Wotjo nation. It seems therefore singular that the tribes of South-west Victoria had no rules prohibiting the killing of the totems.

The Wotjobaluk would not harm his totem if he could avoid it, but at a pinch he would eat it in default of other food. In order to injure another person he would, however, kill that person's totem. To dream about his own totem means that some one has done something to it for the purpose of harming the sleeper or one of his totemites. But if he dreams it again, it means himself, and if he thereupon falls ill, he will certainly see the wraith of the person

who is trying to "catch" him. The same beliefs are held by the other tribes of this nation.

The Buandik, with four other tribes associated with it, have the same organisation as the Wotjobaluk, the class names being merely in a different dialect. A man would not kill or use for food any of the animals of the same subdivision with himself, excepting when compelled by hunger, and then he expresses sorrow for having to eat his *Wingong* (friend), or *Tumung* (his flesh). When using the latter word, the Buandik touch their breasts to indicate the close relationship, meaning almost a part of themselves.

One of that tribe killed a crow. Three or four days afterwards a Boortwa (Crow) man died. He had been ailing for some days, but the killing of his *Wingong* hastened his death.[1]

These statements probably apply equally to the other four tribes.

As I have already pointed out, the Kurnai have the survivals of what were once group totems, that is, certain marsupials, and birds, fish, and reptiles, which are the *thundung* (elder brothers) of men, and *bauung* (elder sisters) of women. Under the influence of male descent these names are restricted to certain localities, and not scattered throughout the tribal country. As I have indicated in the chapter on Marriage, a man brings his wife to his own locality; she does not transmit her *bauung* name to her children, but he transmits his. The names are therefore perpetuated from generation to generation in the same locality, and in this manner have become localised. In the sense, however, that they are now common to the members of certain families in the same tract of country, they are still group totems.

Usually the *bramung* or younger brother of one of these totems will not injure or kill his *thundung*, nor willingly see another person do so, but there are exceptions to this; for instance, men of the conger-eel totem at the Snowy River eat it, and I have known a man of the kangaroo totem eat that animal. These cases may be taken as instances of the general breaking down of the totemic system, possibly through similar causes to those which have produced such changes

[1] D. S. Stewart.

in the class systems of the coast tribes and the development of local exogamy in them.

Among the Yuin a man might not kill or eat his *Jimbir*, also called *Budjan*. In addition to the group totem, the novice receives an individual totem at the initiation ceremonies from some one of the Gommeras. In one instance which came under my notice, this individual totem was Wombat, and the medicine-man who gave it said to the novice, "You must not eat it." The novice was of the Kaualgar or Kangaroo totem by inheritance from his father. Another man of the Kangaroo *Jimbir* believed that animal gave him warnings of danger, by hopping towards him, and he said that it would not be right for a Kaualgar man to kill a kangaroo. This was the group totem of that man.

That in this tribe the totem is thought to be in some way part of a man is seen clearly by the case of Umbara, before mentioned, who told me that, many years ago, some one of the *Burnagga budjan* (Lace-lizard totem) sent it while he was asleep, and that it went down his throat, and almost ate his Budjan, which was in his breast, so that he nearly died. This man could not eat his Budjan, Black Duck, which in its corporeal form gave him warnings against enemies or other dangers.

The Narrinyeri totem passes from father to child, who might not kill or eat it, although another person might do so.[1] In the Wonghibon tribe a man would not kill or eat his totem unless under great pressure of hunger.[2] In the tribes within fifty miles of Maryborough (Queensland), each boy has a totem called *Pincha*, which is given to him by his father, and which he calls *Noru*, that is, "brother." For instance, say that a man's *Pincha* is Fish-eagle (*kunka*), he gives to each of his sons a *Pincha*; for instance, to one a kangaroo (*guruman*), to another a large white grub (*pu-yung*) which is found in gum-trees, and so on. A man does not kill or eat his *Pincha*. Moreover, he is supposed to have some particular affinity to his father's *Pincha*, and is not permitted to eat it.[3]

In the Wakelbura tribe the totem animal is spoken of as "father." For example, a man of the *Binnung-urra*

[1] F. W. Taplin. [2] A. L. P. Cameron. [3] Harry E. Aldridge.

(Frilled-lizard totem) holds that reptile as sacred, and he would not only not kill it, but would protect it by preventing another person doing so in his presence. Similarly a man of the Screech-owl totem would call it "father," and likewise hold it sacred and protect it. So far does the feeling go, that when a man could not get satisfaction for an injurious action by another, he has been known to kill that beast, bird, or reptile which that man called "father," and thus obtain revenge, and perhaps cause the other to do the same, if he knew of it. A man who was lax as to his totem was not thought well of, and was never allowed to take any important part in the ceremonies.[1]

Sex Totems

There are two birds which the Kurnai reverence: the Emu-wren and the Superb Warbler, which are the sex totems, and no man would think under any circumstances of injuring his "elder brother," *Yiirung*, or any woman her "elder sister," *Djiitgun*. Thus, as to these sex totems, the usual totemic taboo exists. The totem is the protector of the individual, and the individual protects his totem.

The sex totems were first observed and reported by me among the Kurnai, where Yiirung, the Emu-wren, is the elder brother of the men, and Djiitgun the elder sister of the women. The sex totems, when first seen, presented a novel but a perplexing problem, because they merely divide the tribe into two moieties, one including all the males and the other all the females.

The true character of the sex totem is shown by the Wotjobaluk expression, "The life of a bat is the life of a man," meaning that to injure a bat is to injure some man, while to kill one is to cause some man to die. The same saying applies to the Owlet-nightjar with respect to women.

There is a very peculiar custom connected with these totems, namely, that they are the cause of fighting between the sexes, not only in the Kurnai tribe but also in all the tribes in which I have found them.

[1] J. C. Muirhead.

In the Kurnai tribe sometimes ill-feeling arose between the men and the women, and then some of the latter went out and killed one of the men's brothers to spite them. On their return to the camp with the victim, the men attacked them with their clubs, and they defended themselves with their digging-sticks. Or the men might go out and kill a woman's "sister," whereupon the women would attack them.

But the most remarkable feature of these fights over the killing of the man's brother or of the woman's sister, was when there were young women who were marriageable, but not mated, and when the eligible bachelors were backward. In this tribe, as I have explained in the chapter on Marriage, there was no practice of betrothal, the cases thereof being so rare as to prove the rule. Marriage was by elopement, and therefore the young woman had the power to refuse, unless constrained by the incantations of the *Bunjil-yenjin.*

Under such circumstances some of the elder women went out, and having killed a Yiirung, returned to the camp and casually let some of the men see it, who became enraged at one of their brothers being killed. The young men and the young women then armed themselves with clubs and sticks and fought together. In this fight it was only those young men who had been made Jeraeil, and who were now allowed by the old men to marry, who took part in these affrays.

On the following day the young men went out and killed a Djiitgun, which would occasion another fight when they came back. By and by, when the bruises and perhaps wounds received in these fights had healed, a young man and a young woman might meet, and he, looking at her, would say, for instance, "Djiitgun! What does the Djiitgun eat?" The reply would be, "She eats kangaroo, opossum," or some other game. This constituted a formal offer and an acceptance, and would be followed by the elopement of the couple as described in the chapter on Marriage.

Fights between the sexes on account of the killing of the brother or sister totem occurred in a great number of tribes, and probably in all the tribes now referred to; but it is only in the Kurnai tribe that I have met with the sex-totems as instrumental in promoting marriage.

In the Wotjobaluk tribe such fights arose out of some ill-feeling, when men, for instance, would kill an owlet-night-jar and tell of doing so in the camp. The women would then in their turn kill a bat, and carry it to the camp on the point of a stick which had been thrust through it, and with a piece of wood in its mouth to keep it open. This was held up in triumph, the oldest woman walking first and the younger ones following, and all shouting "Yeip! Yeip!" (Hurrah!)

The men met them with clubs and boomerangs, the women being armed with their digging-sticks, and a great fight would ensue. At times the men used spears against the women, who defended themselves by turning them aside or breaking them with their sticks.

In such a fight, which might last, off and on, for an hour, women have been speared; but, on the other hand, they have been known to give the men a good drubbing with their sticks.

I have traced the totems as far as the Buandik, but the Narrinyeri do not seem to have had them. They occur in the tribes of the Murray River and of Riverina, and as far as the northern boundaries of the Wonghibon.[1]

In South-Western Victoria the men look upon the bat (*Ngung-ngutch*) as sacred to them, and the women claim the small nightjar (*Eratiyerk*).[2]

The Wurunjerri not only had the Bat (Ngunun-ngunut) and the Owlet-nightjar (Ngari-barm-goruk), but the Kurnai totems also, under the names of Bunjil-boroin, meaning "twilight," for the Emu-wren, and of the Wurn-goruk for the Superb Warbler.

The Yuin sex totems are the Bat and the Emu-wren as the men's brother, and the Tree-creeper (*Tinte-gallan*) as the women's sister.

At Port Stephens the Bat and the Tree-creeper are the *Gimbai* or "friends" of the men and women respectively. The men took the bat under their protection, and woe betide any woman who attempted to injure one. The bat was also called Kuri, that is "man."[3]

It was said in the Turrbal tribe that the small Bat made the men, and the Night-hawk made the women. Mr. Tom

[1] A. L. P. Cameron. [2] *Id.* [3] William Scott.

Petrie of North Pine River, Brisbane, has described the fight between the sexes about them, by saying that the men out of mischief would kill a woman's sister, and then in turn the women killed a man's brother, when there would be a fight, or rather "a sort of jolly fight, like skylarking." As Mr. Harry E. Aldridge of Maryborough (Queensland) has no knowledge of the sex totems, it is probable that they do not extend farther north than Brisbane.

I am quite unable to offer any suggestion as to the origin of the sex totems. I am not aware of any case in which they have been eaten. They are thought to be friendly to the sex they are akin to, and are protected by it.

The Wotjobaluk saying that "the life of a bat is the life of a man" seems to me to explain why the killing of that totem causes the men to be so enraged. To injure a bat is to injure some man, but as this is a group totem, so far as in that it includes all the men, each of them may justly fear that he is the particular one whose life will be affected.

TOTEMISM

As totemism combined with exogamy is at the root of the social organisation, it requires some special mention here. In this connection I may now say that I entirely agree with the opinion expressed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen,[1] that the relation between totemism and exogamy is merely a secondary feature, the primary functions of the former having probably been in existence before the latter became established.

There is much difference of opinion as to the origin of what is termed totemism, and a number of hypotheses have been framed to account for it.

It has always seemed to me that the origin of totems and totemism must have been in so early a stage of man's social development that traces of its original structure cannot be expected in tribes which have long passed out of the early conditions of matriarchal times. Yet if anywhere

[1] "On Totemism as applied to Australian Tribes," *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* February and May 1899.

in the still savage regions of the world there are any living survivals of early totemism, surely it must be in Australia that they are to be sought for.

Therefore there are but three of the hypotheses referred to with which I feel myself concerned. First, that advanced by Messrs Spencer and Gillen; the second, which is substantially the same, but independently arrived at by Dr. J. G. Frazer; and the third by Mr. Andrew Lang. Professor Haddon has also made a suggestion bearing on totemism which must be considered.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen say, that in Australian tribes the primary function of a totemistic group is to ensure by magic a supply of the object which gives its name to the totemistic group. There is an important series of traditions in the Arunta tribe which deals with a gradual development, and with a former state of organisation and custom quite different from, and in important respects at variance with, the organisation and customs of the present day.

The traditions point to the introduction of an exogamic law after the totemic groups were fully developed, and also that the introduction of that system was due to the deliberate action of certain ancestors.

The hypothesis starts with the assumption of the existence of totemic groups; but these legends do not help us, since they assume the descent of mankind from the objects whose names they bear. But I think that we may safely go so far as to consider it very probable, if food animals and plants were totems in the earliest times, that magical practices might easily arise for the purpose of increasing the food supply of the pristine totemic groups. Such practices would, to use the words of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, as I understand them, be the primary function of such groups.

In connection with this, I may remark that the very great development of the magical ceremonies of Central Australian tribes, connected with the "primary" functions of such groups, appear to me to have arisen necessarily out of the climatic conditions of that part of Australia; while their absence in the tribes of South-Eastern Australia is due to the far more favourable conditions under which they have lived.

Dr. Frazer's views are, shortly, as follows.[1] The Intichiuma ceremonies appear to indicate that each totem group was charged with the superintendence of some department of nature, from which it took its name. The control was by magical means to procure for the members of the community, on the one hand, a plentiful supply of all the commodities of which they stood in need; and, on the other hand, an immunity from all the perils and dangers to which man is exposed in his struggle with nature.

Dr. J. G. Frazer informs me that this view was first suggested by him in a letter to Professor Baldwin Spencer in the autumn of 1898, in reply to which the latter informed him that he had been coming to the same conclusion.

Accordingly, when Professor Baldwin Spencer visited England afterwards, he read the paper already quoted, which contained the views of Mr. Gillen and himself.

Thus Dr. Frazer independently arrived at the same conclusion, and raised the same hypothesis as to the primary functions of the pristine groups.

This hypothesis takes us back far into the time when the function of each totem group was to secure the multiplication of the particular object the name of which it bore.

But the totem group is seen there to be fully formed, and the question still remains, How was it that men assumed the names of objects, which in fact must have been the commencement of totemism?

It is to this aspect of the question that Mr. Andrew Lang has addressed himself especially.[2] He holds that the problem of the commissariat must have kept the pristine groups very small. They were at first anonymous, and each group would need a special name for each of its unfriendly neighbours. He considers that as likely as not there would be animal names given for various reasons. Thus the plant and animal names would be impressed upon each group from without, and some of them would stick, would be stereotyped, and each group would come to answer to its nickname.

[1] *The Fortnightly Review*, April 1899, p. 646.
[2] *Social Origins*, p. 166.

To me, judging of the possible feelings of the pristine ancestors of the Australians by their descendants of the present time, it seems most improbable that any such nicknames would have been adopted and have given rise to totemism, nor do I know of a single instance in which such nicknames have been adopted.

I could more easily imagine that these early savages might, through dreams, have developed the idea of relationships with animals, or even with plants. Such dreams as those of the medicine-man Bunjil-bataluk, who was a Lace-lizard, according to his dreams and in his own belief, or of the Biraark who dreamed that he was a Kangaroo, and assisted at their corrobboree, are cases in point.

The hypothesis suggested by Professor Haddon[1] is that groups of people, at a very early period, by reason of their local environment, would have special varieties of food.

This receives support from the fact that analogous names obtain now in certain tribes, *e.g.* the Yuin.

A question suggests itself, as to whether the ceremonies of the Dieri and other Lake Eyre tribes, which are the equivalents of the Intichiuma ceremonies, may be considered as the survival of primitive belief and custom, or whether they are a peculiar evolution of totemism. The Dieri tribe in its organisation, and in its customs and beliefs, is one of the most backward-standing tribes I know of, and therefore it would not be surprising if the magical food-producing ceremonies were retained, while other tribes have departed from them.

Assuming that the Dieri do, in fact, continue ceremonies which belonged to the primary functions of the early totemistic groups, it may be worth considering whether there are any apparent reasons why the native tribes in other parts of Australia have abandoned them. I have before pointed out that the tribes can be arranged in a series: first those with Pirrauru marriage; then those in which that form of marriage has become a rudimentary custom; and finally those which have more or less lost their class organisation, and have developed a form of individual marriage.

Now compare such a series of tribes with regard to these

[1] *Proceedings of British Association*, 1902.

magical food-producing ceremonies, and also as to the climatic conditions under which they live. We shall find that the Lake Eyre tribes are under a minimum rainfall, a very high temperature, and a prevailing aridity, with fertile intervals, when there is abundance of animal and vegetable food supplies. At the further end of the series, whether in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, or South Australia, the tribes living, say, on the coast lands, are under climatic conditions very different from those of Central Australia, with a good rainfall, a more temperate climate, and a plentiful and constant food supply, both animal and vegetable. This comparison comes out clearly when the tables of rainfall, given in the introductory chapter, are inspected.

This comparison will fall in line with former conclusions, namely, that the tribes of the Lake Eyre basin have remained in a far more primitive condition socially than those of the south-east of Australia.

If so, it would point to conditions of better climate, and more abundant and regular food supply, as potent causes in the advancement of the social condition of the south-east tribes. At present it is not known what is the condition of the tribes which exist in the great western deserts between South Australia and Western Australia. Their social organisation would be of the greatest interest for comparison with that of tribes living in the more fertile parts of this continent.

Taking all into consideration, I feel that the most probable conclusion to arrive at is, that the Intichiuma ceremonies represent a very early form of totemistic beliefs ; but beyond that, there are not sufficient data to allow of a safe hypothesis as to the origin of the totemic names.

Yet it may be well to keep in view that no two tribes are practically at the same point of development, as indicated for instance by an advance from group marriage to some form of individual marriage. Thus I see no difficulty in believing that while the Arunta have reached male descent with segmentation into eight sub-classes, they may have retained early beliefs as to their totem ancestors.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The Classificatory system—Its significance—Table of Dieri relationships—The Dieri system—Its peculiar development—The *Nadada-noa* relationship—*Kami* and *Noa*—Anomalous cases—Kurnai relationships—Table of Kurnai terms—Archaic form of relationships.

THE CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM

IT has been long known that this system of counting relations, which occurs among the Australian tribes, also obtains among other savage and barbarous races. Since it was first brought under notice by the late Dr. Lewis H. Morgan, "the classificatory system" of relationships, as he called it, has been the subject of much controversy, and the opinions formed as to the origin and real meaning of the system have been various. It may be safely said that there are few, even of those who have been brought into daily contact during the course of a lifetime with the Australian blackfellow, who have taken the trouble to master the details of the system; or, if they have done so, they have not been able to form any true conception of the true foundation on which the system rests, or the root from which it has sprung.

How much more difficult, therefore, must the subject be for those who live in countries separated by thousands of miles from lands where they could become personally acquainted with savage life. They are compelled, if they desire to study the subject of relationships, to have recourse to second-hand information, superficially collected by travellers, or by local residents, who have brought to the investigation the ingrained beliefs as to relationships which almost form a part of the mental texture of civilised man.

He seems to consider that the terms of relationship which he has been taught to use are, or ought to be, of universal application among mankind.

When such a man is brought first into contact with a race of savages who use the classificatory system, he feels in most cases surprise, mingled with pity, and even with contempt, for those poor creatures who are so low in intellect as to think it possible for any one to have several fathers and mothers, and a vast number of brothers and sisters.

In order to grasp the true nature and bearing of the classificatory system of relationships, it is necessary not only to free oneself from misconceptions, as to the universal use of our own system, but also to have such an acquaintance with the nature of a savage as to be able to put oneself mentally into his place, think with his thoughts, and reason with his mind; unless this be done, the classificatory system will be a delusion and a snare.

It is upon the division of the whole community into two exogamous intermarrying classes that the whole social structure is built up; and the various relationships which are brought about by those marriages are defined and described by the classificatory system.

In order to bring out the real nature of the relations which it defines, it is necessary to clear the ground by some preliminary remarks. As I have said before, the social unit is not the individual, but the group; and the former merely takes the relationships of his group, which are of group to group. The relationship terms differ very much in their meaning from those we use, and moreover the natives distinguish between some which we confuse under one collective term, and those native terms are distinguished from each other, by the persons whom they represent, being respectively in one or the other of the two moieties of the tribe. For instance, our term "uncle" includes "father's brother" and "mother's brother." In the classificatory system the father and the father's brother are of the same class name, while the mother and her brother are in the other, and the same thing occurs with all other collective terms we use. Our collective terms have been the cause of much misunder-

standing, arising through the mistakes of those who have gathered information, without due knowledge, and have confused the native terms with ours.

This is strongly brought out in the late Mr. E. M. Curr's work *The Australian Race*,[1] where it is stated that there are terms in the native tribes which are the equivalents of our collective terms, such as "uncle," "aunt," "nephew," "niece," "sister-in-law," and "son-in-law."

An examination of the table given at p. 141 of his work shows that the compilers were ignorant of the meaning of the terms they gave, as well as of the principles of the classificatory system. They seem to have endeavoured to give a term as near as possible to the "collective terms," in Mr. Curr's circular; but one contributor (the late Rev. George Taplin) takes the trouble to distinguish between the paternal and maternal uncles. It greatly detracts from the usefulness and value of Mr. Curr's work that he did not make himself aware of the native system of relationships. His work requires to be read with knowledge, in order for it to be a safe guide in Australian anthropology.

A mere list of the terms of relationship would not give all that I desire to make clear regarding the system in use by the aborigines. Deductions from such lists of terms are always open to the objection of being more or less theoretical, although to those who have a personal knowledge of the Australian savages and their customs, no further evidence is now necessary to prove that the terms represent a great living fact.

The Dieri System

In order to bring into view the relationships of an existing people, in present and past generations, I requested Mr. Siebert to be so good as to tabulate four generations of the Dieri tribe, taking as the starting-point the marriages of two brothers and their two sisters, and their descendants down to the great-grandchildren. He most kindly not only did this, but also tabulated a number of cases illustrating points which arose in the critical examination of the results.

[1] Vol. i. p. 140.

ABLE OF DIERI MARR

1. M. **Tidnamara**...Yaudra...Dieri
5. F. *Markara*.....Tan.....Dieri

9. M. *Markara*...Dieri
17. F. **Punta** ... Dieri

10.

12. F. *Muluru* ... Dieri
18.
20. M. **Kaualka**...Wonkanguru

25. M. **Punta** 26. F. **Punta**
Wonkanguru

27. M. A

31. M. *Muluru* 32. F. *Muluru*
Wonkanguru

The various marriages and descents tabulated are in ordance with the results of the two intermarrying classes their totems, the details of which are given in Chapters and V. The table has been carefully compiled from iculars given by four old aborigines who were living in ear 1898, and it has been carefully tested by comparing independent statements, and by the consensus of their ions.

The diagram as originally drawn up gave the individual e of each person, the tribe to which he or she belonged, elongs, and the class and totem names. As it now stands, ndividual names are omitted, having served their purpose, h was to make the foundation of this account of the s of relationship one of facts and not of inference.

The tribes referred to are the Dieri, Urabunna, kanguru, Tangara, and Kuyani, which intermarried. class names are indicated by the Kararu totems being n in **clarendon** letters and the Matteri in *italics*. The ram also brings into view two facts, namely, that a child s the Murdu of its mother but belongs to the tribe of ather, unless it had been brought up in another tribe, speaks its language, when it would be considered as nging to it. Even a man who took up his abode with his 's tribe, or one where he had relations and spoke its uage, would be counted as belonging to it. The man 1 in the Table is an example of such a case.

All these details are given for the reason that I am ling with, and here present to the reader, the actual data n which my conclusions are drawn. The information s back from the present time to the past, when the Lake e tribes were in a perfectly savage condition; when the te man was only known from rumour, or to some of the people by the sight of Captain Sturt and his companions n they crossed the Yantruwunta country at Cooper's ek. This ensures that there has been no deviation from ancestral customs, which might be suspected if the ticulars referred merely to later times.

The relationship terms of the Dieri are given in the wing list, with their exact meanings in our terms, and

the ordinary term in use among us. The terms will be considered in connection with the table given of marriages and descents in this tribe.

DIERI RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Dieri Term.	Exact Equivalents in our Terms.	English Terms.
Kaia-Kaia	Mother's mother's mother	Maternal great-grandmother, great-grandchild
Nadada	Mother's father, M.[1] daughter's child	Maternal grandfather, grandchild
Yenku	Father's father, father's father's brother, M. son's son	Paternal grandfather, paternal grand-uncle, grandchild, grand-nephew or -niece
Kanini	Mother's mother, F. daughter's child	Maternal grandmother, maternal grand-aunt, grandchild, grand-nephew or -niece
Kadi	Wife's brother	Brother-in-law
Yimari	F. husband's brother, M. wife's sister	Brother-in-law, sister-in-law
Paiara	F. daughter's husband, M. wife's mother	Son-in-law, mother-in-law
Kalari	F. son's wife, husband's mother	Daughter-in-law, mother-in-law
Taru	M. daughter's husband, M. wife's father	Son-in-law, father-in-law
Ngaperi	Father, father's brother	Father, uncle
Ngata-mura	M. child, F. brother's child	Child
Ngandri	Mother, mother's sister	Mother, aunt
Ngatani	F. child	Child
Yibi	M. or F. mother's youngest unmarried sister	Aunt
Neyi	M. or F. elder brother	Elder brother, cousin
Kaku	M. or F. elder sister	Elder sister, cousin
Ngatata	M. or F. younger brother or sister	Younger brother or sister, or cousin
Kamari	Husband's sister	Sister-in-law
Noa	Potential husband or wife	
Tippa-malku	Those who are promised in marriage to each other	Betrothed
Pirrauru	Those who are in relation of group-marriage	
Kami	Mother father's, M. daughter's child, mother's brother's child, father's sister's child	Maternal grandfather, M. daughter's child, cousin
Papa	Father's sister	Aunt
Kaka	Mother's brother	Uncle
Tidnara	M. sister's child	Nephew, niece
Buyulu	Mother's sister's child	Cousin

[1] "M." means "male speaking"; "F." means "female speaking."

It is advisable, in order to avoid any misconception, to say in advance of the statements to be made in the chapter on marriage and descent, that there are two forms of marriage in this tribe. One I have termed *Tippa-malku* marriage, because it follows upon betrothal or exchange of a sister for a wife; the other is the *Pirrauru* marriage, which follows the former, and is the group-marriage of the Lake Eyre tribes.

It is also well to say that, excepting *Tippa-malku*, each term represents a group, and not merely an individual. The relationships of the individuals shown in the Table will be best brought out by considering them *seriatim*, beginning with the brothers and sisters in the first line. It will be observed that in all cases the children are shown as a son and a daughter, who in the two instances 29 and 30 are of different totems, their father No. 2 having had two *Tippa-malku* wives. In former times, before the tribes had been broken up by our settlement of their country, it was not rare for a man to have more than one wife. In such a case he probably was so fortunate as to have had sisters to exchange, or he had done some notable service; as, for instance, bringing about peace between his tribe and some other, or that some one fearing vengeance on a blood feud from him had pacified him by a present of a wife. In one or two cases a couple had no "own" son or "own" daughter, and a "tribal" son or daughter has been interpolated, there being, from a Dieri point of view, no difference in the relationship.

The men Nos. 1 and 2 were brothers, the former being the *Neyi* or elder, and the latter *Ngatata* or younger, who, under the marriage rules of this tribe, had each other's sisters as *Tippa-malku* wives. Their sisters 3 and 4 were the wives of the men 7 and 8, the brothers of the women 5 and 6, the latter being the *Kaku* of 5, while 3 was the *Ngatata* of 4.

The terms *Neyi*, *Kaku*, and *Ngatata* each represent a group of people who are in the fraternal relation to each other. But it does not follow that two persons who are in that relation to each other are both so to a third person. For instance, if a man belonging to another tribe is on a

visit to the Dieri, and is the guest of two brothers who are of the same totem as himself, the relative ages of these three men will determine which is the *Neyi* and which are the *Ngatata*.

But there may be a brother of the two who is not in the fraternal relation to the stranger. Such a case would be like that referred to later on, in which the kindred altered the mutual relationships of a man and a woman from *Kami* to *Noa*. Such alterations only affect the persons immediately concerned, and not their brothers and sisters, and the new relations are transmitted by their descendants, so that in time it is not possible to trace the older relationships.

The Dieri hold that the relationship of the children of two or more sisters is much closer than that of the children of two brothers, although both these groups are, as between themselves, "brother and sister." The special term *Buyulu* applies to the former.

The relations of *Neyi*, *Kaku*, and *Ngatata* in the Table are between 1-2, 3-4; 5-6, 7-8; 9-10, 11-12; 13-14, 15-16. Other examples in the third and fourth level need not be further specified.

Besides these, which may be termed the usual instances in any line of descent, there are others which arise in the tribe through a remarkable and far-reaching provision, which places the grandchildren on the same level, as to relationships, with their maternal grandparents.

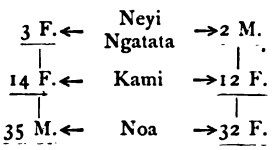
This is so important in its consequences that it is necessary to explain it at some length, before speaking further of the fraternal relations.

Taking the man No. 1 in the Table as an illustration, he and 27-28 are *Nadada-mara*, that is, in "*Nadada*-ship" (the postfix *mara* having that significance), the line of descent being through the woman 10. This relationship of *Nadada* also includes the brothers and sisters of No. 1. The children of a woman are considered as being the younger brothers and sisters (*Ngatata*) of her father. Moreover, this carries with it all the consequential relationships. This will be seen when other relationships are considered, for instance, those of *Papa* and *Ngatamura*.

There is a Dieri saying that "those who are *Noa* are *Nadada* to each other."

This can perhaps be best brought into view by the following little diagram, extracted from the details given in the Table, and prefixed to the individuals are the numbers from the Table.

DIAGRAM III



The man 35 is the younger brother (*Kanini-ngatata*) of his maternal grandmother 3, and therefore is the younger brother of her elder brother (*neyi*), 2, and thus becomes the *Nadada-ngatata* or the maternal grandfather of the woman 32, and is also her *Noa*. Thus "those who are *Noa* to each other are also *Nadada* to each other."

In a similar manner it can be shown that 5, 6, 7, 8 are included in the *Nadada-noa* relation with their respective husbands, and the same is the case with all the other married couples, or those who are merely *Noa* to each other.

Before reverting to the fraternal terms of relationship, that of *Kanini* must be explained. The *Kanini* term is reciprocal between a woman and her daughter's children. She is sometimes called *Kanini-kaku*, the *Kanini* elder sister, apparently because her grandchildren are regarded as being in the same level as herself, being her young brothers and sisters. Thus they are on the same level with her as her brother's children are to him. The brother of the *Kanini* is called also the *Kanini-neyi*, that is the *Kanini* elder brother, her daughter's children being his younger brothers and sisters.

In the Table Nos. 5 and 6 are the *Kanini* of 27-28 and of 31-32 respectively, and 5 and 6, being sisters, are so collectively as to the *Kanini* group of grandchildren.

Similarly 7 and 8, being the brothers of 5 and 6, are the *Kanini-neyi* of 27-28 and 31-32.

The Dieri cannot give any explanation of the cause of the *Nadada* arrangement. It is not at all likely that they could do so as to any ancient practice, nor can I venture to do more than to point to what may possibly suggest a reason for its origin. The effect of bringing the grandchildren up to the level of their grandparents is to enlarge the group of women who are *Noa* to those elders. In other words, the tribal brothers of the *Nadada* and the tribal sisters of the *Kanini* have a further possibility of wives or husbands. In the chapter on marriage it is shown how the younger brother of the *Nadada* obtains a wife, she being the grand-daughter in the female line of his elder brother. But neither, for instance, the *Nadada* No. 1 nor the *Kanini* No. 4 is permitted to participate in this privilege, which only attaches to the younger brothers of the former and the younger sisters of the latter.

The maternal great-grandmother is *Kaiakaia*, more commonly called *Ngandri*, since she is the mother of the *Kanini*. Through the female line in the ascendent 45-46 are *Kaiakaia* to 3, and also to 4, her sister. This term of relationship is the only one in use between the first and fourth levels.

Reverting to the fraternal relationships, it will be seen that since 27 and 28 are *Nadada-ngatata*, that is, the younger brother and sister of No. 1, and 31 and 32 are the *Nadada-ngatata* of 2, the brother of 1, they are the *Nadada-noa* of 5, 6, 7, and 8. Similarly, it can be seen that 35-36 and 39-40 are the *Nadada-noa* of 3 and 4, because they are the *Nadada-ngatata* of 7 and 8, the husbands of those women.

The relationship term *Yenku* is reciprocal between 1 and 2, and 25-26, 29 and 30; also between 7 and 8, and 33-34, 37-38; 13 and 43-44 are in the same relation.

Kami is a term which is reciprocal between the maternal grandfather and his daughter's children. It is also reciprocal between the children of a man and those of his sister, they being *Kami-mara* to each other. Instances of this are the following: 9, 10, 11, 12 are brothers and sisters, being the

children of two brothers; 13, 14, 15, and 16 are also brothers and sisters, being the children of two sisters. These groups are *Kami* to each other. Similar groups of *Kami* occur in the succeeding levels, the last being 43 and 44, who are *Kami* to 45 and 46.

These *Kami*, it may be mentioned, are, among the Dieri, prohibited from intermarriage, although among the Urabunna certain of them are *Nupa* to each other, a man being "only *Nupa* to the female children of the elder brothers of his mother," or, what is exactly the same thing, to those of the elder sisters of his father.[1]

Noa is a reciprocal relation which may be explained by the term "potential spouse." For instance, when a child is born, say No. 9 in the table, it is thereby a member of a certain group, as the case may be, of males or females, each of whom is *Noa* to each individual of another analogous group of the opposite sex. The man 9 on his birth became *Noa* to each female in a group whose brothers were *Noa* to his sisters. Thus there is on either side a group of women who are own or tribal sisters, and who are *Noa* to a group of men, on the other side, who are own or tribal brothers. It is the children of the *Kami* who are born into the *Noa* condition.

In the Table 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8 are *Noa*; similarly 9, 10, 11, 12 and 17, 18, 19, 20 are *Noa*. But these are in the *Kami* relation to 13, 14, 15, 16 and 21, 22, 23, 24.

In the succeeding level there are some who are *Noa* and some who are *Kami* to each other. Of the former are 27 and 31, who are *Noa* to 36 and 40; also 28 and 32, who are *Noa* to 35 and 39.

Imari means husband's brother or male-speaking wife's sister. Those shown in Table are 1-6, 2-5, 3-8, 4-7, 9-19, 10-20, 11-17, 12-18, 13-23, 14-24, 15-21, and 16-22.

Kadi is wife's brother. In this relation are 1 and 2 to 7 and 8; 9 and 11 to 18 and 20; 13 and 15 to 22 and 24; 27 and 31 to 35 and 39. Under the *Kanini*

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 61.

relationship 35 becomes *Kadi* to 7; similarly 27 to 1, and 31 to 2.

Those in the relation of *Kamari*, husband's sister, are 3 and 4 to 5 and 6; also 36, who, being the *Nadada-ngatata* of 7, is the *Kamari* of 3, as 40 is of 4. Other similar relations are in the other level.

The relation of *Kaka* and *Tidnara* is that of mother's brother and male-speaking sister's child. Therefore No. 1 is the *Kaka* of 13-14, and 15-16. No. 2 is in the same relation to them, because he is in the relation of *Ngaperi* to them. The man No. 13 is the *Kaka* of 35 and 36, who are *Tidnara* to him, because under the *Kanini* arrangement 35 and 36 become the *Ngatata* of his mother No. 3. This man No. 13 is also the *Kaka* of 39 and 40, under the *Kanini* arrangement, because their mother is the sister of the woman No. 3, the mother of 13, and therefore stands in the relation of *Ngandri* to him. Similar relations occur in the other levels.

The reciprocal relationships of *Papa* and *Ngatamura* are the following: 5 and 6 with 13, 14, 15, 16; 3 and 4 with 9, 10, 11, 12; 14 and 16 with 33, 34, 37, and 38; 21 and 23 with 35, 36, 39 and 40.

The term *Paiara* is reciprocal, and is applied as follows: Nos. 5 and 18, 6 and 20, 3 and 22, 4 and 24. Nos. 28 and 35 are *Noa-mara*; were they to marry, then 10 would be the *Paiara* of the latter. Similarly No. 12 would be the *Paiara* of 39, if he married 32, who is *Noa* to him.

Instances of the relationship of *Kalari*, which is reciprocal, are 5 and 17, 6 and 19, 3 and 21, 4 and 23. If 31 were to marry 36, who is *Noa* to him, then 12 would be *Kalari* to the latter.

Taru is also a reciprocal term, and the following are *Taru* to each other: Nos. 1 and 18, 2 and 20, 7 and 22, 8 and 24; 28 and 35 are *Noa-mara*, and if they married 18 and 35 would be *Taru*. The same would apply to 20 and 35, or 39, 22 and 31, 22 and 27, 24 and 31, and 24 and 27.

In certain cases difficulties have arisen among the Dieri, as to the marriages of certain persons, whose relationships

prevented an otherwise advisable match. Two such instances are worth quoting as showing the manner in which these people overcome such difficulties.

There were two men who, in the usual manner, married each other's sisters. Each had a daughter, and among the grandchildren there was a son on one side and a daughter on the other. This is a typical case in which the grandchildren are *Noa* to each other. It was proposed that they should marry, but there was a far-distant *Murdu* relationship traceable between them, which made them brother and sister. Thus the *Noa* and the fraternal relations were in conflict.

The kindred on both sides, that is the two mothers, their brothers and those of the girl, decided however that, as the *Murdu* relation was a far-distant one, it was not so strong as the *Nadada-noa* one, and the two were married.

This "far-distant" case means, as I see it, that in the past, and possibly in one of the far-distant intermarrying tribes, some man, as is sometimes the custom, gave his *Murdu* to his son, who then was of two *Murdus*, that of his mother by inheritance, and that of his father by gift from him. He might therefore be of the same *Murdu* as the girl, which would make him her tribal brother. Unfortunately I did not follow out this line of inquiry, and have not had an opportunity since of doing so.

In the other case the fundamental facts were much the same. Two brothers married two sisters, and one had a son and the other a daughter. These being the children of two brothers, were brother and sister. Each of them married, and one had a son and the other a daughter, who were *Kami-mara*.

Under the Dieri rules these two could not lawfully marry; but since there was no girl or woman *Noa* to the young man and available, he could not get a wife.

The respective kindreds, however, got over the difficulty by altering the relationships of the two mothers from *Kamari* (brother's wife) to *Kami*, by which change the two young people came into the *Noa* relationship. This

change, however, necessitated some consequential alterations of relationships, namely, of two of his kindred, from *Kaka* and *Tidnara* to *Neyi* and *Ngatata*, in order to provide him with a sister to exchange for his wife.

In considering the peculiar features of this case I requested Mr. Siebert to make some further inquiries as to the practice of changing the *Kami* to the *Noa* relationship. He informed me that, according to the testimony of the Dieri old people, this is not a new practice, but that it is an ancient one of their tribe. They attach much importance to it, and the mother-in-law in such a case is not called *Paiara* but *Kami-paiara*, from the altered relationship.

This seems to me to be merely a reversion to the older rule which obtains with the Urabunna, namely, that a man can only marry a woman who is the child of his mother's elder brother or of the elder sister of his father, own or tribal. In the Dieri tribe there are men who have married Dieri women in accordance with this earlier rule, but they were only able to obtain the consent of the women's kindred by means of presents.

KURNAI RELATIONSHIPS

The strongest contrast which I have found with the Dieri system of relationships is that of the Kurnai. This tribe has neither classes nor sub-classes, and the totems do not affect marriage. Marriage is between individuals of certain local groups, but with traces of former group-marriage. Descent of names is from father to son.

The system of relationship in this tribe indicates a social condition in some respects of a more primitive character than that of the Dieri. The following table gives the Kurnai terms :—

KURNAI RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Kurnai Term.	Exact Equivalent in our Terms.	English Terms.
1. Wehntwin	Father's father—Father's father's brother	Grandfather—Great-uncle
2. Wehntjun	Father's father's sister	Great-aunt
3. Nallung	Father's mother—Father's mother's brother—Father's mother's sister	Grandmother—Great-uncle—Great-aunt
4. Nakun	Mother's father—Mother's father's brother—Mother's father's sister	Grandfather—Great-uncle—Great-aunt
5. Kukun	Mother's mother—Mother's mother's brother—Mother's mother's sister	Grandmother—Great-uncle—Great-aunt
6. Mungan	Father—Father's brother—Mother's sister's husband	Father—Uncle
7. Yukan	Mother—Mother's sister—Father's brother's wife	Mother—Aunt
8. Mummung	Father's sister—Mother's brother's wife	Aunt
9. Babuk	Mother's brother—Father's sister's husband	Uncle
10. Thundung	Elder brother—Father's brother's son—Father's sister's son—Mother's brother's son—Mother's sister's son—Wife's sister's husband—Husband's sister's husband	Elder brother—Cousin—Brother-in-law
11. Bramung	Younger brother—(Also all the relations of No. 10 which follow "elder brother")	Younger brother—Cousin—Brother-in-law
12. Bauung	Elder sister—Father's brother's daughter—Father's sister's daughter—Mother's brother's daughter—Mother's sister's daughter—Wife's brother's wife—Husband's brother's wife	Elder sister—Cousin—Sister-in-law
13. Lunduk	Younger sister—(Also all the relations of No. 12 which follow "elder sister")	Younger sister—Cousin—Sister-in-law
14. Maian	Wife—Wife's sister—Husband's sister	Wife—Sister-in-law
15. Bennung	Wife's brother	Brother-in-law
16. Bra	Husband—Husband's brother	Husband—Brother-in-law
17. Lit	(M.)[1] Child—Brother's child—(F.) Child—Sister's child	Child—Nephew—Niece
18. Bengun	(F.) Brother's child	Nephew—Niece
19. Queabun	(F.) Daughter's husband—(M.) Wife's mother	Son-in-law—Mother-in-law
20. Ngaribil	(M.) Daughter's husband—(M.) Wife's father	Son-in-law—Father-in-law

[1] (M.) means a male speaking. (F.) means a female speaking.

Terms 1 to 5 are inclusive; that is, the grand-ancestral terms are reciprocal. They conform to the Dieri terms, with the exception that a distinction is drawn between the paternal grandfather and the paternal grandfather's sister. Terms 6 and 7 indicate the former existence in the Kurnai tribe of group-marriage, and also the exchange of sisters for wives, which still existed among them, but under the controlling influence of marriage by elopement.

The fraternal terms, 10, 11, 12, 13, are far wider than those of the Dieri, and appear to point to a time prior to the making of those restrictions, which necessitated the use of terms to distinguish between a man's own children and those of his sister, or between a woman's children and those of her brother. It may be thought that an incipient change in this direction is shown by the fact that the woman uses the term *Bengun* for the child of her brother, while he uses the term both for his child and for hers.

The marital terms 14 and 16 indicate a former condition of group-marriage; but the marital relations implied by the term were with the Kurnai merely nominal, excepting on the very rare occasions when the *Aurora Australis* was seen. This was thought by them to be a sign of *Mungan's* anger, and the old men ordered an exchange of wives for the time, thus reverting to the ancient practice of group-marriage.

It is to be noted that while the "husband's sister" is included in the group of *Maian* when addressed by her sister-in-law (brother's wife), the brother of the wife is distinguished from the group-husband (*Bra*) by a distinct term.

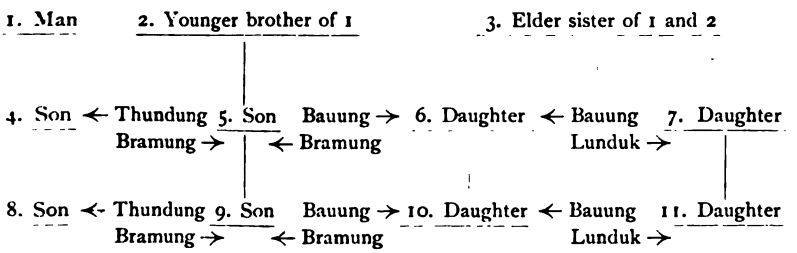
There is nothing to remark as to the terms 19 and 20.

The Kurnai terms of relationship seem to bear traces of a time before the institution of some of the earlier restrictions on marriage, and if such be the case, then they must date back to the time of the Undivided Commune. This, however, has always appeared to me to be a very difficult position to maintain. I am unable to quite satisfy myself whether this system is one of an archaic character, retained through extreme isolation of the Kurnai, or that the terms, such as those equivalent to the Dieri *Kami*, have been lost. If it

be the latter, then the probability arises that by such a loss they were placed in difficulties, which have produced marriage by elopement and the employment of a recognised medicine-man to promote it.

The following diagram is of three descents from two brothers and their sister. The respective terms of relationship are added for the purpose of bringing into view the peculiar character of this system.

DIAGRAM IV



The diagram is drawn up to compare with the table of marriages and descents given before for the Dieri tribe. In this one there is a total absence of the marked distinction drawn by the Dieri between the children of a man and those of his sister. Were the Dieri rule applied to this case, the men 4 and 5, being the sons of two brothers, would be *Kami-mara* to the women 6 and 7, the daughters of 3, the sister of 1 and 2. Further, 8 and 9 would be in the *Noa* relation to 10 and 11.

It is a striking peculiarity in the Kurnai system that in each level of the descents, as far as they can be traced out, they are all brothers and sisters, own or tribal; and such fraternal descent continues without possible change. Thus in the successive descents produced by the intermarriage of individuals of certain local groups, the fraternal relations would necessarily widen out and ramify in all directions.

The systems of many other tribes, which I have collected, take their places between that of the Dieri and that of the Kurnai. Where the class, sub-class or totem marriages

have been altered and the line of descent changed from the female to the male line, corresponding changes have necessarily resulted. But there are always clearly to be recognised the old foundations of group marriage and descent, surmounted by newer edifices.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE RULES

The state of society among the early Australians was that of an Undivided Commune—The simplest existing form of social organisation is the division of a tribe into two intermarrying moieties—The Dieri as an example—The *Noa* relationship—The *Tippa-malku* marriage and the *Pirrauru* marriage —Intermarrying totems of the Yendakarangu tribe—Urabunna marriage rules—Class rules have been intentionally altered to meet difficulties arising from male descent in one tribe and female in another—Marriage rules of tribes in Western New South Wales—Female captives were the property of the captor if class rules allowed the marriage—Infant betrothal was the general rule, but elopements frequently occurred—Tribes with four sub-classes and female descent—The Kamilaroi—The "half-sister" marriage of the Kamilaroi—Table of anomalous marriages—Table of Wiradjuri marriages —Peculiar marriages of the North Wiradjuri—Marriage by capture at Wakelbura ceremonies—Tribes with four sub-classes and male descent in Southern Queensland—Tribes with anomalous class systems and female descent—Tribes with two-class system and male descent—Tribes without class systems—The Kurnai of Gippsland—Marriage by elopement—The Chepara of Queensland—All regulations were made to prevent near marriages and with intention to meet a sense of tribal morality—Female descent was an earlier form than male—Maternal descent and the Salic law.

A STUDY of the evidence which has been detailed in the last chapter has led me to the conclusion that the state of society among the early Australians was that of an "Undivided Commune." Taking this as a postulate, the influence on marriage and descent of the class division, the sub-classes and the totems may be considered on the assumption that there was once an Undivided Commune. It is, however, well to guard this expression. I do not desire to imply necessarily the existence of complete and continuous communism between the sexes. The character of the country, the necessity of moving from one spot to another in search of game and vegetable food, would cause any Undivided

Commune, when it assumed dimensions greater than the immediate locality could provide with food, to break up into two or more Communes of the same character. In addition to this it is clear, after a long acquaintance with the Australian savage, that in the past, as now, individual likes and dislikes must have existed; so that, admitting the existence of common rights between the members of the Commune, these rights would remain in abeyance, so far as the separated parts of the Commune were concerned. But at certain gatherings, such as the Bunya-bunya harvest in Queensland, or on great ceremonial occasions, all the segments of the original community would re-unite. In short, so far as the evidence goes at present, I think that the probable condition of the Undivided Commune may be considered to be represented by what occurs on certain occasions when the modified Communes of the Lake Eyre tribes re-unite. It will be shown later on that each Divided Commune carries in itself strong evidence of this early condition.

The division of the community into two intermarrying moieties, the "class divisions," is the simplest form of the social organisation in the native tribes.

This fundamental law of communal division underlies and runs through all the more developed systems of four or eight sub-classes, and even shows traces of its former existence in tribes in which the class system has become decadent, and the local organisation has taken place and assumed control of marriage.

The division of the tribal community into two classes is the foundation on which the whole structure of society is built. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how an organised society in primitive savagery could exist without a control such as that of the intermarrying classes and the strict rules which preserve their existence. One is led direct, when inquiring into the marriage customs of the native tribes, to a further inquiry into the principles of the complicated system of terms which define their relationships, and which connect in various ways the different members of the community.

Tribes with Two Classes and Female Descent

As before, I take the Dieri tribe as my starting-point. In speaking of the marriage relations I shall have occasion to use the terms "husband" and "wife," and it must be understood that in doing so I do not use them in the sense in which we use them, but in the Dieri sense as "*tippa-malku*-wife" or "*pirrauru*-wife." I also use them, in a sense, of those tribes who, while they retain the old terms of relationship, have lost the practice they define. This is pointed out in the chapter on relationships; but in order to avoid any chance of misconception, I direct attention to it here.

The community, that is the tribe, in its social aspect is divided into two moieties, each of which has a distinguishing name, and has attached to it a group of totems. As the native speech varies in dialects or even languages in more or less divergent directions, so do the names of the classes and totems vary, though in a less degree, since it is common to find the same class names extending over country occupied by a number of tribes speaking different dialects even for hundreds of miles.

To avoid the confusion which would invariably arise from the use of the native names for the classes, sub-classes, and totems, I shall avail myself in the diagrams explaining the rules of marriage of numerals and letters as I have done before.

Diagram V

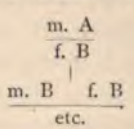
Classes.	Totems.
(Kararu), Moiety A.	1, 2, 3, 4, etc.
(Matteri), Moiety B.	I., II., III., IV., etc.

In this diagram A represents one of the classes of the Dieri tribe, say Kararu, and B represents Matteri. The Arabic figures represent the totems of A class, and the Roman numerals those of B. The marriage law is that the people of class A marry those of B class, and *vice versa*, and of a totem, or totems, of the class other than their own. It is well to note here that the custom as to the marriage of

the totems varies in different tribes. In some, as for example the Dieri, a man of, say, class A, may marry a woman of any of the totems of B, and *vice versa*. I can speak of this with certainty, as the Rev. Mr. Siebert was so good as to draw up for me a number of tables of descents, in three or four levels of a generation, of actual occurrence in the Dieri tribe, so that the facts brought out extended back to the time when they were in complete savagery. A man could therefore only obtain a wife from one half of the tribe, that is from one class; but this does not even mean so much as it appears to do, because, as I shall show later on, there are other restrictions arising out of the classificatory system of relationships which still further restrain the scope of marriage.

In other tribes, such as the Urabunna,[1] a man, say, of class A, is restricted to women of certain totems, or rather his totem intermarries only with certain other totems of the other class. This will become more clear as the marriage rules of other tribes are detailed. In all tribes of which the Dieri is the type the child takes the class and totem name of its mother; and it may be as well to point out here that it takes the tribal name of its father, that is, it is of its father's tribe. This will be seen on reference to the Table in Chapter IV. By using the letters and numerals of the above diagram, another may be constructed of the marriages and descents in the Dieri tribe, which shows how the descents run, and which will be of use in more complicated cases.

DIAGRAM VI



Males are indicated by m. and females by f. In the upper line A represents a Kararu man, B is his wife, a Matteri woman. In the lower line are their son and daughter, who are of the same class as their mother, so that descent is in the female line.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 60.

Here we have the segmentation of the tribal community into two groups by the action of the classes, and the totems follow the classes in being transmitted from the mother to her children. While a man is restricted to women of the section of the tribe opposite to his, other restrictions arise out of the relationships and further restrict the matrimonial scope. In speaking of this system of relationships, I point out that a certain group of men and a certain group of women are born into the relation of *Noa* to each other, or, to use the Dieri word, they are *Noa-mara* to each other, which may be expressed by saying that there is "spouseship" between them, primarily as to the *Noa* groups, and secondarily as to the individual. That is, the individuals of one group are the potential spouses of those of the other group. How they individually come in the Dieri tribe into the marital relation of husband and wife I will now explain.[1]

(1) The *Noa* relation becomes specialised by the betrothal[2] of two children who have been born about the same time, arranged by their respective mothers, with the concurrence of the brothers of the mothers of the girl. The respective fathers have no part in the arrangement. In every such case there must be the exchange of a sister, own or tribal, of the boy, who is thereby promised as a wife to the brother, own or tribal, of the girl.[3] The new relation thus created between them is called *Tippa-malku*, and, as a sign that the promise has been made, the navel strings of the two children are tied up with emu feathers and different coloured strings.

(2) If a man has a daughter who also has a daughter, who is not promised to any one, and he has a younger brother, own or tribal, the latter is the *Nadada-noa* of his elder brother, and he may become her *Tippa-malku*. I have not hitherto met with this practice, excepting among the

[1] Otto Siebert.

[2] I use the term "betrothal" merely in the sense that two persons of opposite sexes are promised to each other in marriage.

[3] I use the terms "own or tribal" in the sense in which Spencer and Gillen use the expression "blood or tribal." I have not used "blood or tribal" because it conveys to an English reader an idea which is not what the Dieri would attach to it. I am not satisfied with the terms "own or tribal," but after long consideration I have not found any better.

Dieri, but it may possibly occur in others of the adjacent tribes. It is based upon the *Nadada-noa* relationship, which is fully described in the chapter on Relationships.

(3) It may happen, when a boy has been circumcised, that his mother arranges with some other woman, who is *Kami-mara* to her, and who has an unbetrothed daughter, to make the two children *Tippa-malku*, there being also the usual promise to exchange a sister of the boy. The girl's mother is then painted in a certain manner, which indicates to all and sundry that she is the *Paiara* (wife's mother) of that woman's son.

(4) There are certain exceptions to the otherwise strict observance of the *Noa* relation. Such an exception would be where a woman had only daughters, and another woman had only sons. Moved by the importunity of these women, their elder brothers (*Neyi*) and the brothers of these women's mothers (*Kaka*) might make them *Kami-mara* to each other, and thus alter their relationships, so that their children would be *Noa* to each other and therefore lawfully marriageable, and might be promised to each other and become *Tippa-malku*.

The following is an instance of an exception of a similar kind. A woman having four sons who were *Kami-mara* to two unmarried girls, it was arranged with her and her brethren that one of her sons should be placed in the *Noa-mara* relation with one of the girls, while still remaining in the *Kami* relation with the other. In the same manner the relation of the three other sons was altered to *Noa-mara* to the other girl while she remained *Kami* to the *Noa* of her sister. Thus the *Tippa-malku* relation became possible.

(5) If a man persuades a Pinya, when on its mission of revenge, to forgo it and return, the assembly of old men, or he who is the nearest of the kindred of the man marked out for vengeance, may give a woman as *Tippa-malku* wife to the peacemaker as a reward. It must be always understood that such a woman must be of that group which is *Noa-mara* to the group to which the man belongs, and who are therefore potentially husbands and wives of each other.

(6) A wife is promised to each of the men who hold

the body on their heads at the grave, and in these cases it is not required that a sister shall be given in exchange for her.

In all these cases the husband and wife must be *Noa* to each other, but this does not mean that a man has been born *Noa* to any particular woman. He is one of a group which is *Noa* to a group of females in the other moiety of the tribe.

By the practice of betrothal two *Noa* individuals of opposite sexes become, if I may use the term, specialised to each other as *Tippa-malku* for the time being, to the exclusion of any other man in that relation. In other words, no woman can be *Tippa-malku* to two or more men at the same time. It seems to me that out of this system of specialisation the individual marriage of some tribes has been developed. The germ of individual marriage may be seen in the Dieri practice; for, as I shall show later on, a woman becomes a *Tippa-malku* wife before she becomes a *Pirrauru* or group-wife. But at the same time it must be remembered that every woman is potentially a group-wife, and unless she dies after she becomes a *Tippa-malku* wife, she becomes actually a group-wife. The woman is one of a group, over whom in advance a man is given special rights by being made *Tippa-malku* to her, but at the same time with the fullest knowledge that she is not to be his individual wife as we understand the term. These explanations are necessary to guard against misconception from using the words "individual wife."

In those cases in which the kindred altered the relations of the parties, the man and the woman were necessarily of the opposite class and might have lawfully married were they of the *Noa* groups. A diagram will show how this works.

DIAGRAM VII

1. f.	Matteri	emu	← Kamari	→	4. f.	Kararu	cormorant
2. f.	Matteri	emu	← Kami	→	5. f.	Kararu	cormorant
3. m.	Matteri	emu	← Noa	→	6. f.	Kararu	cormorant

1, 2, and 3 are mother, daughter, and grandson. Nos. 1 and 4 are *Kamari*, which is brother's wife. Their children

are *Kami-mara* to each other, and therefore not permitted to marry. Were they of the Urabunna, they would, under the rule of that tribe, be *Nupa* to each other, and marriageable. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Dieri *Kami* relation has removed the marriageable groups by one level in the generation. The alteration of *Kamari* to *Kami* is merely a reversion to the older rule.

In order to show the *Noa* rule in practice I refer to the table in Chapter IV., and, as there said, the men 1, 2, 7, 8 on the first line have obtained wives by exchange of their sisters. The several couples 1-5, 2-6, 3-7, and 4-8 were born into the *Noa* relation with each other, and were specialised by betrothal. The children of the couples 1-5 and 2-6 are in the fraternal relation to each other. So also are those of the couples 3-7 and 4-8. They form two groups who are in the relation of *Kami* to each other, and those children of these groups who are respectively of a brother on one side and of his sister on the other are *Noa-mara* to each other.

The rule deducible from diagrams compiled by tracing back marriages and descents in a number of the Dieri families may be stated as follows, and can be traced out in the Table referred to :—

Ego being male am *Noa-mara* to

My mother's mother's { elder brother's / or / younger brother's } daughter's daughter

My mother's father's { elder sister's / or / younger sister's } daughter's daughter

Or

Ego being female am *Noa* to

My mother's mother's { elder brother's / or / younger brother's } daughter's son

My mother's father's { elder sister's / or / younger sister's } daughter's son

In stating this rule of the *Noa* relation, I must again point out that Ego is not an individual, but is primarily a group, the individual merely taking the relationship as being one of it.

By the same table the *Nadada-noa* practice is explained, by which the grandchildren are removed back into a level of a generation to which their respective grandparents belong, and whose younger brothers and sisters they therefore become.

Besides the *Tippa-malku* marriage there is the *Pirrauru* marriage, the character of which is now to be described. As I have said, every woman becomes a *Tippa-malku* wife before she becomes a *Pirrauru* wife. A *Pirrauru* is always a "wife's sister," or a "brother's wife," and the relation arises through the exchange by brothers of their wives. When two brothers are married to two sisters, they commonly live together in a group-marriage of four.

When a man becomes a widower (*Topula*) he has his brother's wife as *Pirrauru*, making presents to his brother. A man being a visitor, and being of the proper class (*Murdu*), is offered his host's *Tippa-malku* wife as a temporary *Pirrauru*, that is, if he is *Noa* to her.

A man may have several *Pirrauru* wives, and this depends on the consideration in which he is held by his class-fellows, whether he is *Poto-pir-nanto* (rich in great things), or *Nguru-nguru* (strong and powerful), or finally whether he is in great favour with the women. In such a case a woman might even ask her husband to give her such or such a man as a *Pirrauru*. Should he refuse to do this, she must put up with it; but if he agrees to do so, the matter is arranged. After it has been talked over and agreed to, those concerned assemble at some place in the camp at mid-day, accompanied by their friends. If the men are of the same totem, then the head of it is present, carrying his *Kandri*, which is a ceremonial club, made of the root of a certain tree. It is used in ceremonies, and might even be called a ceremonial or magical staff.

The head of the totem, or heads when there are more than one totem concerned, make two ridges of sand with the *Kandri*, each of the two who are to be placed in the *Pirrauru* relation being represented by one. The ridges are then brought together so as to form one ridge, higher and broader than the two. Finally one of the men, and

usually he who is given as the *Pirrauru*, takes sand from the ridge and sprinkles it over the upper part of his thighs; and, as the Dieri express it, buries the *Pirrauru* in the sand. In the case of two men who exchange their *Noas* as *Pirraurus*, the same procedure is observed, and the ceremonies are completed in the evening. When these take place at mid-day, they are, so to say, in the family, the men being present; but when they are in the evening, all the people in the camp attend. In that case the two heads of totems stand opposite to each other, about 50 yards apart, and each holding two pieces of burning wood. The two pairs of *Pirraurus* are loudly announced by name, the whole assembly loudly repeats them, and the two pieces of wood are struck together.

But commonly it is not merely two pairs of *Pirrauru* who are allotted to each other, but the whole of the marriageable or married people, even those who have already *Pirraurus*, are re-allotted, the Kandri ceremony being performed for batches of them at the same time.[1]

When a man has a number of *Pirrauru*, the old men may recommend him to confine himself to one, and to let the others go, since otherwise there might be strife between the women, for jealousy attaches to the *Pirrauru* condition. Each of a pair of *Pirrauru* watches the other to prevent more *Pirrauru* relations arising. Each warns the other against forming any new relations, and if either disregards this injunction, red-hot coals are poured over him, or her, as the case may be. In modern times boiling water takes the place of hot coals, but such punishments are often inflicted by either party on mere suspicion. Such a case was the following. A Urabunna man was sitting in the camp talking with a woman who was *Nadada-noa* to him. Meanwhile Kapaliana, his *Pirrauru*, returned, and having prepared his supper, called him. Of this, however, he took no notice, and went on talking. Then without further ado she poured a bowl of hot coals over him.

The saying of one of the old Dieri men is worth quoting, as showing what his feeling was to his *Pirrauru*

[1] Otto Siebert.

wife, and as to the jealousy which I have mentioned as being shown.

He said,

"*Yakai! yai! Ngata wata tanana ngantyai, tananana turu-etya.*"
"Oh dear! I not her love, she fire-person."

The *Pirrauru* of an unmarried young man looks after him strictly, warns him perpetually, and makes secret inquiry of his doings from the other women. She requires him to camp near at hand, so that she can keep an eye upon him. It is commonly said that such a *Pirrauru* never sleeps until she is quite sure that her young *Pirrauru* is himself soundly in that state.

The elders do not look favourably on a youth having a *Tippa-malku* wife or a *Pirrauru* early, as they think that they will be too much taken up with each other. Young men are told that they are still too young for married life, and must wait till they have a full beard.

If a man desired to obtain a particular girl or woman for his wife, and she were refused to him, and he then eloped with her, her kindred would make up a party and pursue them. On overtaking them they would take her from him, not necessarily by violence; but if he refused to part with her, he would be severely dealt with. To elope with a woman of the same *Murdu* is a very grave offence. Cases have occurred of the class-laws being thus broken because of threats by some man to a woman too nearly related to him, and where the woman did not dare to complain, fearing to be charged with being a consenting party.

At a tribal council, at which Mr. Gason was present, a young man was charged with having transgressed the class-law with his *Ngatata*, that is, his younger sister, who was in fact the daughter of his mother's sister. The old men inquired into this matter, and finding the charge to be true, the young man was severely punished, indeed almost killed. He would have been put to death had not some of the influential tribesmen interfered on his behalf, on the ground that he was a poor idiot who was not accountable for his actions.

A man may always exercise marital rights towards his *Pirrauru* when they meet, if her *Tippa-malku* husband be absent; but he cannot take her away from him, unless by his consent, excepting at certain ceremonial times, as for instance at the initiation ceremonies, or at one of the marriages arranged between a man and a woman of two different tribes.

In the absence of the *Tippa-malku* husband, the *Pirrauru* husband takes the wife of the former, and protects her during his absence.

The *Tippa-malku* wife takes precedence over the *Pirrauru* wife, if both are in the same camp, the husband sleeping next to the fire, the *Tippa-malku* next to him, and the *Pirrauru* next to her.

In a case where an elder and a younger man who are *Pirrauru* to the same woman are in the same camp, and the younger man has with him his *Tippa-malku* and also a *Pirrauru* wife, the elder man, if alone, would have the right to take the *Pirrauru* wife of the former. Should the younger man merely have his *Pirrauru* with him, the elder man might take her. But the two men might occupy the same hut with her, and she would share with both the food she collected.

The leading men in the tribe have usually more *Tippa-malku* and *Pirrauru* wives than other men. The Pinnaru Jalina-piramurana, elsewhere mentioned, who was the head of the Dieri tribe when I knew it in 1861-62, had over a dozen *Pirraurus* allotted to him, and, in addition, several women were assigned to him in each of the neighbouring tribes as a mark of respect, as, so to say, honorary *Pirraurus*. Men were considered to be highly honoured if any of his *Pirraurus* were allotted to them.

In the event of a *Tippa-malku* wife dying, a *Pirrauru*-wife will take charge of her children and attend to them with affection, and not in any manner as a step-mother. It must be remembered that a man's wives, whether *Tippa-malku* or *Pirrauru*, are in the relation of sisters, either own or tribal.

It is an advantage to a man to have as many *Pirraurus*

as possible. He has then less work to do in hunting, as when they are with him they supply him with a share of the food they procure, their own *Tippa-malku* husbands being absent.

He also obtains great influence in the tribe by lending his *Pirraurus* occasionally, and receiving presents from the younger men who have no *Pirraurus* with them, or to whom none has yet been allotted.

Thus a man may accumulate a lot of property, weapons of all kinds, trinkets, etc., which he in his turn gives away to prominent men, such as heads of *Murdus*, and thus adds to his own importance.

I have mentioned marriage between Dieri and adjacent tribes, and these are, so to say, "state affairs."

Such a marriage, for instance, between a Dieri man and a woman of the Mardula tribe would be the subject of negotiation for several months. Much diplomacy is used, as one tribe desires if possible to sift out the real reasons which induce the other tribe to desire the marriage. As a preliminary, handsome presents, such as spears, boomerangs, carved shields, bags of all kinds, etc., are sent to the woman's father, to the head man of the tribe, and to the other principal men. In the event of these negotiations falling through, these presents are returned. But if both sides desire to terminate disputes and settle grievances, the proposal may be agreed to in a few weeks. The young man and the young woman have no voice in such a marriage, and, whether she likes it or not, she must submit to the will of the elders of the tribe.

In the tribe itself there is always a hot opposition to a marriage which takes a girl out of it, and the fathers in it who have unmarried and eligible sons offer every objection to the arrangement.

On such a marriage being settled, a place is fixed upon near the boundary between the two tribes, when a grand *Wima* (corrobboree) is held. The festivities are kept up for several days, during which time free intercourse is allowed between the sexes, without regard to existing marriage relations. No jealous feeling is allowed to be shown during

this time under penalty of strangling,[1] but it crops up afterwards and occasions bloody affrays.

If the girl does not take kindly to her husband, she very probably tries to escape home, but is on all such occasions pursued ; and, if captured, is brought back to be jeered at by the other women. In some cases she is also cruelly punished.

If, however, the girl likes her husband, and makes herself popular, she is treated well, and it is in her power to acquire influence with the other women. Should any important matter arise between her husband's tribe and that of her parents, she becomes most useful in negotiating with the latter, with which she has naturally more influence than a stranger.[2]

The prohibited degrees of relationship among the Dieri include parents and children, brothers and sisters, and those who are called *Kami*. These relations are called *Buyulu*, and one of the greatest insults which can be given to a Dieri is to call him or her by this name with *Parchana* added, implying that there are improper relations between the person spoken to and his or her nearest relations. This expression is never used by one person to another unless they have been worked up to a state of anger approaching frenzy. So repugnant is this subject to the Dieri that they will become indignant if it is introduced and they are asked about it. The elders of the tribe, old men and old women, in their leisure hours lecture the young people on the laws of the tribe, impress on them modesty and propriety of conduct, and point out the heinousness of incest. Mr. Gason told me that he had often listened to the old women thus instructing the younger ones with deep interest.

The opinion of the Rev. Otto Siebert expressed to me as to the *Pirrauru* marriage, formed after many years' intimate acquaintance with the Dieri, is worth quoting. He said, "The practice of *Pirrauru* is worthy of praise for its strength and earnestness in regard to morality, and in the ceremonial with which it is regulated, since no practice could be less in accord with the hetairism which Lord Avebury has imagined for the Australian aborigines."

[1] *Nulina*, "strangling"; *Nulinuthi*, "to strangle."
[2] S. Gason.

The *Pirrauru* relationship is clearly group-marriage, by which a man is privileged to obtain a number of wives from his *Noas* in common with other men of his group, while a woman's wish can only be given effect to by the consent of her *Tippa-malku* husband. On the other hand, however, she cannot refuse to receive a *Pirrauru* husband when he is assigned to her by the ceremony referred to. The Dieri regard it as being lawful, just as the *Tippa-malku* marriage is lawful, and it must be clearly distinguished from irregular unions, for which the Dieri have special terms, and which they condemn and abhor.

Standing between the regular and irregular intersexual relations, but nearer to the former than the latter, is the access between the unmarried girls and widows and those men who are *Noa-mara* to them, and not *Tippa-malku*, as to those girls. This relation is called *Ngura-mundu*, from *Ngura*, "camp," and *Mundu*, "to come together."

The term *Ngura-mandretya* refers to sexual licence in the camp of the husband during his absence. It is from *Ngura*, "camp" or "hut," *Mandra*, "body," and *Etya*, "the middle," colloquially used for habitually, or habitually recurring. Such a woman is called *Pala-kantyi*, that is, "without shame," the term being really "a breaker of marriage." Such persons are hated and despised.

Buka-pari is the term for a man who lies in wait for a woman, either with or without her consent, and not caring whether she is *Noa* to him or not.[1]

On the opposite side of Lake Eyre, or more correctly, north-westerly from the Dieri, there is the Urabunna tribe, the southern division of which is called the Yendakarangu.[2] The class names are said to be those of the Dieri, but the rules of marriage of the totems differ. The former allow a marriage between a totem of one class and any totem of the other class, but with the latter the rule is that certain totems of the one class are assigned to certain totems of the other. This, so far as I have been able to trace it out, is shown in the following table :—

[1] Otto Siebert. [2] J. Hogarth.

YENDAKARANGU TOTEMS

Class.	Totem.	Marries with
Kararu	Cloud	Wadnamura.
	Crow	Wadnamura and Eagle-hawk.
	Red ochre	Cormorant and *Eagle-hawk*.
	Rat	Cormorant and Bull-frog.
	Wallaby	Iguana and *Lizard*.
	Emu	Eagle-hawk and *Bull-frog*.
	Musk duck	Eagle-hawk and *Dog*.
	Snake	Wadnamura.
Matteri	Eagle-hawk	Red ochre, Musk duck, and *Crow*.
	Cormorant	Rat and Red ochre.
	Iguana	Wallaby.
	Dog	Musk duck.
	Wadnamura	Snake, Cloud, Crow.
	Mulga tree[1]	Emu.
	Bull-frog	Rat.
	Lizard	Wallaby.

This table is evidently imperfect. According to the almost universal rule, which obtains also with the Yendakarangu, that sisters are exchanged as wives, there should be reciprocity between the totems in their marriages. In the list this is the case as to some of each class, and therefore one is fairly justified in believing that it is so with the others. On this view I have added those totems which have been omitted, but which appear to be reciprocal and which are in italics to distinguish them.

Professor Spencer has been so good as to point out to me that in the northern part of the Urabunna they were very emphatic in stating that a man of one totem could only marry a woman of a certain totem of the other class. The marriages of that tribe are given as follows[2]:—

URABUNNA TOTEMS

Matthurie.		Kirarawa.
Dingo	marries	Water-hen.
Cicada	,,	Crow.
Emu	,,	Rat.
Wild turkey	,,	Cloud.
Swan	,,	Pelican.

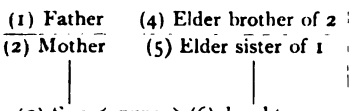
[1] Malka is *Acacia Aneura*, anglicised as Mulga.
[2] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 60.

The restriction in marriage to one or more totems is certainly later in origin than the Dieri rule, and, as will be seen in my further statements, in many tribes with two class-divisions. For instance, in the Itchumundi nation, which is the nearest on the east side to the Lake Eyre tribes, where the class names are Mukwara and Kilpara, Mukwara-eagle-hawk marries Kilpara-emu; and Mukwara-dog marries Kilpara-padi-melon. The tribes of the Karamundi nation have a similar rule by which a member of the one class may marry only in one totem of the other class. For instance, a man of the Mukwara-kangaroo totem marries into the Kilpara-emu totem, but not into any other. But in some of the Barkinji tribes there is no such rule, and a man may marry a woman of any totem of the other class, always provided that there is not any other restriction, such as those which arise out of relationships.

Returning to the Lake Eyre tribes, an interesting comparison may be drawn between the marriage rules of the Dieri and those of the Urabunna, which are given concisely in the following diagrams :—

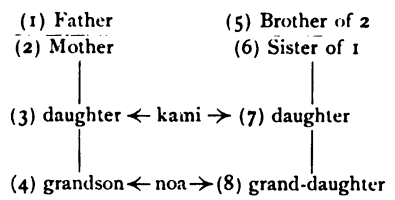
URABUNNA

DIAGRAM VIII



DIERI

DIAGRAM IX



The Dieri rule is evidently a development of that of the Urabunna, and is therefore the later one. This is also shown by the practice of the Dieri of which I have spoken, and which, by what may be called a "legal fiction," converts the relationship of two people who are *Kami* to each other, and therefore, in the Dieri custom, not marriageable, into the relation of *Noa*, they thus becoming eligible for marriage. The Dieri relation of *Noa* is the equivalent of the *Nupa* of the Urabunna, and *Nupa* and *Noa* are equivalents, because those

who are in that relation are born into the reciprocally marriageable groups.

The legal fiction referred to may be explained here to make the matter clearer. In a case where a Dieri man had no *Noa* available for betrothal to him, a wife might be, and was in certain cases, found for him in the following manner. Diagram IX. illustrates this practice. Say that the man in question was the brother of 3, and that the kindred wished to find a wife for him. The brothers own and tribal of the women 2 and 6 would alter their relationships from that of *Kamari* to *Kami*, that is from being "husband's sister" to "daughter of mother's brother." Thus these women being now placed in the relation of *Kami*, their children are *Noa-mara*, and may be therefore lawfully promised in marriage by their respective mothers, and come into the relation of *Tippa-malku*, or, as I have elsewhere called it, "specialised *Noa*."

This appears to be an old practice of the Dieri, and they have a special term for the relation of "mother-in-law" in the above case. Under the usual Dieri practice, shown in Diagram IX., No. 7 is the mother-in-law (*Paiara*) of 4, but under such an arrangement as that just spoken of, in which, say, the brother of 3 and the woman 7 would become marriageable, the woman 6 would be the *Kami-paiara* of the brother of 3.

When I say that this practice is an old one of the Dieri, I mean that it is, so far as the old men now living know. But antiquity or novelty as to a custom in a native tribe is a matter of comparison. The marriage rule of the Urabunna is certainly more ancient than the *Noa* rule of the Dieri, for this is evidently an innovation on the older rule. Yet, who can say how long either of these rules has been maintained? The newest may have been practised for hundreds of years.

In speaking of the restrictions on marriage created by the class-division, the totemic relationships, and local rules, I shall refer again to the evidence of the Urabunna and Dieri practice. But I desire to say here that there is clear evidence that these tribes have intentionally altered the class regulations to meet difficulties arising out of female

descent in one tribe and male descent in another, and the restrictions intended to bar what they consider to be incestuous marriages, when there was no other way to provide a wife for some tribesman.

The class organisation of the Lake Eyre tribes extended south to the Parnkalla tribe, whose country terminated at Port Lincoln.

I have not been able to obtain direct evidence as to the status of marriage in the Parnkalla tribe, but the remarks made on this subject by the Rev. C. W. Schürmann afford some data on which to form an opinion whether the *Tippa-malku* and *Pirrauru* marriage of the Dieri obtained in this tribe, as well as the two classes "Mattiri and Carraru." He says that "long before a girl arrives at maturity, she is affianced by her parents to some friend of theirs, no matter whether young or old, married or single. Although the men are capable of fierce jealousy if their wives transgress unknown to them, yet they frequently send them out to other parties or exchange with a friend for a night; and as for near relatives, such as brothers, it may almost be said that they have their wives in common. This latter practice is a recognised custom. A woman honours the brothers of the man to whom she is married with the indiscriminate name of husbands; but the men make a distinction, calling their own individual spouses *Yungaras* and those on whom they have a secondary claim, *Kartetis*."[1]

This appears to me just what an observer, who looked only at the surface of things, would see, indeed much as the early settlers in Central Australia regarded the female *Pirraurus* of the Dieri as merely "paramours." If we translate *Yungara* as *Tippa-malku*, and *Karteti* as *Pirrauru*, we may reasonably conclude that the Parnkalla were, as regards marriage, in much the same state as the Lake Eyre tribes. If that is so, then we may also conclude that all the tribes between Port Lincoln and the Yerkla-mining at Eucla have group-marriage, as well as the classes Mattiri and Carraru.

[1] *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, 1879. "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln." C. W. Schürmann, p. 222.

The tribes with which the Dieri intermarried did not extend beyond the Yantruwunta who lived up the Cooper for some distance. About 120 miles further there was a tribe, now extinct, which called itself Kurnandaburi.

The similarity of custom and organisation between the Dieri and the Kurnandaburi shows that the intervening tribes were of the same character. The Kurnandaburi class names were Yungo and Matara, which may be compared with the Dieri Kararu and Matteri, although the Yantruwunta Tiniwa and Kulpuru intervene; and it is well to note here that the equivalent of the Dieri "murdu" in Yaurorka, Yantruwunta, and Marula is Kamiri. In the following tribes, Ngulubulu, Yelyuyendi, and Karangura, it is Kaura.

In the Ngulubulu, Karangura, Yelyuyendi, and Marula, Wuturu is the equivalent of Matteri, and Parkata of Kararu.

The classes and totems of the Kurnandaburi were both called *Gaura*,[1] and the child took the class and totem of its mother. I have not been able to ascertain whether marriage was restricted to one totem, or whether it was permitted between any of the totems of the opposite class. *Gaura-molli* is the relation of persons of the same class or totem.[2] The equivalent of the *Noa* of the Dieri is *Abaija*. A female child was promised by its parents to some boy or man who was *Abaija* to her. When married, their relation became *Nubaia*, which is the specialised *Noa* before spoken of. Exchange of sisters was the accompaniment of *Nubaia*. A man and his wife's sister, and the wife of his brother, were in the relation of *Kodi-molli*, and might not sit in the same camp, or converse freely, but must ostensibly keep apart from each other as far as circumstances would permit. Yet *sub rosa* marital relations existed between them, and this at times caused trouble between the women. This is clearly the *Pirrauru* relation of the Dieri, but with a form of apparent tabu, which may very well illustrate a passage from group-marriage to the ultimate form of the *Tippa-malku*

[1] *Gau* also means "yes," and *Gara* or *Gaura-eil* is "speech" or "language."

[2] Thus, say one man is *Taldra-gaura* (Kangaroo totem), and another is *Kuntara-gaura*, they are both *Gaura-molli*, because both totems are of the same class.

marriage. In many tribes, *e.g.* those of Victoria, this, so far as the woman is concerned, is individual marriage.

Besides the *Nubaia* marriage, there is the *Dilpa-malli*, or group-marriage, which is the equivalent of the *Pirrauru* of the Dieri, in which, according to my informant,[1] a group of men who are own or tribal brothers, and a group of women who are own or tribal sisters, cohabit when the tribe assembles, or indeed at any time when the *Dilpa-malli* group are all together.

When a betrothed girl is of a marriageable age, the man to whom she is promised, having received her father's consent, or even that of her mother, which would suffice, took her away when she was out from the camp with the other women. He was accompanied by a comrade, who was *Abaija* to her. Having seized her, they dragged her away, she screaming and biting as much as she was able. No one interfered, the other women looking on and laughing. Other men, who were also *Abaija* to her, then joined them, and the man returned to his camp.

The marriage was then consummated by the *Abaijas*, who remained with her for one or two days. On their return to the camp there were several days of ceremonial dancing, during which time there was between her and the men of the camp a period of unrestricted licence, not even excluding her father. After that she joined her *Nubaia* in his camp. The women used to boast of the resistance which they made before being *Mammara*, that is, stolen, which is the term for the ceremonial taking of a woman as a *Nubaia*.

When a man died, the widow and the brother of the deceased were no longer *Kodi-molli*, but became *Nubaia*.

Cases of elopement of betrothed girls were dealt with by the man to whom she was promised, who went after her with his tribal and own brothers, and if the couple were found, took the woman back. In one case reported to me he severely wounded the abductor.

Tribes with the same customs and social organisation extended south-easterly from the Kurnandaburi to the Wilson River, and most probably beyond the lower Bulloo

[1] W. O'Donnell.

River to where, between it and the Paroo, they would meet tribes belonging to the Itchumundi nation.

This, together with the tribes of the Karamundi and Barkinji nations, extended over the country along the Darling River between it and the Grey and Barrier Ranges, and for some 50 miles back from it towards the Bogan and Lachlan Rivers.

All these tribes had the two classes named Mukwara and Kilpara, and the marriage rule was that Mukwara married Kilpara, and *vice versa*.

There was a limitation as to totem marriage: for instance, in the Itchumundi, Mukwara-eagle-hawk married Kilpara-bone-fish; Mukwara-kangaroo married Kilpara-emu; Mukwara-dog married Kilpara-padi-melon, and so on.

When the question was put to several men of one of these tribes, "What would be done if a Mukwara took a Mukwara for his wife?" the reply was an emphatic "No good—suppose that, then we kill him."

The child takes the class and totem names of its mother.[1]

The Wiimbaio tribe, in fact, belonged to the group which occupied the lower part of the Darling, for its language, the *Maraura*, extended far up that river.

It had the same rules of class and totemic marriage. Girls were promised when infants, and there was intermarriage between the Wiimbaio and the adjoining tribes both in the Darling and Murray.

Marriages were also brought about by elopement of girls who preferred other and younger men than those to whom they had been promised as children. In such a case the girl was pursued by her father and brothers, and the man she had eloped with would have to allow them to strike him on the head with a club, after which in some cases he would retain her.

But in other cases there was a fight between her kindred, male and female, and those of the man she went off with. The women were generally the most excited, and would stir up the men and assist them with their yam-sticks.

[1] J. W. Boultbee.

If a man captured a woman of some other tribe, he would not be permitted to retain her unless she were of the class with which his class married.

At times when there were great tribal gatherings wives were exchanged, but always within class limits. But they also resorted to this practice to avert some great trouble which they fancied was about to come upon them; for instance, they once heard that a great sickness was coming down the Murray, and the old men proposed exchanging wives to ensure safety from it. Yet at all other times men required wives to be faithful to their husbands, unless by their consent and command. In one case two men exchanged wives for a month; this was called *Be-ama*.[1]

Here we have a survival of the practice of group-marriage, and the Wiimbaio, as I have said, represent the other *Maraura*-speaking tribes.

The series of two-class tribes which extend up the Murray River from the Wiimbaio have been described by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, who says that any totem of Mukwara among the Tatathi and Keramin may marry any totem of Kilpara and *vice versa*, and that descent is in the female line. Girls are very frequently promised when children, and when marriageable are taken to the future husband's camp by the mother or mother's brother. The father has nothing to do with the disposal of his daughter, the reason given being that the daughter belongs to the class of her mother's brother, and not to that of her father. Notwithstanding this, they believe that the daughter is of the father solely, being only nurtured by her mother.

A female captive belonged to her captor if of a class from which he might take a wife. No one was permitted to retain one of the class to which he belonged. In many instances such women were held in common for a time by all the members of the tribe, but subject to the class laws, and were afterwards allotted to those who might lawfully marry them.[2]

As I have before said, the class names Mukwara and

[1] J. Bulmer.

[2] *Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales*, p. 352. A. L. P. Cameron.

Kilpara extended up the Murray River as far as the Loddon in the tribes mentioned in Chapter II., but I have not obtained a list of the respective totems.

From that point the tribes up the river were, as I have pointed out, akin to the Kulin tribe of southern Victoria. As descent was with them in the male line, they will be further considered later on.

Tribes with the two-class system lived on the Murray River above Albury on the Mitta-Mitta, Kiewa, and Ovens Rivers in the mountainous country. I have taken the Ya-itma-thang and Wolgal tribes as representing them. In the Theddora branch of the former tribe a girl was promised by her father, usually at or after her birth, and was given to her husband when grown up. A man to whom a girl had been promised endeavoured to obtain a lock of her hair, and if she refused him afterwards, he would sometimes wrap an eagle-hawk's feather in the hair, and then put it in a water-hole. As the hair decomposed, the woman would sicken, and ultimately die.[1] The rule of marriage was that of the two-class tribes with female descent; but I do not know whether a man might marry in any of the totems of the class other than his own, or whether he was restricted to certain of them.

Not only was there the practice of betrothal, but also the Urabunna rule that a man married the daughter of his mother's brother.

Here, as elsewhere, when a girl liked some other man better than him to whom she had been promised in infancy, elopement was not an uncommon occurrence. In such a case her male relations pursued the couple, and if successful in finding them, the man was beaten by her male kindred. But sometimes, if he could pacify them, and also the man she had been promised to, and could find a sister to exchange for her, his offence was condoned.

If a man took a woman contrary to the tribal customs, either as to class or nearness of kinship, the tribes-people usually killed him.

[1] "The Omeo Blacks," Richard Helms. *Transactions of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1895, vol. x.

The Ya-itma-thang were neighbours on the west to the Wolgal, who were on the upper Murray River and the high Alps, extending to Kiandra. South of them were the Ngarigo, who occupied the Manero tableland.

Both these latter tribes had the two-class system. With the Wolgal the names were Malian (eagle-hawk) and Umbe (crow), and with the Ngarigo Merung (eagle-hawk) and Yukembruk (crow). The law of marriage was that of the tribes with female descent, and a man might marry a woman of any of the opposite totems; and, as was the case with the Omeo tribe, a man's proper wife was the daughter, own or tribal, of his mother's brother.

A characteristic incident occurred at the Black Mountain station on the Snowy River about the years 1855-56. A number of Theddora (Ya-itma-thang) blacks had come across from Omeo and there met a woman, known to me as Old Jenny, of their tribe, who had broken their law by becoming the wife of a man to whom she stood in the tribal relationship of *Najan* (mother). She had been away for some years, and this was the first time that her own kindred had encountered her. The wife of one of them attacked her first with a digging-stick, but she defended herself so well with the same weapon that the woman had to desist, and her husband continued the attack on Old Jenny, who had divested herself of all but one small garment. He commenced with a club, but finding he could not hit her, changed it for a curved club with which he tried to "peck" her on the head over her guard. After a time he also had to give it up, and they had to make friends with the invincible woman.[1] This is an instance of the manner in which the women are able to defend themselves with their weapon the "yam-stick," being no mean opponents of a man armed only with a club.

In the Wolgal tribe it was usual for a girl to be promised as a mere child to some man of the proper class, he being then perhaps middle-aged or even old. How such a promise might be brought about is shown by the remark which I once heard a Wolgal man say to his wife, "When

[1] J. O'Rourke.

our girl is old enough, we will give her to him," mentioning a man who was popular with the people.

When the girl was old enough to be married, her father, accompanied by his brother, took her to her future husband's camp, and left her there with him.

A Wolgal man of the Malian class, in speaking to me of the practice of betrothal, said that a father could do what he liked with his daughter, because the child is his, and "he only gives it to his wife to take care of for him." This, which is at variance with the Dieri custom, where the mother has full disposal of her infant daughter, is an indication of an advance towards paternal descent.

If a betrothed girl eloped with some man, her father and brothers, but not her promised husband, went after her; and, if the escaping couple were overtaken, the girl was taken from him back to the camp, and then, having been severely beaten by her mother with a digging-stick, was handed over to her betrothed.

I heard among the Wolgal of a man and a girl who were far-away tribal brother and sister, and who ran away together. The tribes-people pursued them, and they, being overtaken, were both severely beaten, and the girl was then handed over to the man to whom she had been promised. In this tribe there was, in the case of elopements, not any practice such as the *jus primae noctis* of many other tribes; and my informants, two old men, expressed great disgust at the practice of the Kurnai in such cases, and also of their general practice of marriage by elopement, which one of them said was "very bad" and would not have been permitted in their tribe.

With the Ngarigo also there was the practice of betrothal in accordance with the Urabunna rule, and when the girl had reached the marriageable age her father took her to her husband's camp and handed her over to him.

In cases of marriage by elopement, there was a similar practice to that of the Kurnai by those who had been initiated at the same ceremonies as the eloper. But, after this occasion, no further access was allowed, nor were women in this tribe lent to friends or visitors.

The avoidance in all these tribes between a man and the mother of his wife was very marked, and the Ngarigo practice will serve as a good illustration. A woman from the time her daughter was married must not see her son-in-law, or even hear his name spoken. If she heard any one mention his name, she would put her fingers in her ears and say, "*Gungo-wa*," that is, "Be quiet."

When a Ngarigo man died and left a widow, she did not go to his brother who was of the same mother, but to the son of his father's elder brother. This was in fact under their system of relationship to his elder brother, which falls into line with the practice of other tribes, for instance the Kurnai.

With these tribes ends the sequence of the two-class system in this direction, being followed by the four sub-class system of the Wiradjuri to the north and the four sub-class system of the Kamilaroi to the north-east.

Tribes with Four Sub-Classes and Female Descent

I now pass on to the consideration of tribes which have four sub-classes with descent in the female line, and of which the Kamilaroi may be taken as the type.

Although a comparatively complete list of sub-class names of the Kamilaroi were, I believe, first published by the Rev. Mr. Ridley, his attention had been previously called to them by Mr. E. T. Lance, a settler living on the Clarence River. In 1871 Mr. Ridley pointed them out to Dr. Lorimer Fison, who sent a memorandum on them to Dr. Lewis H. Morgan, following Mr. Ridley's method of spelling, and in that guise they appear in Dr. Morgan's *Ancient Society*.[1]

Subsequently Mr. Lance informed Dr. Fison that the spelling aforesaid did not represent the sound of the words. After careful inquiry the spelling now given was adopted,[2] and appears to come as near as possible to the aboriginal pronunciation.

[1] P. 51.

[2] *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 57. Fison and Howitt.

A careful study of the intermarriages of the sub-classes and a comparison of the inheritance of the sub-class names with that of the totem names associated with them, convinced me that each pair into which the four sub-classes fell must represent an original whole, analogous to one of the two classes of the Dieri tribe. After much and long-continued inquiry, a valued correspondent, Mr. Cyrus E. Doyle, found the complete system in a tribe of the Kamilaroi nation on the Gwydir River, in northern New South Wales. This system is given in Chapter III., and the following table gives the marriages and descents under it. The two primary classes, Kupathin and Dilbi, are omitted for shortness.

Male	Marries	Children are
Ipai	Kubbitha	Murri and Matha
Kumbo	Matha	Kubbi and Kubbitha
Murri	Butha	Ipai and Ipatha
Kubbi	Ipatha	Kumbo and Butha

The diagram which I have used to explain the two-class system can be applied to the four sub-classes, represented by the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and interpolated between the two classes and the totems. Diagram X. gives this arrangement. The class Kupathin is represented by A, and Dilbi by B.

DIAGRAM X

$$A \begin{cases} a \\ b \end{cases} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} B \begin{cases} c \\ d \end{cases}$$

A thus represents the class Kupathin, and *a* and *b* the pair of sub-classes Ipai and Kumbo; B represents the class Dilbi, and *c* and *d* the other pair Murri and Kubbi. The totems may be added to the sub-class by the use of numerals, as in the case of the two-class systems.

The subjoined diagram I have found useful in bringing before the mind's eye in a concise form the marriages and descents in this system, the letters being those used in the preceding diagram.

DIAGRAM XI

The diagonal lines show the reciprocal marriages, and the vertical lines the descent. Ipai marries Kubbitha, and their children are Murri and Matha; Kubbi marries Ipatha, and their children are Kumbo and Butha, and so on with the others.

Disregarding the names and using the letters only, the subjoined marriage of Ipai with Kubbitha and the consequent line of descents may be compared with the marriages and descents in the Dieri classes, which are their equivalents.

DIAGRAM XII

DIERI.	KAMILAROI.
m. A.	m. Aa
f. B.	f. Bd
f. B.	f. Bc
m. B.....f. B.	m. Bd.....f. Bd
etc.	etc.

The line of descent runs in the classes, in the same manner in each diagram, in the female line, but where the sub-classes are developed, it runs through that sub-class which, with the sub-class of the mother, represents her class. The new arrangement is an ingenious restriction on marriage between persons, who in tribes such as the Urabunna are marriageable, but in other tribes, such as the Dieri, are prohibited from intermarriage, by a custom defined by a special term of relationship. The same prohibition is provided automatically by the arrangement of these sub-classes, and strengthens the belief that the arrangement of the classes, and the sub-classes, has been made intentionally to prevent the marriage of those who have been considered to be too near to each other in blood, or, as the aborigines

sometimes put it, are of "the same flesh." Looking at the diagrams of the Urabunna, the Dieri, and the Kamilaroi, the direction of their progressive development appears to me to be unmistakable.

If we compare the Kamilaroi class system with the foregoing table, it will be seen at once that Ipai and Kumbo are the complements of the class Kupathin, and that the children of Kupathin-Ipatha take the name of Kupathin-Butha. It shows also very clearly that, underneath all this, there lies the two-class system, for the children of Ipatha are as much Kupathin as she is. It has been the absence of the class-names in most of the Kamilaroi tribes, and the ignorance of their occurrence in others, that has made it so difficult to work out the principles on which the four sub-class system rests.

The following table shows the marriages and descents of the Kamilaroi sub-classes and totems:[1]—

KAMILAROI TRIBE—MARRIAGES AND DESCENTS

Male	Marries		Children are	
(1) Ipai of any totem, when Ipai-Kumbo is emu, bandicoot, or black snake	Kubbitha Kubbitha Kubbitha	kangaroo opossum iguana	Murri and Matha Murri and Matha Murri and Matha	kangaroo opossum iguana
(2) Kumbo of any totem, when Ipai-Kumbo is emu, bandicoot, or black snake	Matha Matha Matha	kangaroo opossum iguana	Kubbi and Kubbitha Kubbi and Kubbitha Kubbi and Kubbitha	kangaroo opossum iguana
(3) Murri of any totem, when Murri-Kubbi is kangaroo, opossum, or iguana	Butha Butha Butha	emu bandicoot black snake	Ipai and Ipatha Ipai and Ipatha Ipai and Ipatha	emu bandicoot black snake
(4) Kubbi of any totem, when Murri-Kubbi is kangaroo, opossum, or iguana	Ipatha Ipatha Ipatha	emu bandicoot black snake	Kumbo and Butha Kumbo and Butha Kumbo and Butha	emu bandicoot black snake

Where Ipai-Kumbo is emu, bandicoot, or black snake, then Ipai marries Kubbitha-kangaroo, and so on.

[1] Rev. W. Ridley, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* vol. ii. p. 263.

In one of the Kamilaroi tribes there is a remarkable innovation on the usual marriages in the sub-classes, and a table showing these marriages is given further on. It was noted in the first instance by Mr. T. E. Lance,[1] who observed the facts among the Kamilaroi in the district where he lived. He informed the Rev. William Ridley, who communicated it to Dr. Lorimer Fison as "a half-sister marriage," and we adopted the term in our work *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*,[2] for the sake of convenience. However, extended inquiries failed to give us any other instances of this particular marriage. Further consideration of the facts, in comparison with other marriage rules of tribes adjacent to the Kamilaroi, has shown that the term is incorrect and objectionable. In this view Dr. Lorimer Fison concurs.

To look upon this as a half-sister marriage is to see it from the standpoint of the white man. But considering it from the native's point of view, we see that it is altogether different.

From the native's point of view all the members of a totem, in the same level of a generation, are in the relation of brother and sister. Thus in the totem Emu, of the tribe in question, Ipai-emu is the brother of Ipatha-emu, and could not marry her. But he is not the brother of Ipatha-black-snake, because they are not of the same totem.

This seems to me to be the principle upon which these marriages have been arranged, and the remark made by one of Mr. Lance's native informants is much to the point. It was in reply to an objection by Mr. Lance that he said, "What for you stupid like it that! This feller Ipatha not Emu like it that other feller Ipai; this one Blacksnake."

It is the totem which has in this case apparently been kept in view, and the relationship of the sub-class has been disregarded. The table given below was compiled by Mr. Ridley, and shows that Ipai is not the exception to a general

[1] When Mr. Lance communicated the above facts to Dr. Fison, he informed Mr. Ridley, who subsequently verified them when in the interior of New South Wales (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 46-48). Mr. Lance, it should be noted, was a thoroughly competent and trustworthy informant.

[2] P. 45.

rule, but that all the marriages of all the four sub-classes are on the same principle.

The rule of marriage is directly in contradiction to the fundamental exogamous principle of the classes and sub-classes. The rule of descent, however, remains unaltered, since the children of these marriages take the sub-class names and the totems of their mother's children, as by the man who in another tribe would have been her husband.

Although I have not been able to find any instance in other places, the fact remains that this marriage was noted by an experienced observer, such as Mr. Lance, and may be taken as an established fact in that particular locality.

The marriages of the Wonghibon tribe, a table of which will be found a few pages further on, will serve as an example of how such innovations are made to meet what the tribes-people find to be a difficulty.

KAMILAROI TRIBE—ANOMALOUS MARRIAGES

Male		Marries		Children are	
Ipai	emu	Ipatha	black snake	Kumbo and Butha	black snake
Ipai	bandicoot	Ipatha	black snake	Kumbo and Butha	black snake
Ipai	black snake	Ipatha	emu	Kumbo and Butha	emu
Kumbo	emu	Butha	black snake	Ipai and Ipatha	black snake
Kumbo	bandicoot	Butha	black snake	Ipai and Ipatha	black snake
Kumbo	black snake	Butha	emu	Ipai and Ipatha	emu
Murri	kangaroo	Matha	iguana	Kubbi and Kubbitha	iguana
Murri	opossum	Matha	iguana	Kubbi and Kubbitha	iguana
Murri	iguana	Matha	kangaroo	Kubbi and Kubbitha	kangaroo
Kubbi	kangaroo	Kubbitha	iguana	Murri and Matha	iguana
Kubbi	opossum	Kubbitha	iguana	Murri and Matha	iguana
Kubbi	iguana	Kubbitha	kangaroo	Murri and Matha	kangaroo

The Kamilaroi tribes extend over some eight hundred miles north and south, but in the following passages I speak of those more particularly in the south, and of times as far back as seventy years ago.

Mr. C. Naseby[1] says that "wives were not obtained

[1] Per Dr. John Frazer.

among the Kamilaroi by betrothal, gift, barter or exchange of a female relative. If a white man took to wife a native woman, he gave to the parents as barter, blankets, hatchets, shirts, trousers, etc., but a black man gave nothing. The *Murri*[1] has a right to choose a wife from the class permitted to him, by the native laws. He comes to an unmarried woman whom he fancies, and says, '*Ngaia kulade kura mula yaralla*,' that is to say, 'I myself wife will take (steal) by and by.' This he says in the presence of the woman's parents, and they cannot refuse his demands. They wait until he comes and takes her. If, however, her relations find that his hands are stained with blood of her kindred, then they object to her marriage. In such a case the Murri comes by stealth and usually alone, and carries her off. Her relations, ascertaining where he is camped, send a message to him and demand that he shall meet their champion in single combat. This he must do if he wishes to retain his wife. It might be that the man, being a warrior, would openly go to the camp of her parents, and, taking her, offer to fight any man, the best in her tribe. If a fight ensued, the matter ended there; but if no one of her relatives would venture the combat, they would sneak after him, and watch so as to kill him if possible when asleep or when stooping to drink.

"The relatives, wishing to have her back, might also wait till the two were camped alone, and go and take her away by force, her husband being, however, permitted to retain her if he could make good his claim by superior prowess. This procedure would not, however, be adopted when the two were at the great camp. The Murri, exercising his right of taking a wife, can compel the woman to go with him, and if necessary beat her. When a Murri goes to take a wife by force, he is accompanied by his comrades,[2] who

[1] The word *Murri* as used here means "aboriginal man" in the Kamilaroi language, but cannot be properly used, as I have observed it to be by some writers, as a general term for an Australian aborigine. There is not any such comprehensive term.

[2] In accordance with the customs of the native tribes, these must be men who might have lawfully married her, and may have been at the same Bora as himself.

on this occasion have access to her. In any set fight between him and her kindred the weapons would be agreed upon. If a single combat, it would be club and shield; but if otherwise, he would have to defend himself against several spears thrown at him all at once. If he is defeated, and unable to fight any longer, he loses her. It was only the great warriors and the head men who had more than one wife."

Mr. Naseby further remarks, "One of my black servants had been with me about six years, and was now getting to be near thirteen years of age, a time when a black boy thinks of getting married. I knew the feeling to be so strong in the aboriginal nature that, if not indulged, the boy would run away. I therefore said, 'Wait, Georgie, until we get to the Gwydir (we were then at Maitland), and you shall have a gin.'[1] Accordingly when we reached Yaggabri, George went by my directions to the camp, and chose a wife according to the Kamilaroi practice, and brought her with him on the return trip of the dray to Maitland. Scarcely, however, had I and my party left on the return journey to Maitland than a band of blacks was seen following the drays, and with loud voices and hostile demeanour demanding that Georgie should give back his wife. This I was very unwilling to permit, because I knew that thereby I should lose a very valuable servant. The blacks still continued to follow; and after a few days I held a parley with them, and learned that Georgie was not entitled by their laws to have a wife, because he had not attended enough *Boras*, and therefore was liable to be put to death, and they would do so as soon as the white man was not there to protect him. By my influence and kindness I succeeded in pacifying them. They returned home and Georgie was safe."

This account shows to us the custom from which the often-accepted account of Australian marriages has been

[1] *Gin* means "woman" or "wife." It appears as *din* in the Port Jackson vocabularies, and has now been carried by white settlers and their black boys to distant parts. I found it once included in a vocabulary sent to me from the Darling River back country. On querying it, my correspondent inquired, and corrected the error by inserting the word belonging to that language.

derived by writers, who have not known the actual facts of forcible abduction of wives in the Kamilaroi tribes. English writers have followed these statements and have assumed that it was the universal custom to obtain a wife in Australia by lying in wait for some woman, no matter which, knocking her down with a club and carrying her off.

Mr. Naseby also said that it was not lawful to marry a "female cousin, or a half-sister; but the former did not seem half so shocking as the latter." The unfortunate use of our terms of relationship when speaking of aboriginal customs or practice is the frequent cause of misunderstanding. For instance, our term cousin includes two distinct relationships, according to the aboriginal manner of counting them, namely, that of the children of two or more brothers, or of two or more sisters, which is that of brother and sister; and that of the children of a man on the one side, and the children of his sister on the other, who are in a quite different relation to the former. I take Mr. Naseby's female cousin to mean one of the latter, because he says that such a marriage would be to them less shocking than that with a half-sister, which might be one of the former.

Mr. Cyrus E. Doyle says: "The Northern Kamilaroi placed great emphasis on this, that a Dilbi could not marry a Dilbi, nor a Kupathin a Kupathin.

"A widow did not by any Kamilaroi law belong to her deceased husband's brother. She accompanied the tribe in its wanderings, and got her own living. She might indeed go of her own accord as the wife of some great man, warrior or headman, some of whom had four or five wives, and were considered rich in proportion to their number.

"But an unmarried woman might be taken in the tribal manner by any man who was not too nearly related to her.

"The punishment for adultery was that when a woman was *taramu*, that is, shifty, wanton, adulterous, the husband complained to his kindred, who carried the matter before the headman, and if the charge was found to be true, her punishment was to be taken without the camp, and to be

handed over to all comers for that night, and her cries were not heeded.

"Women were lent to friends, or to friendly visitors from a distance, but it had to be with the consent of the woman. If, however, the husband consented, the woman submitted to his will.

"A female captive would be the property of her captor, if she were of the proper class-name; but in any case he must be a noted fighting-man to be allowed to have more than one wife. If the woman did not belong to the proper class, he had to give her back to her relations.

"If a man among the Kamilaroi took a woman to wife contrary to the tribal laws, her kindred would complain to the local division to which he belonged, and they were bound to take the matter up. If they did not do this, a fight would be sure to arise between members of the two sub-classes concerned. In some cases, however, if a man persisted in keeping a woman as his wife who was of one of the sub-classes with which his sub-class could not marry, he was driven out of the company of his friends. If that did not induce him to leave the woman, his male kindred followed him and killed him. The female kindred of the woman also killed her."

The Kamilaroi of the Gwydir River appear to have been exceptionally severe, for the penalty of death was inflicted by the tribe upon a man who spoke to, or had any communication with, his wife's mother.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kamilaroi are the Wiradjuri, whose class system is almost identical with that of the former, and is given in Chapter III.

I have not been able to obtain a full statement of the intermarriages and the descents of all the totems given for the southern branch of this tribe. Those which I obtained are noted in the following statement, and were given me by one of the Wiradjuri, a man of the Murri sub-class and red kangaroo totem.

[1] Cyrus E. Doyle.

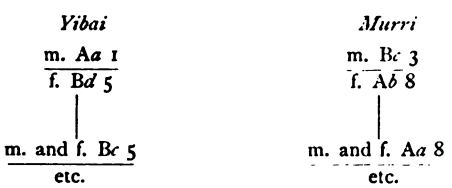
WIRADJURI TRIBE

SOUTHERN BRANCH

Male		Marries		Children are	
	(A*a*)		(B*d*)		(B*c*)
Yibai	eagle-hawk (1)	Kubbitha	bush-rat (5)	Murri and Matha	bush-rat (5)
Yibai	mallee-hen	Kubbitha	flying-squirrel	Murri and Matha	flying-squirrel
Yibai	opossum	Kubbitha	bush-rat	Murri and Matha	bush-rat
Yibai	opossum	Kubbitha	flying-squirrel	Murri and Matha	flying-squirrel
Wumbi	blood-sucker lizard	Matha	young emu	Kubbi and Kubbitha	young emu
	(B*c*)		(A*b*)		(A*a*)
Murri	young emu (3)	Butha	blood-sucker lizard (8)	Yibai and Yibatha	blood-sucker lizard (8)
Kubbi	bush-rat	Yibatha	eagle-hawk	Wumbi and Butha	eagle-hawk
Kubbi	flying-squirrel	Yibatha	mallee-hen	Wumbi and Butha	mallee-hen
Kubbi	bush-rat	Yibatha	opossum	Wumbi and Butha	opossum
Kubbi	bandicoot	Yibatha	opossum	Wumbi and Butha	opossum

As an example I give a diagram of one marriage in each class, namely, the first in Yibai, and that in Murri.

DIAGRAM XIII



This shows that, in the first place, descent is in the female line; in the second, that while the class and the totem descend direct from mother to child, the sub-class is alternatively one of the two which represent the class. Each totem is restricted to marriage with certain totems of the other class, and not, as in the Dieri tribe, for instance, allowed to marry any of those totems.

The totems were given to me in the manner recorded, certain of them being said to belong to Yibai, others to Kumbo, to Murri, and to Kubbi. But when the marriages and descents are considered, it appears that the totems are common to the pair of sub-classes forming a class, and in the successive descents belong to one and then the other. There could be no other result under the cross descents in the sub-classes. The class and totem never change, but the sub-class does. The point of importance is that the totem belongs alternatively to each of the sub-classes; but I have not been able to find an explanation for the statement which is constantly made that such and such totems belong to some particular sub-class, unless it is that the individual considers that his totem belongs to the sub-class to which he belongs, so far as he is concerned. It must be noted also that this list is incomplete.

A statement made by one of my Wiradjuri informants is worth recording, as showing that all the restrictions or enlargements of privileges are the result of thought. He said "Kubbi-guro (bush-rat) and Kubbi-butherung (flying-squirrel) can each marry Yibatha-gurimul (opossum), because they are very near to each other in the Kubbi-budjan" (that is sub-class). It was also said that Kubbi-bandicoot cannot marry Yibatha-opossum, but may marry Yibatha-kangaroo, or Yibatha-mallee-hen; but for this no reason could be given other than "our fathers said it was so."

There is always a difficulty in working out the totemic marriages unless there are persons present (especially old men or old women) of the different sub-classes and totems. A man knows with which his totem marries, and he knows those of his kindred of either side, but less of more distant persons. My Wiradjuri informants were too few to admit of working out those data completely.

One point must be noted, namely, that the totem name passes, at each level in a generation, from the sub-class of the mother to that of the child.

Among the southern Wiradjuri, girls are promised by their fathers to the sons of other men, the children being very young. When the boy is old enough to marry, that is

when his beard has grown again after the *Burbung* ceremony, and the consent of the kindred on both sides has been given, he fetches his promised wife, and usually her brother returns with him to his part of the tribe, and receives the sister in exchange. This exchange of sisters was called "Gun-gun-mur." At times when the father of a girl refused to give his consent to the marriage of his daughter to some man, she eloped with him; and if they could remain away for a long time, say a year, they were forgiven on their return.

In the Baraba-baraba tribe, which was probably an off-shoot of the Wiradjuri, the marriages in the sub-classes were as follows, according to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron:—

Yipai and Butha	Wumbai and Yipatha
Muri and Kubetha	Kubi and Matha

This, however, requires further confirmation, being quite contrary to the general class law.

In the northern section of the Wiradjuri, whose country is on the Lachlan River, the rules of marriage and descent have marked differences from those of the southern Wiradjuri or the Kamilaroi.

The marriages and descents are shown in the subjoined table, which exhibits both the regular and the anomalous marriages:—

MARRIAGES AND DESCENTS, WIRADJURI TRIBE, LACHLAN RIVER[1]

Male		Marries		Children are
Ipai	mallee-hen	Kubbitha	black duck	The children are always of the complementary sub-class to that of their mother, and of her totem.
	or	Kubbitha	red kangaroo	
Ipai	padi-melon	Kubbitha	lace-lizard	
		or (anomalous)		
		Matha	bandicoot	
Ipai	opossum	Kubbitha	bandicoot	
		Matha	black duck	
		Matha	red kangaroo	
		Matha	snake	
		or (anomalous)		

[1] A. L. P. Cameron.

MARRIAGES AND DESCENTS, WIRADJURI TRIBE, LACHLAN RIVER—*continued*

Male	Marries	Children are
Kumbo mallee-hen or Kumbo emu	Matha red kangaroo Matha black duck Matha snake or (anomalous) Kubbitha bandicoot	The children are always of the complementary sub-class to that of their mother, and of her totem.
Kumbo opossum	Matha bandicoot Kubbitha black duck Kubbitha red kangaroo Kubbitha lace-lizard or (anomalous)	
Murri red kangaroo Murri black duck or Murri snake	Butha mallee-hen Butha emu or (anomalous) Ipatha opossum	
Murri bandicoot	Ipatha mallee-hen Ipatha padi-melon or (anomalous) Butha opossum	
Kubbi red kangaroo Kubbi black duck or Kubbi lace-lizard	Ipatha padi-melon Ipatha mallee-hen or (anomalous) Butha opossum	
Kubbi bandicoot	Ipatha opossum Butha mallee-hen Butha emu or (anomalous)	

There is another totem belonging to Ipai and Kumbo, which Mr. Cameron was unable to obtain.

The class system has been given in the previous chapter.

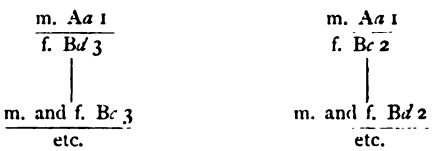
The peculiar feature in these marriages is that a man is permitted to marry into both of the sub-classes of the opposite class—that is, in fact, to revert partially to the old law of the classes. But it may be perhaps done from other reasons—for instance, the small number of the people of certain totems compelling those who otherwise would have married in accordance with the general rule of the sub-classes to follow the older law. This will come again

under notice in considering the marriage rules of the tribe adjacent to the northern Wiradjuri, namely, the Wonghibon.

The exceptional marriages of this branch of the Wiradjuri may be illustrated by two diagrams, showing first the marriage of Ipai-mallee-hen with Kubbitha-black-duck, which is according to the usual law of the sub-class; second, the marriage of Ipai-mallee-hen with Matha-bandicoot, which is indeed contrary to the law of the sub-classes.

The following diagram will show how these unusual marriage rules work out:—

DIAGRAM XIV



The letters and numerals are those attached to the class, sub-class, and totem in the table in Chapter III.

Whatever the marriages are, the children take that sub-class name which they would have under the usual marriage law; that is, Matha's children are Kubbi and Kubbitha of the same totem as their mother. The difference is that under the usual marriage of Ipai with Kubbitha his children would be Murri and Matha.

To the north of the country of the Lachlan Wiradjuri there is the Wonghibon tribe, which in fact appears to be a branch of the former under another name. The sub-classes are the same as those of the Wiradjuri, but the marriages of the sub-classes differ in their arrangement from the rules of the southern Wiradjuri and the Kamilaroi, but agree with the practice just mentioned of their neighbours, the northern Wiradjuri. The subjoined table gives them as made out by Mr. Cameron and carefully revised by me.

The diagrammatic statement of the Wonghibon class system is as follows. The two primary classes are Ngielbu-murra, which divides into Ipai and Kumbo, and Mukumurra, which divides into Murri and Kubbi.

WONGHIBON CLASS SYSTEM[1]

Classes.	Sub-Classes.	Totems.
Ngielbumurra	Ipai	Mallee-hen Emu
	Kumbo	Opossum
Mukumurra	Murri	Black duck Bandicoot
	Kubbi	Red kangaroo

The marriages and descents are as follows, including the anomalous unions, which are marked *. The normal marriages are placed first.

Male		Marries		Children are
Ipai	mallee-hen	Kubbitha	black duck	The children are always of the mother's class and totem, and of the fellow sub-class to hers.
		*Matha	kangaroo	
		*Matha	bandicoot	
Ipai	emu	Kubbitha	black duck	
		Kubbitha	bandicoot	
		*Matha	kangaroo	
Ipai	opossum	Kubbitha	kangaroo	
		*Matha	black duck	
		*Matha	bandicoot	
Kumbo	mallee-hen	Matha	black duck	
		*Kubbitha	bandicoot	
		*Kubbitha	kangaroo	
Kumbo	emu	Matha	black duck	
		Matha	bandicoot	
		*Kubbitha	kangaroo	
Kumbo	opossum	Matha	kangaroo	
		*Kubbitha	black duck	
		*Kubbitha	bandicoot	
Murri	kangaroo	Butha	opossum	
		*Ipatha	mallee-hen	
		*Ipatha	emu	

[1] A. L. P. Cameron.

Male		Marries		Children are
Murri	bandicoot	Butha	emu	The children are always of the mother's class and totem, and of the fellow sub-class to hers.
		*Ipatha	mallee-hen	
		*Ipatha	opossum	
Murri	black duck	Butha	mallee-hen	
		Butha	emu	
		*Ipatha	opossum	
Kubbi	wild duck	Ipatha	mallee-hen	
		Ipatha	emu	
		*Butha	opossum	
Kubbi	bandicoot	Ipatha	emu	
		*Butha	opossum	
		*Butha	mallee-hen	
Kubbi	kangaroo	Ipatha	opossum	
		*Butha	mallee-hen	
		*Butha	emu	

A diagram constructed as in the case of the Wiradjuri shows similar features.

Mr. Cameron directed my attention about the year 1883 to the difference in the marriage arrangements of the Wonghibon from those of the Kamilaroi, and said that he had made every endeavour to discover whether there was any mistake, but found, after inquiry, that the statements were correct. His Wathi-wathi informant at that time told him that if a Wongi went to the Wiradjuri for a wife, the difficulty could be got over by considering the totemic names of the individuals.[1]

It will be observed that the child always takes the mother's totem, and that the sub-class of the child is the fellow sub-class to that of the mother, the two together representing their class. What appears to have been intended by this arrangement is that a wider choice should be given for marriage, for the result as to descent is that, as the class and totem follow the female line direct, it is the sub-class which changes in each level of a generation. The marriages are within the class, and the older law is followed

[1] See also A. L. P. Cameron's "Notes on Some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* January 1885, p. 350.

as to the class and totem. The explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that the totems are irregularly distributed. For instance, about Mossgiel the opossum totem is almost extinct, while in other parts of the Wonghibon country its members are numerous, and the emu totem and mallee-hen are correspondingly scarce. Such at any rate was the explanation given by the Wonghi informants, who also said that the action of these two totems is to cause the bearer to change his "budjan" (totem), as then Ipai-willi (opossum) ranks as a Kumbo, and Kumbo-willi as Ipai; Murri-gurung (bandicoot) as Kubbi, and Kubbi-gurung as Murri. This explanation seems to me to be probable, since we know that the native tribes will resort to rearrangements of the class divisions and totems to meet marriage difficulties, or will even alter the status of relationships of two or more persons for that purpose.

In the Geawegal[1] tribe on the Hunter River (which had the Kamilaroi sub-class names) marriage was ordinarily by gift of the woman, and by consent of both fathers, if the future husband was a boy or youth, and would be arranged years before the time for marriage. Girls were also affianced in childhood to men much older than themselves. Wives were also exchanged by their husbands. Some strong or popular men had a number of wives. Elopement of unmarried girls was occasional, and in such cases the man would have to fight the intended husband or his male relatives. If he proved to be the victor, he kept the girl. She in such cases ran the risk of being beaten by her relatives, or even killed. In the event of female captives being taken, they belonged to their captors, if of a class from which wives might be legally taken by them. If of a forbidden class, my informant thought the captor might make an exchange with some one of the proper class who had a woman at his disposal. The class of the female captive would be known if she belonged to any of the tribes with which the Geawegal were familiar. If the class could not be ascertained, then there would not be any objection to her captor retaining her.

[1] G. W. Rusden

As a man had power of life and death over his wife, so in the process of violent seizure he assumed the same power. The only risk he ran was from the rage of her relatives and friends.

In all cases it was absolutely necessary that a woman should be married according to tribal law. The contrary would be inconceivable to the Geawegal. For instance, were the question put, "Could not so-and-so marry?" mentioning some man or woman of forbidden class, the reply would invariably be, "It cannot be."

Occasionally saturnalia took place, at which wives were exchanged or lent to young men, so that intercourse was almost promiscuous, subject to the class laws. When they admitted this to my informant they did so as if they were ashamed of it. This occurred not in the daylight but at night. It might not happen for years.

I have not been able to ascertain more than the fact that the Wollaroi, Unghi, and Bigambul tribes have the same sub-class names as the Kamilaroi, and that their marriage laws are practically the same as those of the latter.

In the Wollaroi[1] it is the mother who promises her daughter to some man of her selection, but to this rule there is the exception that brothers also exchanged their sisters without the direct intervention of their mothers. Here we may perhaps see the transition from the older practice of the Lake Eyre tribes, where the two-class system still maintains, to that of tribes in which the father disposed of his daughter, or of the daughter of his younger brother.

In cases of elopement with the wife of another man, it was the Wollaroi practice for the abductor to stand out before a number of the woman's kindred, who were armed with spears, he having merely a spear for his protection, to turn them aside. If he passed through the ordeal safely he was allowed to keep the woman. Among the Wollaroi a widow went to the brother, own or tribal, of her deceased husband.

In the Unghi tribe it was the father who promised his daughter when she was a child, and she remained with her parents till she was marriageable, which was usually about the age of twelve or thirteen, when the man to whom she

[1] R. Crowthers.

had been promised went for her, accompanied by his totemic comrades.[1]

The sub-class marriage rule in the Unghi tribe was as follows :—

Male	Marries	Children are
Hipai	Kubutha	Muri and Mata
Kombo	Mata	Kubi and Kubutha
Muri	Butha	Hipai and Hipatha
Kubi	Hipatha	Kombo and Butha

The system of four sub-classes with descent in the female line is succeeded in southern Queensland by four other sub-classes with male descent. These continue to somewhere about Rockhampton, and are succeeded by tribes having also four sub-classes, but with descent in the female line. Of these latter I take the Kuinmurbura tribe which lived in the peninsula between Broad Sound and Shoalwater Bay as the representatives. The following table gives the marriages of the sub-classes and totems :—

KUINMURBURA MARRIAGES AND DESCENTS[2]

Male		Marries		Children are	
Kurpal	eagle-hawk	Karilburan	hawk	Munal	hawk
Kurpal	laughing-jackass	Karilburan	curlew	Munal	curlew
Kuialla	eagle-hawk	Munalan	hawk	Karilbura	hawk
Kuialla	laughing-jackass	Munalan	curlew	Karilbura	curlew
Karilbura	curlew	Kurpalan	laughing-jackass	Kuialla	laughing-jackass
Karilbura	water	Kurpalan	eagle-hawk	Kuialla	eagle-hawk
Karilbura	wallaby	Kurpalan	laughing-jackass	Kuialla	laughing-jackass
Karilbura	hawk	Kurpalan	eagle-hawk	Kuialla	eagle-hawk
Munal	curlew	Kuiallan	laughing-jackass	Kurpalan	laughing-jackass
Munal	water	Kuiallan	laughing-jackass	Kurpalan	laughing-jackass
Munal	hawk	Kuiallan	eagle-hawk	Kurpalan	eagle-hawk

[1] A. L. P. Cameron.

[2] W. H. Flowers.

Marriage in these tribes was commonly by betrothal of a girl often when a mere infant. The actual ceremony of betrothal is by the male cousin[1] of the girl taking her to the camp of her future husband, and seating her there at his back, and close to him; who, however, according to their etiquette, takes no notice of her. She is painted and decorated with feathers in her hair. After a time her conductor takes the feathers from her hair and fastens them in that of the man, and then leads her back to the camp of her father. The feathers remain in the man's hair for about a day.

The future husband, after this, sends presents of fruit, game, or other food to her, and she goes occasionally to eat it at his camp. When her father thinks she is old enough to be married, he informs her betrothed and sends the girl out to gather food with the other women. The man having painted himself, and taken his weapons, follows her, accompanied by all the unmarried men in the camp of the same class and totem as himself to help him. When they find her, he goes forward, and takes her by the hand, telling her that he has come for her. The women at once surround her and try to prevent him from taking her. She cries, and tries to get away from him, and if she does not like him she bites his wrist, thus refusing him. If she does this he throws her from him and leaves her. After a few days, he again tries her, and if he can prevent her from biting his wrist, or if she does not do so, he calls the men to help him, and while they hold the women, he takes her away to his camp. The next day he goes out to hunt, and in his absence the men who had gone with him to take her, and who are of the same class and totem as himself, go to his camp and have access to her as a right. They and her husband are all in the relation of *Durki* to her. One may infer that this custom is a vestigiary one, indicating a time when there was group-marriage in this tribe, and that the relation of *Durki* is analogous to that of *Noa* in the Dieri tribe. Indeed, such customs may explain the *jus primae noctis*, which Lord Avebury truly explains as expia-

[1] This cousin is the mother's brother's son or the father's sister's son.

tion for individual marriage. In the Kurnandaburi tribe we see the practice in force on the occasion of marriage, and also *sub rosa* between the woman and her husband's brothers, while it is in the Dieri tribe a living fact among all the tribes-people as one of the two recognised forms of marriage, namely that following the *Tippa-malku* relation, and the other the *Pirrauru* marriage ceremony.

In the Kuinmurbura tribe a widow went to the elder brother (*murang*) or the younger (*woern*) of her deceased husband.

A man had to make presents of game to the parents of his wife. When a Kuinmurbura married a woman of another tribe he lived with hers, but would not take part in intertribal fights with his own, on such occasions being merely a spectator. A female captive was the property of her captor, if of the proper class and totem.

The marriages and descents in the Kongulu tribe, which occupied the country between the Mackenzie River and the lower Dawson, were as follows[1] :—

Male	Marries	Children are
Bunya	Kaiyaragun	Bunjur and Bunjurgun
Tarbain	Bunjurgun	Kaiyara and Kaiyaragun
Kaiyara	Bunyagun	Tarbain and Tarbaingun
Bunjur	Tarbaingun	Bunya and Bunyagun

Bunya and Tarbain represent the class name Yunguro, and Kaiyara and Bunjur the class Wutthuru.

I have no information as to the totem marriages excepting that the totem always descends from the mother to her child. The child therefore takes its mother's class and totem and the sub-class name which with hers represent her class. Descent is therefore in the female line.

Inland from the Kuinmarbura tribe there are other tribes with another set of class, sub-class, and totem names. The most southern representative of these is the before-mentioned Emon tribe. The best example of these tribes

[1] "Girroonbah," *The Queenslander*, 28th December 1895.

known to me is the Wakelbura, whose class-names, sub-classes, and totems I have given.

The rules of marriage and descent in this tribe have a peculiar feature in the totem of the child being different both to that of its father and its mother. Unfortunately Mr. J. C. Muirhead was unable to give me a reason for it, and the tribe is now extinct.

The following table was compiled from data furnished by the marriages and descents in four generations in one case, five in another, and two in a third. The two class names are omitted.

WAKELBURA TRIBE

Male		Marries		Children are	
Kurgilla	opossum	Obuan	emu	Wungo and Wungoan	carpet-snake
Kurgilla	plains-turkey	Obuan	carpet-snake	(?)	
Kurgilla	plains-turkey	Obuan	hill kangaroo	(?)	
Kurgilla	small honey-bee	Obuan	carpet-snake	(?)	
Banbe	iguana	Wungoan	carpet-snake	Obu and Obuan	emu
Wungo	carpet-snake	Banbean	iguana	Kurgilla and Kurgillan	opossum
Obu	emu	Kurgillan	opossum	Banbe and Banbean	emu

This list is evidently incomplete as to the totems, and apparently incorrect in giving emu as a totem of both the Banbe and Obu sub-classes; but it shows in all instances that the child was of another totem than that of either of its parents. The only instances of a similar kind known to me are those of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes made known by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. There is no possibility now of ascertaining what the belief of the Wakelbura was as to the re-incarnation of the ancestor.

I have again to point out that although it is said that a certain totem belongs to a certain sub-class, in fact it belongs to both of the pair, but alternates in succeeding generations from one to the other.

A wife was not obtained in this tribe in any other way than by betrothal, excepting the rarer cases of elopement and capture.

It was the mother who chose a husband for her daughter as soon as she was born—some man who had been a true friend to her father, brother, husband, or some one near to her, in the hour of need; and the man to whom she was promised took her away when she was old enough to carry his baggage about the bush, that is, about twelve years of age. In cases of elopement the man to whom she was promised claimed her from the man she had gone with, and there was a set fight between them. The victor kept her, but there were usually two or three fights before the matter was settled. If, after she had consented to marry the man to whom she had been promised, she eloped with some other man, of the proper class and totem, or even if she had been compelled to go by force, she would be almost cut to pieces by her own brothers, and father's brothers, as also by the men of her promised husband's totem. Her brothers might even almost kill her, because they would thereby lose the woman by whose exchange they would obtain a wife for one of them.

The tribal law was extremely strict as to unlawful connections or elopements between persons too nearly related to each other. Such persons would be, for instance, those whom we call cousins, both on the father's and the mother's side, or who are of the class, sub-classes, or totems which do not intermarry. For instance, if a Kurgilla-tunara man ran off with an Obuan-wallaroo (hill kangaroo) woman who ought properly in due course to have married a Kurgilla-burkum (plains-turkey) man, his own and tribal brothers would be against him, as well as the brothers own and tribal of the woman, and those also of the promised husband. In short, he would have to fight with all of them. They would fight in the camp, or wherever they happened to meet. Commonly the woman's brothers called on the promised husband, or, if she was married, on her husband, to come forward and fight the offender, but sometimes it happened, if the promised husband was a very strong or able fighting man, that he would follow the man who had taken his promised wife to his camp. The mother of the woman would cut, and perhaps kill her, and the man's own brothers would challenge him to

fight them, by throwing boomerangs and other weapons about him. If he did not accept the challenge, they would turn on the woman, who unless she could escape into the bush, would be probably crippled, or even killed, by their weapons. The next proceeding would be that the promised husband and the offender would fight, both being fully armed with shield, spear, boomerang, and knife.[1] The offender in such a fight would be sure to come off worst, for even if he proved to be a better man than his antagonist, the brothers of the latter, or even his own brothers, would attack him and he would be probably gashed with their knives, since his own brothers would not mind if they killed him, for under such circumstances his death would not be avenged.

When in such a fight the missile weapons were exhausted, recourse was had to knives. A dense ring of blacks generally formed round the combatants, to see fair play, and to separate the men when unfair cutting was attempted. But even here the proper husband would have an advantage, if any advantage were possible, for the blacks know beforehand which is the better man, and the lookers-on would take care that the offender did not do any serious harm to his adversary. If he did, then his relations would suffer for him, when their tribe came on a visit, for their motto is "Death for death," unless it were in some fair fight, or between comrades over some game killed. In such a case the man who killed the other would be only roughly spoken to.

But in such a fight as that above mentioned, if one of the combatants were in such a position that his antagonist could put his knife against a vital part, at the same time calling to him to give in, and he would not yield, he would probably plunge his knife into him and kill him. It is in such a case that the relatives of the man in danger, if they observed it, would close in and separate the two, taking their knives from them, and thereby end the fight.

But the woman would in any case receive a terrible

[1] These knives were formerly made of stone, but in later times iron knives were used, sometimes made of a sheep-shears blade and ground to a sharp edge.

punishment by cutting with their knives, and would be compelled to go with her promised husband, or her husband if she were married, or she might even be killed in the fight.

At festive meetings of the tribe, men of the same totem exchanged wives for two or three days, and they also lent women to friendly visitors, who must of course be of the proper class, sub-class, and totem. A widow went to the brother of the deceased husband, or if there were not any, to his best friend of the same totem. The brother must be of the same mother, but might be by a different father.

A child of an unlawful amour, or unlawful marriage, if it were not killed, would be called *Kongara*, that is, mongrel. For instance, if the mother were Wungoan, and the child were a boy, he would be Wungo, but would not have any totem.

In this tribe, as will be seen from the following example, there was group-marriage. Say that there are seven men, all Mallera-kurgilla-small-bee, and who are, some own, and some tribal brothers. One of these men is married, his wife being Wutheran-obukan-carpet-snake. None of the other six men is married. They and the woman married to their brother call each other husband and wife, and the six men have and exercise marital rights as to her. Her child calls each of these six men father, as well as the seventh man, who is the actual husband of its mother, and the six men have to protect the child. This clearly is a form of the *Pirrauru* marriage of the Lake Eyre tribes. The importance of this occurrence in a tribe, so distant from those of Lake Eyre, is that the Wakelbura is one of a large group of tribes who have the same organisation.

In cases where there was an elopement between persons of two different tribes, the woman was sometimes left with her abductor if she survived the cutting she received; but he would then probably leave his own tribe and join some other, for otherwise, whenever his and her tribe met, there would be renewed contests between his and her relatives.

If a man from a distant tribe, say from the Barcoo or the Mackenzie River, running off with an unmarried Wakelbura woman, got away safely to his distant home before the woman's kindred could catch him, and meanwhile her promised husband died, the other must forsake his own tribe and join hers, or her relatives would call him to combat. In all cases known of this nature the man forsook his tribe, and by doing so he was safe from molestation by them, and his own kindred would not feel any anger against him. From this time forward he would be called by the name of the tribe which he had joined, and would take part in their ceremonies and fight on their side, even against his former tribe.

Women were captured by tribes who came from a distance to attend an *Umba* or other ceremony, and this was done when the ceremonies were over, and the people were going homewards. That is, the visitors captured women from their hosts, not the latter from the former. Their turn came when they were visitors. But it is not always that the opportunity offer, for, the practice being well known, the women were closely guarded. Yet at times a woman would wait till the visitors were two or three days distant on their homeward route, and then follow the man she had become attached to, and who had lingered behind for her. When she overtook him they hastened forward and joined the main body.

In the case of a captured woman, her captor would only keep her if she were of that class and totem with which his might marry. But there was an exception to this general rule, namely, when she had been severely cut with knives. The issue of such a marriage was called *Ungkara* or *Ungura*, also meaning mongrel.

The subjoined table shows the intermarriages of the Wakelbura and allied tribes, which are based upon locality, and are regulated also by the class system and totems. Thus both the social and the local organisations govern marriage.

	Tribe	Obtains wives from	Gives wives to
1	Wakelbura	3 and 8	2 and 3
2	Auanbura	1 ,, 14	5 ,, 6
3	Mutherabura	2 ,, 13	13 ,, 1
4	Dorobura	11 ,, 12	10 ,, 11
5	Tilbabura	6 ,, 8	6 ,, 2
6	Terrabura	8 ,, 2	5 ,, 8
7	Mutabura	8 ,, 9	9 ,, 6
8	Kumbukabura	6 ,, 10	7 ,, 1
9	Munkibura	8 ,, 11	1 ,, 4
10	Boanbura	4 ,, 10	12 ,, 10
11	Bingabura	11 ,, 4	11 ,, 2
12	Babingbura	3 ,, 13	3 ,, 13
13	Buthalibura	Not ascertained.	

In seven instances there is reciprocity between one of each of the intermarrying tribes, in one between both. The latter is, I think, the most usual custom.

The marriages and descents in the Buntamurra tribe of the Bulloo River are as follows :[1]—

Male	Marries	Children are
Gurgela	Guberugun	Wongo and Wongogun
Banbari	Wongogun	Guberu and Guberugun
Wongo	Banbarigun	Gurgela and Gurgelagun
Guberu	Gurgelagun	Banbari and Banbarigun

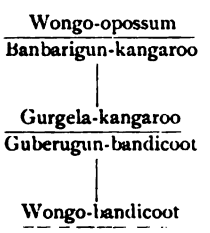
This falls in with the normal marriage system of the four sub-class tribes with female descent.

The totemic marriages are also with descent in the female line, the child taking the totem of its mother. But

[1] J. H. Kirkham.

there is the same peculiar statement by the native informant, that certain totems belong to his sub-class, thus dividing the totems into four groups, while the totem is in fact attached to one sub-class in one generation and to the other in the next. This is seen from the subjoined diagram of marriage and descent in this tribe.

DIAGRAM XV



This shows that while the sub-class name alternates with each generation, the totem name remains fixed in the female line direct. While Gurgela-kangaroo takes the fellow sub-class name to that of his mother, he takes her totem. This is one of those points which I have not yet been able to satisfactorily settle, namely, why is it that a man of a certain sub-class claims certain totems as belonging to it? It seems that he sees only his sub-class, to which the totem certainly belongs so far as he is concerned, but in the next generation his sister's children will bear it, together with another sub-class name.

In the Dalebura tribe a widow went to the eldest brother of the deceased husband, not necessarily as a wife, but if not, then to place her family under his protection. For instance, if there were a daughter who had been betrothed by the deceased, it would be the duty of the brother to see that the promise should be carried out. If the daughter were not betrothed, then the brother of the deceased would have the disposal of her. The sons of the widow would be protected by their father's brother. This arrangement would be of advantage to the widow's brother-in-law, because as long as she remained under his care he would have another hand to assist in providing the daily necessary food.[1]

[1] R. Christison.

Tribes with Four Sub-Classes and Male Descent

Tribes organised in this manner are found in southern Queensland, extending westward from the coast, between Brisbane and Port Curtis, as far at least as the Bunya-bunya Mountains.

Fortunately the class names have been preserved in some

FIG. 9.—A WOMAN OF THE DALEBURA TRIBE.

of these tribes; for instance, in the Kaiabara, who lived in the Widji-widji or Bunya Mountain district. The two class names were practically those of the Kamilaroi, namely, Kubatine and Dilebi, and by them it is possible to make a direct comparison of the rule of marriage and descent in the classes and totems of these tribes. The sub-class marriages are as follows:[1]—

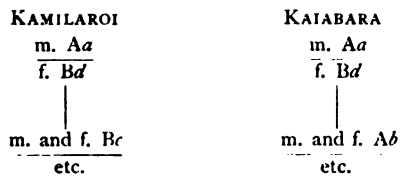
[1] Jocelyn Brooke.

Male	Marries	Children are
Bulkoin	Turowain	Bunda
Bunda	Baring	Bulkoin
Baring	Bunda	Turowain
Turowain	Bulkoin	Baring

Bulkoin and Bunda are called brothers, so are also Baring and Turowain.

Bulkoin and Bunda are the subdivisions of Kubatine, and Baring and Turowain of Dilebi. The following diagram compares the Kaiabara and Kamilaroi marriages and descents :—

DIAGRAM XVI



It is clear that in these tribes, while the class name descends from father to child, the sub-class name of the child is that which, together with that of its father, represents the class of the latter. Therefore descent is in the male line. The sub-classes of this tribe are the equivalents of those of the Kamilaroi, Bulkoin and Bunda of Ipai-Kumbo, and Baring and Turowain of Murri-Kubbi.

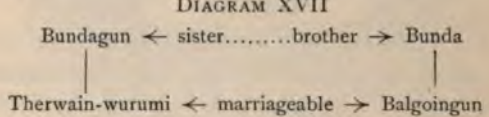
But when one comes to the totemic marriages, a peculiar feature shows itself. The following table was carefully taken down from the statements of some of Mr. Brooke's native police, as to themselves, they being Kaiabara :—

Male		Marries		Children are	
Bulkoin	carpet-snake	Turowain	black eagle-hawk	Bunda	white eagle-hawk
Bunda	native cat	Baring	rock carpet-snake	Bulkoin	scrub carpet-snake
Baring	turtle	Bunda	white eagle-hawk	Turowain	black eagle-hawk
Turowain	bat	Bulkoin	female carpet-snake	Baring	scrub carpet-snake

This shows that while there is male descent in the classes and sub-classes, it is in the female line in the totems, with the peculiarity that while the child takes the same beast or bird as its mother, it is of a different colour or gender. Another peculiarity is that the same totem appears to belong to *Bulkoin* and *Baring*, that is to both classes. This suggests an inaccuracy, which I was not able to check.

I could not ascertain whether the Kaiabara marriage law was of the Urabunna or the Dieri type, but did so as to that of the Muruburra tribe living at the White Cliffs at Great Sandy Island. There the proper wife of a man is the daughter of his mother's brother. The following instance shows how this is, the man in question being Therwain-wurumi (fire), his wife being Balgoingun, and his son being Baring. His wife was given to him by her father Bunda, who was the brother of Bundagun, the mother of Therwain-wurumi, thus :—

DIAGRAM XVII



This diagram may be compared with those given of the Urabunna and Dieri rules.

It was the old men in the Kaiabara who instructed the children in the marriage laws, about the boundaries of their country, and what they might eat. The boys stood in one row and the girls in another, and an old man would walk between them and ask the boys which of the girls they would choose for a wife. If they selected one of the forbidden class, they were abused; but if of the right one, they were praised.

The Kaiabara had an ingenious method of recording the four sub-classes and their marriages in a diagrammatic form on a piece of wood, about four inches in length, as figured on next page, the markings being made in such a manner as to represent a man with his arms crossed.

The family represented in the upper quadrant is called *Avang*, or mother, the right-hand quadrant is *Yerome*, or

father's sister; the left-hand one is *Gummi*, or mother's brother; and the lower one *Malaumi*, or husband. No reason could be given for these names beyond that it was, as one man said, "Bunda and Therwain in each family speak of the upper family as *Avang*."

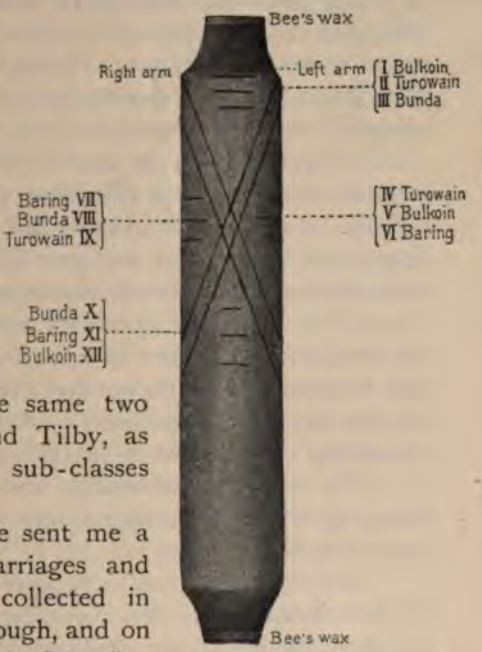


FIG. 10.—KAIABARA RECORD OF THE SUB-CLASS NAMES.

TRIBES WITHIN FIFTY MILES OF MARYBOROUGH (QUEENSLAND)

These tribes have the same two class names, Kupathin and Tilby, as the Kaiabara. The four sub-classes are also the same.

Mr. Harry E. Aldridge sent me a number of tables of marriages and descents which he had collected in the tribes around Maryborough, and on Frazer's Island (Great Sandy Island).

These, however, differed considerably amongst themselves in the arrangement of the sub-classes and in the marriages and descents. So much so that the correctness of some of them seemed doubtful.

One of them, however, was seemingly correct, and agreed with those of the Kaiabara and of the White Cliff tribe (Muruburra) on Great Sandy Island, and is as under :—

MARRIAGES AND DESCENTS AT MARYBOROUGH (QUEENSLAND)

Male	Marries	Children are
Balgoin	Theirwain	Bunda
Bunda	Parang	Balgoin
Parang	Bunda	Theirwain
Theirwain	Balgoin	Parang

Marriages occur in different ways. A girl, when a mere infant, may be promised to some suitable man. For instance, a young man may distinguish himself in some manner, as a fine dancer, or a successful hunter, or an expert fighting-man, or in some other manner. Some man having a daughter of that sub-class with which the young man may marry, and being pleased with him, may say to his father, "I have a daughter, and will give her to your son." Or he may say so to some man who is eminent in the tribe, and whose son is old enough to marry. Taking such a case as the latter as an instance, when the youth in question has been admitted to the privileges of manhood at the *Dora* ceremonies, and sufficient time has elapsed to allow his beard to have grown again, he will be allowed to take the girl for his wife. If he were to attempt to do so before, he would not be permitted, and the girl's father might say to him, "Go away! What are you thinking about —taking a wife without any hair on your face?"

The old men had usually several wives each, but always keeping to the "old original ones," or rather the old original ones keeping to them.

In these tribes not only were the children of brothers, or the children of sisters forbidden to marry, being too near to each other, but the children of a man and those of his sister were also forbidden to marry, for the same reason. But it sometimes happened that two persons in those relationships fell in love with each other, and ran away together. Such cases were always severely punished. In one instance the girl was taken away twice from the man, and both were very severely dealt with. They then went off again, and her Kummi (mother's brother) killed her. The man escaped and left his district for some years, or he would have been killed by his kindred.

It was permitted to the unmarried girls, if they wished to do so, to encamp away by themselves at a little distance, or they and some widows might make such a camp. It would face away from the main encampment, and its situation is a sign that the young women are there waiting for the young men to come and court them. The young men visit them, and a couple, a girl and a young man, will often

be in the girls' camp for several evenings talking, before she will consent to his wishes. This practice is not thought to be wrong unless it is done so openly that it is patent to the other people, when the young couple are subject to ridicule. Any girl may join this camp, but many of them do not do so, and numbers remain perfectly virtuous, until their promised husband fetches them. This is certain, because such things are the subject of conversation.

Of course the young man and woman must be of the proper marriageable class and eligible on the score of relationship. Otherwise it would be considered very disgraceful. All this is pretty well known, because they talk over their amours with their particular friends.

A man is ruled in his desire for a particular woman by being of the class, sub-class, and totem from which he may lawfully take a wife. On his persisting in a contrary course, the influence of the members of the tribe would be brought to bear on him, and on these occasions of debate, each man interested would make a speech, sometimes very ably, and standing near the opening of his hut, grasping his spear with one hand as it rested on the ground.

In some cases a girl will run off with a favoured lover, rather than become the wife of the promised husband. If the couple are then captured, or if they return voluntarily, the young man has to fight all her male relatives who choose to take the matter up. The girl is at the same time severely beaten by her kindred. But a young man, who has thus carried off a girl, may placate her relations, and also her promised husband, if he sends presents to them before he returns.

If it were a married woman who eloped with some man, they would be followed, and if caught would be both nearly killed. Such women as these, who, as the blacks say, are always "looking out for men," and who become notorious for their immorality, are looked down upon as the prostitutes of the tribe, and are lent to visitors as temporary wives.

There is a curious ceremonial practice connected with marriage which occurs at the termination of the *Dora* ceremonies. At the end of the dancing corrobboree, held

on the last evening, the assemblage disperses, spreading out like a fan from the ceremonial ground, and it is then that the young men, of both sides of the community, lie in wait in the darkness to capture women, by rushing out and carrying them off as they return to their camps. This has to be done quietly, otherwise the girls' friends will return and rescue them. If the attackers feel themselves sufficiently strong in numbers, they defend their captures ; if not, they let them go, and escape for their lives, sometimes receiving very ugly wounds. The women captured may be either married or single, but a preference is always given to the latter, and husbands with any regard for their wives always keep a good look-out on them at this time, for otherwise it is more than probable that they would be missing. A young man "from information received" gets the right girl. He also asks when he has seized her of what class she is, and if not suitable, immediately lets her go. His object is to get a wife of the right class. When these tribelets meet, there is always some one who knows, and can tell everything about the other classes, sub-classes, or totems, as well as his own.

When a man marries a woman from a distant locality, he goes with her tribelet, and identifies himself with her people, and this is a rule with very few exceptions. He becomes part of her family and kindred. In the event of a ceremonial combat occurring, between the tribe of the woman and that of her husband, the latter acts as a blood relation of her people, and will fight with, and even if possible kill, his own relations of his former tribe. A father and his son have been seen fighting under such circumstances, and the son would have killed his father, if he had not been prevented.

Fighting being a pastime with them, a few blows or a deep cut or two are considered as nothing, and the men being in first-rate physical condition, the wounds soon heal.

A man travelling from a distance, who can speak the language of the people in a place at which he arrives, and thus make himself known to them, will be hospitably treated. People meeting him and who do not know him will ask him who he is. He says, for instance, "I am Bunda ; the

name I received at the *Dora* is so and so." He tells them who his father is, and what his name is, and where his mother came from, and some one is almost sure to know something about him. If he cannot satisfactorily tell them who he is, he will be almost certainly killed. But a man who has satisfactorily made himself known, and who is a fine dancer or singer, or a great fighting-man, or has some special qualifications, may, if he is generous and makes presents to his entertainers, be provided with a temporary wife, it being of course understood that she is of the class with which his own intermarries. Such a woman would, however, be one of those who, the blacks say, are "always looking out for men." The old men would order her to go with the stranger, and if she objected, it would be the worse for her. A man would arrange this, and thus reserve his wife from the stranger, and any intercourse between a stranger and a woman without the consent of her husband would cause trouble. The husband, father, or brother of such a woman would receive the presents if any were given.

Sometimes men were lured in this way to be killed. In one case two black boys were so lured and killed, who were in Mr. Aldridge's service, and their bodies were cut up and left lying on a log.

A man might in the manner described make himself known over a tract of country having a radius of about one hundred and twenty miles from Maryborough, that is to say, to the confines of the next tribe to that to which the man belonged. But say that two tribes, a hundred miles apart, met at a corrobboree, or a ceremonial fight, and that some man of one tribe was much admired for his dancing or other qualifications, a man of the other tribe might say to him, "I will give you my daughter." The other man, agreeing, would return with him, and thus pick up another language, which would carry him another hundred or a hundred and fifty miles further out. He could then go still further, and, by making presents, or by making himself agreeable to the tribe in some way, they also would receive him hospitably, and entertain him as before mentioned.

A woman taken in a hostile attack belonged to the man

who captured her, if she were of the proper class. Nearly all their fights were the result of the capture of women, either after the ceremonial combats, or in raids made for that special object.

A brother of a deceased man could take the widow, and he might be either the elder or the younger brother, but he must be of the same father and mother, or of the same father and another mother, of the same mother and another father, and not merely a tribal brother. When a man took his deceased brother's widow he was compelled to support the children who went with her to his camp. A widow without children was looked upon as the same as an unmarried girl. A widow with children was considered as independent of the control of father or mother. A widow always remarried, but was not considered such a prize as an unmarried girl.

A man and his wife's mother would never look at or in the direction of each other. The man would hide himself anywhere or anyhow if she were about. This relation was called *Mulong*.

Such were the marriage customs of the tribes within a radius of about fifty miles from Maryborough. On the coast northwards, and in the Wide Bay district, the customs were as follows :[1]—

Female children were always allotted to certain men when they were very young by their parents, and a girl so allotted was obliged to go with the man when he came for her. This relationship was called *Kunki*. If the girl had no *Kunki*, and her father was a vigorous fighting-man, the young men on the look-out for a wife would solicit his consent ; and he giving it to some one, his daughter, if she liked the young man, would comply. But sometimes she liked a man to whom her father objected, and the difference was settled by a fight between the men. If the girl had been promised to another man, the suitor had to settle matters with him. But eloping with a woman, and then keeping out of the way as long as possible, was as common a way as any of obtaining a wife. Even if such a couple

[1] E. Palmer.

remained away a long time it generally ended, when they returned and met her father, by an all-round fight. Clubs and shields were the weapons used on each other, and knives were used on women, being drawn across thick or muscular parts, such as the thigh, with a long gash. Another way of obtaining a wife was by the exchange of a female relative.

In the Turrbal tribe, which occupied the country about Brisbane, girls were betrothed when three or four years of age. Thus wives were obtained by gift or the exchange of female relations, sometimes also by abduction. Girls who had been betrothed were given to their future husbands when of nubile age. When the Wide Bay, Burnet, and Brisbane tribes met for the purpose of "making young men," the daughters of one tribe were given to the great men, or their sons, of the other tribe. In such a marriage all the respective relations on each side were considered to be related to each other, and could travel in the country of either tribe without danger. A woman was sometimes given as a reward for some heroic action. In making these marriage arrangements the mothers were seldom or never consulted. The marriage ceremony was merely that the father and mother led their daughter up to their son-in-law's hut, and left her there. From this time the mother and her daughter's husband never looked at or spoke to each other. It was considered monstrous for a man to marry his brother's widow, and it was never done, but he had a voice in giving her to another.[1]

Tribes with Eight Sub-Classes and Male Descent

North of Lake Eyre, and commencing at the northern boundary of the Urabunna tribe, there is a vast series of tribes with descent in the male line. They extend not only through Central but also into Northern Australia.

Not only have these tribes the four sub-class system, but, as mentioned in a previous chapter, there has been a further division, making eight.

Those in Central Australia which are represented by the Arunta are described fully in the great work of Spencer and

[1] Tom Petrie.

Gillen. I have to thank Professor Spencer for the further details as to the marriage regulations of both the four and the eight sub-classes.

The following table gives the Arunta marriages and descents :—

Male	Marries	Children are
Panunga	Purula	Bulthara
Bulthara	Kumara	Panunga
Purula	Bulthara	Kumara
Kumara	Panunga	Purula

This gives a rule similar to that of the Kaiabara sub-classes, in which descent is in the male line. In this case also the child is of that sub-class which is the fellow of that of its father.

But Messrs. Spencer and Gillen point out that to a Panunga man, for instance, the Purula women are divided into two groups, the members of one of which stand to him in the relationship of *Unawa*, whom he may marry, while the members of the other stand in the relationship of *Unkulla* whom he may not marry.[1] Each of the four sub-classes is thus divided into two other sub-classes, with one of which marriage is forbidden. Thus a Panunga man is only permitted to marry a woman of one of the two divisions of Purula. In the northern part of the tribe matters are simplified by the existence of distinct names for the two groups. In the following table the eight divisions thus arising are laid down, and it will be noted that the old name is used for one half and a new name adopted for the other.[2]

DIAGRAM XVIII.—THE ARUNTA TRIBE

A	I.	1. Panunga	5. Purula	III.	B
		2. Ukuarra	6. Ungalla		
	II.	3. Bulthara	7. Kumura	IV.	
		4. Apungata	8. Umbitchana		

Although the existence of classes is not known, it may be said that since the eight sub-classes are derived from the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 71. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 72.

segmentation of four sub-classes, so these latter were formed by the division of two primary classes. The letters A and B have been added by Professor Spencer to indicate the original two classes. By making use of letters and numbers as before, the manner in which the marriages and descents run in the eight sub-classes of the Arunta tribe can be shown in the same way as I have done in the cases of the two-class and the four sub-class systems. I give one in each of class A and class B.

DIAGRAM XIX

A. I. I.	B. III. 5.
B. III. 5.	A. I. I.
A. II. 4.	B. IV. 7
B. III. 8.	A. II. 3.
A. I. I.	B. III. 5.
etc.	etc.

It is now evident that the child of the man *Panunga* and the woman *Purula* takes the name of one of the divisions of the sub-class which with that of its father represents the primary class. So also with the other divisions of the sub-classes, which can easily be worked out in the same manner. It is also clear that descent in the male line governs this system.

In order to complete the view of the systems of these northern tribes, I add particulars of the Waramunga tribe, which has the eight sub-classes fully developed, and also a peculiarity which occurs in some northern tribes, namely that there are different names for the sisters and brothers. The following table has been kindly given me by Professor Spencer :—

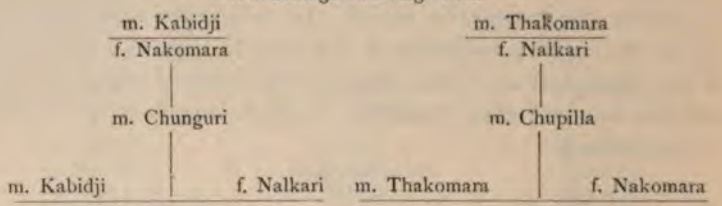
DIAGRAM XX

A	I.	1	Thapanunga	Chupilla	5	III.	B
			Napanunga	Naralu			
		2	Chunguri	Thungali	6		
			Namagili	Nungali			
	II.	3	Kabidji	Thakomara	7	IV.	
			Nalkari	Nakomara			
		4	Thapungerta	Chambein	8		
			Napungerta	Lambein			

The diagram of the Arunta marriages serves for the Waramunga also.

DIAGRAM XXI

Waramunga Marriage Rule



It is as well to mention here that the difficulty which is felt in cases of tribes which have not classes or totems affecting descent, is not experienced with the tribes now under consideration. Their ceremonies and customs make clear the manner in which the sub-classes are associated in pairs, thus indicating the original divisions.

A comparison with former diagrams, especially those of the Urabunna and Dieri, shows that the Waramunga rule is precisely that of the latter. The term of relation "Wankili" is the same as the Dieri "Kami," and the term "Kula-kula" is the same as "Noa." Thus the children of Chunguri are born into the marriageable group formed by the children of Chupilla, and Chunguri and Chupilla are also groups in a wider sense.

These examples will suffice to show the sequence of changes made in the class systems of the tribes of Central Australia from the starting-point of the two class divisions. These changes have been made intentionally for some purpose, and the remarkable feature is the uniformity of the progression, and the vast extent of country over which these changes have been made.

TRIBES WITH ANOMALOUS CLASS SYSTEMS AND FEMALE DESCENT

In Victoria, south of the River tribes, before spoken of, there were the tribes which have been referred to as the Wotjo nation. Of these I take the Wotjobaluk tribe as

the principal example, perhaps not so much because I have taken their name for the nation, as that I have more knowledge of them than of the other tribes.

In this tribe the two class names are Krokitch and Gamutch, which are the equivalents of the classes Kilpara and Mukwara, and descent is in the female line. The rule of marriage is shown in the diagram given in the next page. But it must be noted that in all marriages the first question is, "What is the *Yauerin*" of the respective parties? *Yauerin* is flesh, but also class, and totem, for no marriage could take place if the class or totem were wrong on either side. Further than this there are the prohibited degrees of relationship to be considered. Among these I found much stress laid on that of Marrup and Marrup-gurk, that is, the son or daughter of the mother's brother or the father's sister. These and their respective children, as far as they can be traced, are prohibited from intermarriage. Another restriction depends on locality, for a man cannot marry a woman from the same place as his mother, as it is said that his *Yauerin* is too near to that of those there. Hence it is necessary that a wife shall be sought from some place in which there is no *Yauerin* near to his. The same is the case as to the woman.

All these matters having been considered, the initial step is by the mutual betrothal of a girl with some boy or man. This is done by the fathers, and their consent is essential. Yet it is the respective elder brothers who make the arrangements. That the father has a right of disposal is shown, however, by cases in which he has by his own proper motion promised his daughter to the son of some particular friend.

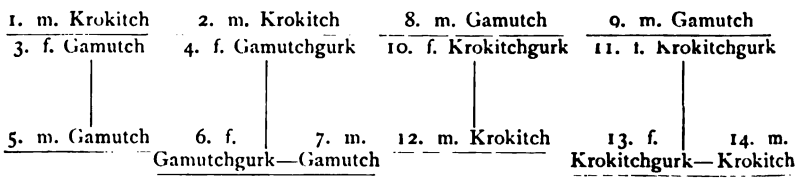
Such matrimonial arrangements might be made at any time, but were most commonly entered into at the great tribal gatherings for ceremonial or festive purposes, at which the intermarrying tribes met.

At such gatherings there was a place called *Jun*, at which the men assembled to talk over tribal matters, as when some man had committed an offence, such as a breach of the sexual regulations between the classes, and

it was here that matrimonial matters were settled. When the time arrived for the people to return to their homes, the principal Headman lit a fire at the *Jun*, around which all the men sat down promiscuously, most of them having things which they had brought with them for barter. The Headman would commence by saying, for instance, "You can now exchange your things and be friends." In anticipation of this meeting the young men have found out the unmarried girls who have not been promised, and who are of the class with which theirs may marry, and also from places from which a wife may be taken. Besides this such marriages were discussed beforehand by the fathers of the marriageable girls, and the young men knew well the arrangements which would be sanctioned. Two such young men now sit down beside each other, and on the announcement being made, one hands to the other the things he desires to exchange. During the day they keep together and make much of each other. Towards evening they have become good friends, and one will say to the other, "I will give you my sister for a wife." In such a manner the preliminary steps are taken. It must be remembered that these are the elder brothers who are acting as proxies, so to say, for their younger brothers.

The following is a case which I investigated in order to ascertain the precise manner in which the respective marriages had been brought about:—

DIAGRAM XXII



Nos. 1 and 2 are brothers, No. 1 being the elder. So also are 8 and 9, the former being the elder. No. 5 is the son of the elder brother, and is therefore the elder brother of 6 and 7, the children of 2 and 4; for the children of brothers are all brothers and sisters. No. 12 is therefore,

for the same reasons, the elder brother of 13 and 14. It was the elder brother 5 and the elder brother 12 who met in the manner mentioned at the *Jun*, and agreed to exchange sisters as wives for their younger brothers.

This marriage rule of the Wotjobaluk is a great remove from that of the Urabunna, as it disqualifies not only those who are each other's proper husbands and wives according to the rule of that tribe, but also excludes all their descendants, as far as their descent can be counted. In order to be on perfectly safe ground in such an important conclusion, I made special inquiries; and so that I might deal with actual facts, I tabulated the descents of several of the Wotjobaluk families to ascertain whether any of the wives were in the relation of *Marrup* to their husbands. In none of them did I find this to be the case, and my informants, after long consideration, said that a man and a woman, being Marrup and Marrup-gurk, could not mix their flesh, their *Yauerin* being too near. But they added that they remembered that one or two cases had occurred in which such a marriage had been permitted, but in them the parties were from places far distant from each other, for instance the Wimmera and Murray Rivers, and that in those cases their respective parents were distant tribal brothers and sisters.

The Jupagalk, a tribe adjoining the Wotjo nation, were however more decided in this matter, holding that the proper wife for a man would be a woman who stood in the relation of *Maap-goruk*[1] to him, but that she should be obtained from a distant locality, and not be too near to him in "flesh."

With the Jupagalk marriages were also by the exchange of sisters, and the exchange was made by the respective fathers, with the concurrence of the elder brothers of the girl.

In the Mukjarawaint tribe, which was the southern branch of the Wotjo nation, living in the northern parts of the Grampian mountains, and on the sources of the Wimmera River, I found a variation of this practice in so far that the paternal grandparents had a voice in the disposal of their granddaughter. This is an exceptional

[1] The equivalent in the Jupagalk language of *Marrup-gurk*.

instance of the power of the paternal grandparents; but it is accentuated, and perhaps explained in part, by the fact that it depended on the paternal grandfather, and failing him the maternal, whether under certain circumstances a child should be brought up or killed.

An old Wotjobaluk man gave me an instance of how, under certain circumstances, a man might obtain a wife. If at one of their festive gatherings, to which people came from a distance, one of the young men distinguished himself as a dancer, the parents and grandparents of a girl whom he desired to have as a wife would be influenced in his favour by his skill. But even in this case, the arrangements would be made by the brothers, and the young man would have to find a sister to exchange for his wife.

Cases were known where a man compelled the kindred of a girl to give her to him as a wife, by obtaining some of her hair and threatening to burn it, this phrase indicating one of the Wotjobaluk practices of evil magic. In such a case her kindred would either have to give her to him, as sometimes happened, or run the risk of her being done to death by means of *Guliwil*, or they would have to prevail on him to give up the hair. If, however, he persisted in the attempt, and the girl became ill, or died, he suffered the consequences of having killed her by magic.

A curious practice connected with this obtained in the most eastern branch of the Jupagalk tribe which at the Avon River adjoined the Jajaurung. When it had been agreed that a boy and a girl should be promised to each other, the boy went to the girl, and with a mussel-shell cut some of her hair off, which he gave to his mother to take care of for him. If the girl refused to become his wife, or if she ran off with some man, then her promised husband took this hair, and rubbing some fat from a black snake on it, tied it up with a *Guliwil* and set it up before his fire when no one was about. After a time he would hear the girl's voice in a complaining tone proceeding from the hair. He then put it up in the bark covering of his camp, and watched it at night till he could see the *Gulkan-gulkan* (ghost, spirit) of the girl sneaking near, trying to get the parcel with her hair.

The Wotjobaluk marriage ceremony was simply that the bridegroom's father, father's brothers, brothers, and male paternal cousins all went together to the bridegroom's camp. With them went the bride's father holding her by the arm. At about ten paces from the camp they sat down, and her father's sister said to her after this manner, "That is your *Manitch* (husband), he will give you food, you must stop with him." They then went away leaving the girl there. On the following day the girl's friends gave a dancing corrobboree, at which the bride's relatives were present as spectators.

No one had access to the bride in this tribe, as was the case in some others ; and only in the case of misconduct of a wife did she become common to others.

In the Mukjarawaint tribe the marriage ceremony differed in detail from that of the Wotjobaluk. The bride's paternal grandfather, father, or brother who had given her away, or had the disposal of her, took her in the evening to her husband's camp and left her there, where she was supposed to lie on the ground outside all night. On the following evening there was a corrobboree, as in other branches of the Wotjo nation, and the bridegroom danced at this, and exhibited his skill in other performances, while the bride's friends looked on.

Among the Wotjobaluk it was not usual for men to have more than one wife, and they were very strict in requiring fidelity from her, and did not lend a wife to a friend or to a visitor from a distance. If a married woman misconducted herself, she was most commonly killed, together with the "co-respondent," if he could be found.

It was not uncommon that a girl who had, as an infant, been promised in marriage, liked some other man better, and in consequence eloped with him. In all the branches of the Wotjo nation the procedure was much the same, and the following instance of what occurred in the Mukjarawaint tribe will serve for all. A White-cockatoo man eloped with a Black-cockatoo girl, who was promised to another man. Before starting, he gave notice of his intention to the young men of his totem who were at the

place. This was for two reasons: first, because of the right of access which they had in accordance with custom in this tribe to the bride; and second, because if they had remained behind, the girl's kindred would have attacked them as being participators in the elopement. In cases of elopement all the girl's male kindred, both paternal and maternal, followed the couple, and if they found them, brought them back with them. The man had then to stand out and fight her male kindred, being armed with a shield and spear-thrower, the former to stop spears thrown at him, and the latter to turn them aside. It was the girl's father and brothers who first threw their spears at him, and subsequently the other men did likewise. If skilful, he probably remained uninjured. The girl when brought back was beaten by her father and brothers, as also by her mother and sisters, against all of whom she defended herself as best she could with a digging stick. After this ordeal, the man was permitted to keep her, but he had to find a sister to give in exchange for her. These facts, occurring, as has been already shown, in so many places, show the wide extension of the ordeal.

Such cases of elopement were between those who might lawfully marry, if the necessary consent had been obtained on both sides. The combat, or rather the ordeal by spears, with the relatives of the woman, and especially with her brothers, was clearly an expiation for the injury done to them in thus depriving them of a valuable asset. But there were other cases in which the parties were in the prohibited degrees of relationship, and therefore on an entirely different footing, the offence being against tribal morality, which with the Wotjobaluk, as in all other tribes with which I am acquainted, is punished with great severity. In such a case there was, in addition to the moral offence, the fact that her brother was deprived of the benefit which he would have derived by her exchange for a wife for himself.

Some instances will show how this class of offences was dealt with by the component tribes of the Wotjo nation. I take a case where a Wotjo man ran off with a woman who stood in the relation of sister, or was of the same *Yauerin* with him. All the men of both of the class names would

pursue him, and if he were caught they would kill and bury him. My Wotjobaluk informants said that this was always done in the old times before white men came; but that they did not do as their western neighbours did, namely, eat him. It was the duty of the woman's father and brothers, in such a case, to kill her. This was confirmed to me by a Mukjarawaint man, who said that if a man took a woman who was of the same *Yauerin* as himself, the pursuers, if they caught him, killed him, and with the exception of the flesh of the thighs and upper arms, which were roasted and eaten, they chopped the body into small pieces, and left them lying on a log. The flesh was eaten by his totemites, including even his brothers. This he said was also the custom of the Jupagalk.

A Krokitch man from the Tatiara country, being on a visit to the Wotjobaluk, carried off a Krokitch girl from the Wimmera River; but, although pursued, he made his escape to his own country. The pursuers felt it to be a great disgrace to them, not only that one of their women should have so misbehaved, but that they had not been able to overtake and punish the man who had taken her away.

When a man ran off with the wife of another, the husband, accompanied by all the men at the camp, married and single, who were not related to her, pursued the fugitives. If caught, the man would be severely beaten by the pursuers, and the woman either speared, perhaps in the legs, or be given to the men who had followed her to be common to them for a time. It sometimes happened that such a case was made up by the man giving presents to the husband, such as opossum rugs, weapons, and other things as her equivalent.

The following shows how marriage by capture occurred in the Wotjobaluk tribe. A White-cockatoo man, who lived at a place called Ledcort,[1] dreamed that a Black-cockatoo man of Mukpilli[2] had burned some of his hair. This he told to the men of his totem, and it was arranged that an armed party (*Yul-yul*) should be made to kill that man, and

[1] Now called Ledcourt.
[2] A place on the Upper Wimmera now called Mukbilly.

if possible to get that hair back. Spies having preceded the party, his camp was attacked before daylight, and he was killed. His wife was captured, and became the wife of the leader of the party, a White-cockatoo man.

In these tribes a widow plastered her head with clay, or burned gypsum, and renewed it for six or seven months. It was not customary among the Wotjobaluk for a widow to be taken by her deceased husband's brother. They had a feeling against this practice, which was explained to me once by one of the old men, because it was unpleasant to lie in the camp in the place of the deceased brother, and thus to be always reminded of him.

The widow did not remarry for two or three months after the white clay or gypsum had worn off, when her deceased husband's brother might say to her, "I think that it is time that you looked out for a husband." The case of one of my native informants is worth quoting, not only because of the tribal intermarriages of which it is an instance, but also showing the position of some men belonging to the borderland of one tribe, as to the tribes beyond. He was one of the Jajaurung living on their extreme eastern boundary, in the neighbourhood of St. Arnaud. To the west of the river Avon was the eastern division of the Jupagalk tribe, with the class names Krokitch and Kaputch, his class name being Bunjil, or in the Jajaurung language Wrappil, which is eagle-hawk.

His grandfather went to a place in the Jupagalk country, now called Pine Plains, where he obtained a wife, and lived with her tribe most of his time. His son was, however, born in the Jajaurung country, but also claimed the country of his mother. He lived in part of it and obtained his wife from Morton Plains. She was the daughter of a woman of the Leitchi-leitchi tribe from Kulkaine, on the south side of the Murray River, on the opposite side to Euston. This woman was Kilpara, which is the equivalent of Krokitch, from her mother. He speaks the languages of the three tribes in each of which he had relatives. The country which he claims is firstly that of his grandfather and father, namely, Marr in the Jajaurung country, and a place in it called

Turpanni, where he was born. He claims the Pine Plains, because his grandfather obtained his wife thence and lived there himself. Also the Morton Plains, because his father obtained his wife there, and the Leitchi-leitchi country of his maternal grandmother.

He is Bunjil from his father and grandfather, Krokitch from his mother, and Kilpara from his maternal grandmother. In him two lines of descent run, one in the male line from his father, the other from his mother, and according to where he was the one or the other was counted.

As I have elsewhere said, the Gournditch-mara border on the one side the Buandik tribes and on the other those described by Mr. Dawson, indeed part of the country claimed by the Gournditch-mara was also claimed by the Kaurn-kopan and Peek-wuurong tribes who belonged to those described by him. With the Gournditch-mara marriage was between Krokitch and Kaputch-jarr, and the child took the class and totem name of its mother, but was of the local division, that is, of that part of the tribe to which its father belonged.

Wives were obtained from distant places as not being so "close in flesh" as those in or near to the same localities. Marriage was by betrothal of children by their respective parents, therefore by exchange of sisters.

It occasionally happened that a young man ran off with a girl without her parents' consent. The father pursued, and if caught he brought her back. In other cases, if the young man belonged to one of the neighbouring tribes, and the fugitives had gone to a distance, no pursuit was made. The girl if brought back received a severe beating by her relatives, and the young man also if they caught him.

A man was not restricted to one wife, but could have as many as he could get.

There was no sexual licence allowed at any time in this tribe, although occasionally a man lent his wife to others, but this was always the occasion of fight between him and the better-thinking of the tribes-people.[1]

The Gournditch-mara belonged to a large group of tribes

[1] Rev. J. H. Stähle.

in south-western Victoria described by Mr. Dawson, from whom I quote some passages to complete this part of the subject.[1]

The laws forbid a man marrying into his mother's tribe, or into an adjoining one, or one that spoke his own dialect. A man is allowed to marry his brother's widow, or his own deceased wife's sister, or a woman of her tribe; but he is not permitted to do so if he divorced or killed his wife. He may not marry his deceased wife's daughter by a former husband.

When a married man dies his brother is bound to marry his widow if she have a family, as it is his duty to protect her and rear his brother's children.

The class names given by Mr. Dawson are evidently derived from a system like that of the Wotjobaluk, or from the Buandik, which is practically the same. The descent runs in the female line, as in them. There are what Mr. Dawson calls five "classes," each of which is a bird excepting one, the carpet-snake (boa snake). Kuurokeetch is evidently Krokitch, and Kartpoerap, the pelican. He says these are looked upon as "sister classes," and no marriage between them is permitted. In the more complete system of the Wotjobaluk Garchuka, the long-billed cockatoo, is one of the principal totems of Krokitch, and therefore could not marry with any of the other Krokitch totems. In the same manner Kappatch is Gamutch, and I take it that Mr. Dawson's "boa snake" is Kirtuuk, and is the Moiwuk, the carpet-snake, of the Wotjobaluk, which is a totem belonging to Wartwut, hot wind, a principal totem of Gamutch, and therefore not able to marry any totem of that class.

This seems to me to be an instance of a peculiar development of the social organisation.

In these tribes, according to Mr. Dawson, wives were to be got from a distance, the rule thus falling in line with that of the Wotjo nation. In addition to the law of the classes, there was one which prohibited a man from marrying into his mother's or grandmother's tribe, or into a tribe that spoke his own dialect. The grandmother here spoken of

[1] *Op. cit.*

must be the mother's mother, since descent runs in the female line. One can see in these restrictions the local rules, which I have mentioned in speaking of the Wotjobaluk, carried out so far as to taboo to a man any woman speaking the dialect of his mother's locality.

Mr. Dawson further says that children were betrothed when just able to walk. The proposal was made by the father of the girl, and if the boy's father approved, he gave the girl a present of an opossum rug, showed her attentions, and gave her nice things to eat when he saw her at great meetings. The courtship of those who have not been betrothed is under strict regulations. As no personal communication is allowed between marriageable persons, outside the limits of consanguinity, a mutual friend called a *Gnapunda*, "matchmaker," is employed to carry messages; but this can only be done with the approval of the parents and kindred of both parties. When a man falls in love with a young woman, he does not always consult her wishes, or procure her consent to marriage, but makes his proposal to the father through her uncle or cousins.[1] If the father approves, he informs the suitor that he may marry his daughter, and to this decision she must submit whether she admires the man or not.

The reader who desires to learn more of the marriage customs of these tribes will find them very fully described in Mr. J. Dawson's book.

To the west of these tribes there were the Buandik, who lived about Mt. Gambier. It is the only one of a group of kindred tribes of which any record has been made.[2]

From the little which I have been able to learn of their marriage rules, I may summarise them by saying that the usual law of the class system obtained between the classes Kumit and Kroki, and that descent was in the female line. As the class system of the Buandik was practically the same

[1] This statement of Mr. Dawson's is an instance of the unfortunate practice of using our collective terms, which include two entirely distinct relations, kept separate by the native tribes. Probably the context requires the "uncle" to be the father's brother and the cousin to be his son, thus falling in with the Wotjobaluk rule.

[2] The Buandik tribe, Mrs. J. Smith.

as that of the Wotjobaluk, it may be, in the absence of more accurate knowledge, that the customs of marriage as to betrothal were broadly the same as, or at least analogous to, those of that tribe.

One significant fact has been, however, preserved in the account of the *Buandik*,[1] that a woman after the death of her husband was common for a time to certain of the men, and that the exchange of sisters accompanied marriage.

Tribes with Two Classes and Male Descent

To the east of the Wotjo nation and of the tribes of south-western Victoria there was a group of tribes which had the class names Bunjil and Waang. These were the Kulin.

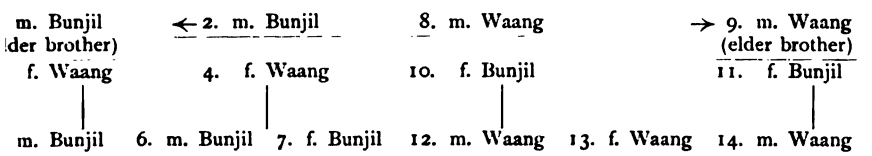
The usual law of the class obtained, namely, that Bunjil married Waang and Waang married Bunjil, but in these tribes the name passed from the father to the child, and not, as in the more primitive tribes with two classes, from the mother to her children. As in these tribes there was only one totem of Bunjil, Thara, the swamp-hawk, and none of Waang, no question of totem marriage arises. But in addition to the class law referred to, there was a local rule which required marriages to take place between certain reciprocating localities. In the last section I referred to a similar rule of the Jajaurung tribe, in speaking of the relations of men on the border between the Jajaurung and the tribes belonging to the Wotjo nation. The subjoined diagram gives the result of the application of the local rule in the case of my informant *Berak*, who was a Waang of the Wurunjerri tribe.

Protector Thomas says that "between the five nearest tribes to Melbourne there is a kind of confederacy or relationship. Thus the Yarra, Western Port, Geelong, Goulburn, and Devil's River tribes, though continually quarrelling, nevertheless are in a degree united. A Yarra black must get himself a wife, not out of his own tribe, but either of the other tribes. In like manner a Goulburn man must get his lubra from the Yarra, Devil's River, Western

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 13.

Port, or Geelong tribe. Thus a kind of social compact is formed against any distant tribe who might intrude upon their country, when all united to expel the intruder."[1]

DIAGRAM XXIII



This diagram may be compared with that given for the Wotjobaluk. No. 12 is Berak, and 8 is his father, Bebejern. The two elder brothers, Bunjil No. 1, and Waang No. 9, arranged for the mutual exchange in marriage of the children 6 and 13, and 7 and 12 of their respective younger brothers. The man Bebejern, No. 8, and his elder brother, No. 9, were Wurunjerri, living on the Yarra River, and 1 and 2 were of the Ngurai-ilam-baluk, living on the Upper Goulburn River. In making these matrimonial arrangements the brothers of the girl had a voice, and we may perhaps recognise in this a trace of maternal descent, as well as the exercise of their individual interest. It was the father of a girl who disposed of his daughter through and by his elder brother, but before doing so he talked the matter over with his wife. In the example given, it was No. 14, the son of Bebejern's elder brother, who gave away the sister of No. 12, while similarly it was the elder brother, No. 5, of the Ngurai-ilam girl, No. 7, who gave her in exchange. But this actual exchange of the girls took place only by the authority of the respective fathers, when the assembled old men had decided that the girls were old enough to be married. Each girl would then be sent away under the care of her elder brother, who brought back his brother's future wife. It is as well to note that 5 and 6, being the sons of brothers, are also brothers, and that 5, being the son of the elder brother, is also the elder. These marriages were of much importance to the tribes, since in the case mentioned, the men to whom the Ngurai-ilam

[1] Evidence taken before a Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria, 1858, p. 68.

and Wurunjerri girls were given, became recognised means of communication between the tribes.

It must be noted here that in these tribes marriages not only between the children of two brothers, or of two sisters, but also between those of a brother on one side and of a sister on the other side, were absolutely prohibited, it being held that they were too near to each other.

FIG. 11.—BERAK, ONE OF THE WURUNJERRI TRIBE.

If a young man were a good hunter, dancer, or fighting-man, or had some other distinctive qualities, some man of one of the intermarrying local groups might take a fancy to him, and if he were not in the prohibited degrees of relationship, and of the proper class, might fix upon him as the future husband of his daughter, and make his choice known to the kindred and to the tribe. Such arrangements were made especially at the great tribal assemblies, where, as Berak in speaking of them said, "People gave each other presents to make friends."

If a girl, being promised in marriage, ran away with another man, it was her brothers, own and tribal, who followed her, and it was with one or all of them that the abductor had to fight. This took place at some time and locality fixed upon, at which the kindred of both sides were present. The two men were each armed with boomerang, club, and shield.[1] The boomerang having been thrown, they fought with club and shield, and when one of them had been wounded so that blood was drawn, to the

[1] This was, of course, the shield used in club-fighting, called *malku*.

satisfaction of the old men, they interfered to stop the fight, saying, as Berak put it, "You have both got blood; it is enough; now make friends." This would be done by each, assuming that both had been wounded, taking some of his own blood and rubbing it over his antagonist. The girl was in such cases severely beaten by her mother and sisters. It was within Berak's recollection that a girl so persistently objected to the man chosen for her husband, that she was finally permitted to remain with the one chosen by herself. But the man in that case had to find a sister to exchange for her.

The actual ceremony of marriage was by the girl's father and some of the old men taking the girl to the camp of her promised husband, and there saying to her, "That is your husband; if you run away from him, you will be punished."

The line of descent runs through males. As it was put to me, "The child comes from the man, and the woman only takes care of it." Berak said in regard to this, "I remember what old Boberi, the brother of Billi-billeri, said at Dandenong, when some of the boys were grumbling and would not mind him. The old man got vexed, and said to his son, 'Listen to me! I am here, and there you stand with my body.'" [1]

In cases of elopement with a girl within the forbidden degrees, the course followed was the same as with the Jajaurung. All the young men hunted for them, and, if found, they would be severely handled, if not killed. In one case, which happened in the Kulin tribe, near Benalla, an old man had a grown-up son, and a girl lived with them who was in the relation of daughter to the old man, and therefore in the relation of sister to his son. The man's friends told him to get the girl married, because it was not right to have her living single in the same camp with his son. He did not do this, and his son took the girl. Then the old man was very angry, and said, "I am ashamed; every one will hear of this; why have you done this thing?

[1] "*Indara ngarrangun, mun ngurlik munnu-numbun, murrumbiek koiuit wanthunara murrumbiek.*"

I have done with you altogether." Then he speared his son, who died soon after. Berak, in telling me this, added that at that time he was a boy without whiskers. This would make the time about when Melbourne was established.

Women were stolen from one place or another. When this happened, the Headman (*Ngurungaeta*) there sent a messenger to the offender to come and fight. On this the people on both sides met and fought—the men on one side with the men on the other—with boomerangs, spear, and shield; and the women with the women with their digging-sticks. Such thefts of women were between tribes of the Kulin nation. But more serious cases were those in which attacks were made on the Kulin by outside tribes, such as the Berbira[1] from Gippsland.

Such a case was when these blacks came over the Great Dividing Range to where Mansfield now is, and in the night surrounded some of the Yirung-ilam tribe. The Berbira, said my informant, were round them in a double line, and killed a number of men and a number of the children, whose heads were left in a row on a log, and they carried off five women.

I may add that I had heard of this raid from the Kurnai, and was told that it was made in revenge for one made by the Brajerak some time before.

It was not common for a man to have more than one wife, but Berak remembered one who had three, one who had four, and one who had six. In the latter case the man was a noted hunter of game, and men gave him their daughters because he could supply them with much food. It was the duty of a man to care for his wife's father, to give things to him, such as opossum rugs, and to provide him with game, which was under this practice called *Ngul-lurp*. If the old man was ill, it was the duty of his son-in-law to go and take care of him. If there were a fight in which they took opposite sides, the son-in-law would take care not to do his father-in-law any harm. As in all other tribes, a man could not have any communication with his wife's mother, or her sister; nor could a woman look at or speak to her

[1] Berbira, a nickname given by the Kulin to the Gippsland Kurnai.

daughter's husband, nor his brother. If she did so, it was thought that her hair would turn white. In order to prevent such consequences, a woman would, when the son-in-law sent game by his wife to her husband, rub charcoal over her face, especially over her mouth, and she could then safely eat of the game without suffering any harm.

A widow went to the brother of her deceased husband; if there were no brother, then her father or her brother disposed of her.

The Bunurong at Anderson's Inlet intermarried with the Jato-wara-wara division of the Brataua clan of the Kurnai, but I have no knowledge how such marriages were arranged. The Bunurong were Bunjil, the Kurnai had no class names, but both had the regulation requiring marriages to be formed only between people of certain localities. Possibly it was on this basis that the inter-tribal marriages were arranged.

As to the tribes along the Murray River, which had the classes Bunjil and Waang, I know that they intermarried with the Kulin tribes, and that their marriage regulations were analogous to those of the Wurunjerri and Thagunworung, with descent in the male line. The Bangerang, who lived about the junction of the Goulburn and Murray Rivers, are an instance with them. Not only was it forbidden to the children of a brother on the one side, and a sister on the other, to marry, but their descendants, as far as they could be reckoned, were equally debarred. It was held that they were "too near," and only a little removed from "brother and sister."

Tribes with Anomalous Social Organisation and Male Descent

The Yerkla-mining do not intermarry in a friendly manner with the adjoining tribes; but this does not refer to the western division of the tribe at Eyre's Sandpatch. Girls are promised when quite children, and may be claimed at any time. It is the father who gives his daughter, but he may be overruled by his elder brother, especially if the latter has the support of the principal, that is, the oldest

medicine-man of the local group. In such a case a messenger is sent into the bush, carrying five feathers or charred sticks, each with a mark on it made by the Headman, who is the oldest medicine-man. If the girl's father and his brothers are equally divided in opinion, the Headman decides which of the two men proposed shall have the girl. They are told that he who finds the greater number of feathers or sticks, which have been scattered in the bush, is to have her. The man favoured by the Headman always goes in the right direction.

A wife is bound to be faithful to her husband. For the first offence she is branded with a fire-stick. For a second offence she is speared in the leg; for further offences she is killed. But no penalty attaches to the man.

It is very rarely that women are lent, excepting to visitors, but it is occasionally done for a friend who has no wife; but in all cases only to one who is of the proper class name. The most frequent case is when one of the Headmen (medicine-men) requests a loan for some friendly visitor.

When a man dies, his widow goes to his brother.

In cases of elopement, the old men give chase, and when the girl is caught she is severely beaten, and the man who took her away has, if her promised husband wishes it, to fight with him. The number of spears to be thrown is determined by the medicine-men.[1]

In the Narrang-ga tribe of Yorke Peninsula, the restrictions which affect marriage are neither class, totem, nor locality, but relationship. The class and totem names pass from father to child, the totems having, as in some other cases of male descent, become attached to localities instead of being scattered over the tribal country. In tabulating the marriages and descents in this tribe from the data given by the old men, I found that descent is in the male line, and that a man might marry a woman even of his own totem. As in all tribes, sister-marriage was strictly forbidden. This rule of course included the father's brother's daughter and the mother's sister's daughter, but a prohibition

[1] D. Elphinstone Roe.

also attached to the daughter of the mother's brother and of the father's sister. But while in this they forbade the marriage allowed by the Urabunna, they followed the rule of the Dieri in allowing those in the next succeeding level, that is, those who in the Dieri tribe are *Noa*, to marry.

It must be remembered that in this tribe there are four classes, or perhaps four primary totems, under which the other totems are arranged. Using the term class for the former, then there was no restriction in their marriages. The following table gives the marriages and descents of the oldest men of the tribe who were living when I obtained this information :—

Name.	Class.	Married	Children were
King Tom (60 years old)	Kari	Wiltu	Kari
His father	Kari	Kari	Kari
His father's father	Kari	Wiltu	Kari
Corporal Joe (60 years old)	Wilthutha	Wiltu	Wilthutha
His father	Wilthutha	Kari	Wilthutha
Harry Richards (45 years old)	Kari	Kari	Kari
His father	Kari	Kari	Kari
His father's father	Kari	Kari	Kari
Old man (70 years old)	Wortu	Wortu	Wortu

As these notes were made in the year 1887, and the figures bracketed after the names give their probable ages, King Tom must have been born somewhere about the year 1827. Wortu, the oldest man in the tribe, supposed to be about seventy, would have been born about 1817. Thus they belonged to the generation whose early days saw their country settled by the white men, and they grew up under the old laws under which their fathers and grandfathers grew up, and probably died before the white men came and disturbed their customs.

When a man obtained a wife by eloping with a woman who would have been otherwise refused to him because of nearness of kinship, he would be permitted to retain her if the relationship were a distant one, and if they remained away till a child was born. But if the relationship were too near, then she would be taken from him.

According to the old men whose memories went back to the times before Yorke Peninsula was settled, there were then wars between them and the tribes outside their country. In them, men were allowed to keep women whom they captured, because there was no law which restricted a man to any particular class or totem.

When the local totem clans met at some tribal ceremony, brothers exchanged wives for a time, but did not lend them to strangers.

A man is only permitted to communicate with his wife's mother through the former, and a breach of this rule is a cause of quarrelling.[1]

On the opposite side of the Gulf of St. Vincent was the Narrinyeri tribe, or that part of it which extended to Cape Jervis. As before stated, it was composed of local totem clans.[2]

Marriage was not permitted within these clans, but where one was divided into three parts, as the one following Karat-inyeri in the list already given, then these divisions, or perhaps speaking more correctly, these sub-clans, might intermarry just as if they were independent of each other. Thus Pilt-inyeri, Talk-inyeri, and Wulloke might intermarry, always premising that the parties were not too closely related. But, as contrasted with this, where there were two or more totems in a totem clan, marriage was totally forbidden between them, for they only formed parts of the same totem clan. This is another instance of the attachment of the totem to the locality, under the action of male descent, and of the transfer of the prohibition of marriage within the totem to the totem clan, that is, to the locality.

A girl was given in marriage, usually at an early age, sometimes by her father, but generally by her brother, and there was always an exchange of a sister, or other female relative, of the man to whom she was promised. A man had the right to exchange his wife for the wife of another man, but the practice was not looked upon favourably by his clan.

[1] T. M. Sutton.
[2] Rev. Geo. Taplin and Mr. F. W. Taplin.

Marriage by elopement occurred, but the woman was looked on with disfavour, because there had been no exchange of a sister for her. In the cases of elopement the young man might call in the aid of his comrades, who then had the right of access to the girl, and his male relatives would only defend him from the girl's kindred on the condition of access to her. In regard to this, I may point out here that the initiated youth, during the time he was *narumbe*, had complete licence as to the younger women, and could even approach those of his own class and totem. This shows a survival of older customs, and at the same time marks the distinction between the mere inter-sexual intercourse and the proprietary right of marriage.

I was told that the Narrinyeri clans did not take captive the women of other clans with which they were at war, it not being according to their ideas of what was fair; but if they met with a few women of the hostile clan, they treated them as common to themselves for a time, and then let them go. This statement seemed to me to be doubtful, and I requested my correspondent, the late Mr. F. W. Taplin, to make further inquiry, which he did, with the result that the old men and old women maintained that it was so.

A great stretch of country intervenes along the coast of Southern Australia between the Narrinyeri and the next tribes which come within this section. These are the Murring tribes on the south coast of New South Wales.

These tribes had only traces of a class organisation. Totem names were inherited by children from their fathers, and they still regulated marriage, in so far that a person could not marry one of the same totem name as himself. Yet the Murring distinctly said that these names were not like the personal names which each individual had, but were more like a *Joïa*, that is, like something appertaining to magic. In addition to the above-mentioned restriction, the prohibition of marriage between persons of the same locality exists here as in the tribes of Western Victoria, the Kurnai of Gippsland, and other tribes which I have mentioned. Particulars of these local regulations are given later on as to the latter, to which the reader is referred.

A girl was frequently promised when still a little child, and her future husband claimed her when she was grown up, a sister being exchanged for the woman he received as a wife. Marriage was permitted between the father's sister's child and the mother's brother's child, so that we find here a trace of the older Urabunna rule still remaining among the later changes accompanying paternal descent. But in the case of the Yuin tribes this was only if they belonged to intermarrying localities.

As an illustration of their marriage rules I quote the principles laid down for his son's guidance by an old Braidwood man. "No one should marry so as to mix the same blood, but he must take a woman of a different name (*Mura*, totem) than his own; and besides this, he must go for a wife to a place as far as possible from his own place." This man, being of Braidwood, went to Moruya, and he had to give a sister to the brother of his wife. The old men, when at the initiation ceremonies, told me that the rule was that the "waddy-men," that is, those who get their living by climbing trees for game, must go down to the sea-coast and obtain wives from the people who get their living by fishing. Thus these people, by their reciprocating local divisions, and the rules relating to them, supply each other with wives. The limits of the district within which wives were thus obtained by exchange of sisters is indicated by the round which the boy's tooth, which is knocked out at the initiation ceremonies, is carried, the tooth being passed on from one Headman to another. In the old times the limits were—Bem Lake, Delegate, Tumut, Braidwood, and so on to Shoalhaven, and thence following the sea-coast to Bem Lake. This Bem Lake, however, was within the country of the Krauatungalung Kurnai, and its inclusion shows that intermarriage took place between the latter and the Yuin. That this was so is also shown by what I heard some of the Yuin say of the mother of one of them. When she was just marriageable, say about twelve or thirteen years of age, she was brought by the Krauatun-Kurnai to Twofold Bay as a wife for one of the Yuin of that place. She ran away from that place with the father of the man first mentioned, and

they escaped by getting on board of a whaler which was on the point of sailing. At that time it was customary for the Twofold Bay Yuin to go as harpooners, or, as they put it, to go "spearing whales." The men, in telling me of this occurrence, were unanimous in saying that, in those times, if a man disregarded the above rules as to marriage, he would be killed.

I have heard it said by the Yuin that the child belongs to the father, because his wife merely takes care of his children for him, and that therefore he can do what he likes with his daughter. Marriages were solely arranged by the father, by promising his daughter as an infant, or in a manner of which the following will serve as a good instance. At the termination of the initiation ceremonies, at which the whole intermarrying community was present, a meeting was held near the camp at which things were bartered. At this assemblage of the initiated men, amongst other things, marriages were discussed. A man whose son had been admitted to the status of manhood, and who would be in due time permitted to take a wife, would announce that he wanted a wife for his son. As every one knew the relationship of the man and his son towards others, and as the matter had almost certainly been discussed in the camp by those interested, some other man would say, "I will give my daughter." This also implied that the father of the boy would on his part give a daughter, own or tribal, to the brother, own or tribal, of the girl. The two being thus promised to each other, the girl is looked upon as the future wife of the boy; and when he has completed his period of probation after initiation, the marriage may be permitted. The *Gommera* (medicine-man, Headman) and the boy's father having consented, the latter would say to his son, "Here is your sister; take her, and go and get your wife." Thus the actual exchange of sisters is made by the two young men. Occasionally the girl rebelled, and having a fondness for some other man, eloped with him. If they could escape and remain away until a child was born, nothing would be done to them, especially if the man could find a sister to exchange for her. These cases are said to

have been common among the Yuin, but not so frequent as marriage by the exchange of sisters. On such an elopement a man would start well armed for fear of consequences.

The following occurrence was discussed by some of the Yuin old men in my presence. A Kangaroo man ran off with a Brown-snake girl who had been promised to another man. So soon as it was discovered, all the men there—Kangaroo, Brown-snake, and other totems—followed them. The runaways were caught, and the girl's father and brothers, and her mother's brother, fought with him, and the girl was beaten by her kindred. Subsequently her mother and sisters attacked her with their digging-sticks, against whom she defended herself as well as she could, until she was knocked down.

Such a fight takes place sometimes on the return of the eloping couple to the camp. The offender is armed with a shield and club, and the aggrieved kindred with shield, club, and boomerang. They fight man to man, and man after man, until the offender has been knocked down four times, or he has knocked down all his antagonists, one after the other. In either case he is free from further feud; but probably he would not be allowed to retain the girl unless he had been so fortunate or so skilful as to have knocked down all her men. Even then, he would have to find a sister to exchange. The girl, when caught, became for the time common to all the men who pursued her, that is, who might have lawfully become her husband. If in such a case a man who was too nearly related to her, or who was of some locality with which those of hers did not intermarry, or who was of the same totem name, attempted to exercise this right, then he would be compelled to fight with all her male relatives at the same time. One of the old Murring, in speaking of these matters in the old days, said, "If a man were to run away with a woman who was one of his sisters, all the men would pursue him, and if he were caught, and did not give her up at once, all his own relatives would be against him. If he still refused to give her up, the *Gommera* of his place would probably say to his men, "This man has done very wrong, you must kill him," and

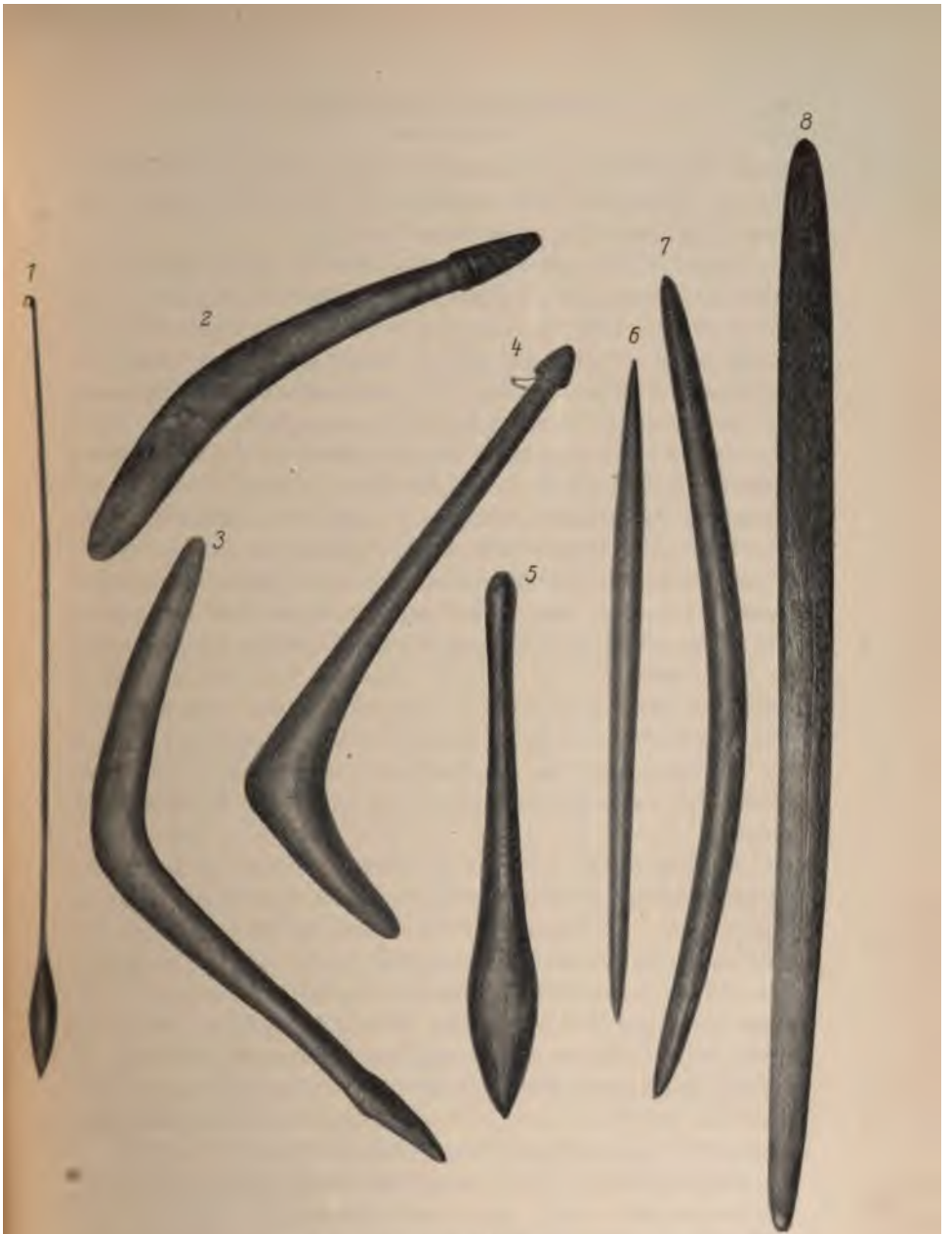


FIG. 12.—NATIVE WEAPONS.

1. Weet-weet of tribes of Victoria. The Wona of the Dieri tribe.
2. Kujerung or Kallak of the Kurnai tribe.
3. Tundiwung of the Kurnai tribe.
4. Laiangel of tribes of Western Victoria.
5. Kujerung of the Kurnai tribe.
6. Kunnin of the Kurnai tribe.
7. Kandri of the Dieri tribe.
8. Woman's digging-stick, Victoria.

if the offender were present, some one would probably drive a spear into him. His relatives would not interfere, lest they might have the same done to them.

Many of the old men among the Yuin, especially the principal *Gommeras*, had more than one wife, and there was one man who had ten, but not at the same time. He was in the habit of giving a wife to some poor fellow who had not any, and thus securing his adherence, and at the same time reducing the number he had to hunt for.

Men did not lend their wives to their brothers, but when a man's *Kuben*, that is, wife's brother, came on a visit, being unmarried, or had not brought his wife with him, his *Kuben* found him a temporary wife by borrowing one from a friend. I remember a somewhat analogous case in the Kurnai tribe. Bunbra, whom I have mentioned elsewhere, had two wives, and when a friend of his was about to make a long journey in the mountains by himself, Bunbra lent him the least useful of his wives, saying, "Poor fellow, he is a widower, and has a long way to go, and will feel very lonely."

A widow went to her husband's brother if he had one. If not, her male kindred gave her to some man chosen by them.

The universal rule which forbade a man to hold any communication with his wife's mother was very strict in these tribes. He might not look at her, nor even in her direction. If his shadow happened to fall on her, he would have to leave his wife, who would return to her parents. A case happened at Jervis Bay which I heard of, where a man in a drunken state accidentally ran up against his mother-in-law, and the *Gommera* made him leave his wife. This law is one of those told to the novices at the initiation ceremonies, and strongly impressed on them.

On the Hunter there were tribes which have been made known to me under the names Geawe-gal, Gringai, etc., whose boundaries are given in Chapter II. Most of the Gringai were named Kumbo, but there were some Ipai, Kubbi, and Murri among them. It has not been possible for me to obtain sufficient information to tabulate their class system under the sub-class rules, but there are certain

facts which are suggestive. One family of Kubbi took their name from their father, and not from their mother. Another family consisted of an Ipai married to a Kubbitha. In another case Kubbi was married to Kubbitha, and again in another Kubbi married Kubbitha, and their child was Kumbo.[1]

Two explanations may be suggested at least. These marriages and descents may indicate a complete breaking down of the old Kamilaroi organisation in a manner similar to that which I have noticed, for instance, in the Yuin. Or it may be the result of the breaking up of the tribe under our civilisation. The only point which seems to me to be worth much consideration is that the child's name was that of the father, or of a sub-class which, together with his, represented his class. There were also totems in these tribes, for instance, Black-snake, Black-crow, Eagle-hawk, and Stingaree.

Marriages were arranged by the parents and kindred, and a wife was chosen from a neighbouring tribe; for instance, a man living at Gresford obtained a wife from the Hunter River. The woman about to be married makes a camp and a fire to which the man is led by his father or any other old man; after they have camped together, the ceremony is complete. Capture of women from other tribes and marriages by elopement were common.

A man is not permitted to speak to his wife's mother, but can do so through a third party. In former days it was death to speak to her, but now a man doing so is only severely reprimanded and has to leave the camp for a certain time—that is, to camp away from the main camp, say one hundred yards or so.[2]

It may be worth while, in the absence of more definite information as to these tribes, to quote from the work of R. Dawson, dating from the year 1830. In the Port Stephens tribe they generally took their wives from other tribes if they could find opportunities to steal them. The consent of the female was never made a question in the transaction. When the tribes appeared to be in a state of

[1] J. W. Boydell, *per* Dr. J. Fraser. [2] C. F. Holmes, *per* Dr. J. Fraser.

peace with each other, friendly visits were exchanged, at which times the unmarried females were carried off by either party. The friends of the girl never interfered, and in the event of her making any resistance, which was frequently the case, her abductor silenced it by a severe blow on the head with his club while carrying her off. He kept her at a distance till her friends were all gone, and then returned with her to his tribe. But if the girl had no objection to her suitor, or had no one else in her eye that she liked better, she agreed to become his *gin*, thus rendering abduction unnecessary. The husband and wife were, in general, remarkably constant to each other, and it rarely happened that they separated after having considered themselves man and wife. When an elopement or the stealing of another man's *gin* took place, it created a great and apparently lasting uneasiness in the husband.[1]

According to Collins, wives "are always selected from the women of a different tribe, with whom they are at enmity. Secrecy is necessarily observed, and the poor wretch is stolen upon in the absence of her protectors. . . . The women thus ravished become their wives, are incorporated into the tribes to which their husbands belong, and but seldom quit them for others."[2]

I have with some hesitation placed these tribes on the Hunter River and at Port Stephens in this section of the chapter. Mr. Dawson's account of the abduction of women during friendly visits between the tribes appears to me to be an outsider's view of what I take to be a case analogous to that spoken of by Mr. Aldridge as occurring at the *Dora* ceremonies of the Maryborough (Queensland) tribes.

The Kombaingheri tribe of the Bellinger River had four sub-classes, each with a distinct female name, the rules of marriage and descent being those shown in the following table :[3]—

[1] R. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 154.
[2] Collins, *op. cit.* p. 362, speaking of the tribes of Port Jackson.
[3] E. Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 40.

Male.	Marries.	Children are.
Kurbo	Wirikin	Wiro and Wongan
Wombo	Kuran	Maro and Kurgan
Maro	Wongan	Wombo and Wirikin
Wiro	Kurgan	Kurbo and Kuran

In the absence of further information either as to the two classes or the totems, it is not possible to say how these four sub-classes are placed in pairs, representing the two moieties of the tribe; or, without knowing, for instance, which pair played in some game against the other pair, or camped apart from it, or aided it in some tribal combat. Without such knowledge it cannot be said whether descent is in the male or the female line. Either can be produced by the arrangement of the four sub-classes in two pairs.

Tribes without Class Systems

The Kurnai had no class divisions. And although there are survivals of totems in this tribe, they do not affect marriage. Under the influence of paternal descent these animal names are segregated into localities somewhat in the manner that the class names of the Wurunjerri and Bunurong tribes were.

This is easily seen when one considers that a man brought his wife into his own district, excepting in the occasionally occurring cases among the Kurnai where a man joined the clan of his wife and lived in her district.

But in taking her to his own district she did not transmit her name to her children, but he did, and as this would be done generation after generation under paternal descent, the *thundung* names (totems) became fixed in definite localities.

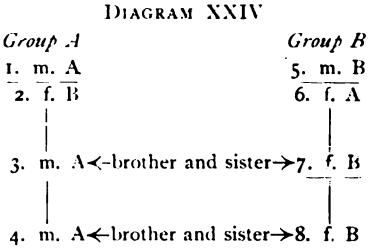
As, moreover, a man could not marry a woman belonging to his own district, he necessarily married some woman whose *thundung* name differed from his, thus still following unconsciously the exogamous rule.

There was no betrothal in this tribe, nor was there an exchange of sisters by those men who married, except in

such rare cases as to prove the rule. Therefore there was no social organisation in this tribe in the sense in which I use the term.

Looked at from the standpoint of marriage, the organisation of the Kurnai on a geographical basis, in local groups, contrasts strongly with the Dieri organisations in class divisions. A Dieri by birth becomes one of a group of the same class, and is of the same local group as his father. One of the Kurnai belongs only by birth to that group of people of the local organisation to which his father and father's father belonged. As there is no class organisation, he cannot, to use a Dieri term, be *Noa* to any group of women of the other class; but, what amounts to much the same in principle, he belongs to a local group which marries only with certain other local groups, and to which, to apply the Dieri term, he is *Noa*. As he obtains a wife from one of those groups, so does his sister go as a wife to some man of one or other of them. In this diagram the two intermarrying local groups are designated A and B.

DIAGRAM XXIV



1 and 6 are brother and sister, own or tribal; so are 5 and 2. Although 2 is the *Mummung* of 7, who is her *Benduk*, and 5 is the *Barbuk* of 3, yet 3 and 7 are brother and sister, 3 being the *Lit*, or child, of 5. The same is the case as to the two lower levels, the fraternal relation counting between those in each level.

In consequence of this restricted system of relationship the whole community was, so to say, enclosed in a net, the meshes of which were so small that very few could escape. That such cases were very rare can be understood when one

considers the effect of this system of relationship, the restriction of marriage to certain localities, and that the old people, especially the old women, carefully kept in memory all the marriages, descents, and resultant relationships, which were specially considered at such times as the *Jeraeil* ceremonies.

The intermarrying localities are shown in the following table, so far as I have been able to ascertain the rules of marriage between them. The table shows that marriage was forbidden in the division, but not always in the clan or tribe, as for instance between the Brabralung divisions *f*, *g*, or in a more limited manner between the Tatungalung divisions *s*, *t*, and the Brataualung divisions *p*, *q*. It was also a general rule that those living on the course of the same river were considered to be too nearly related to each other to marry, but there was an exception in the divisions *f* and *g*, which adjoined each other. An inspection shows that the rule was that the divisions mutually obtained wives from each other, where the right of intermarriage existed. Yet to this general rule I have found an exception. Gliunkong, the survivor of the Bunjil-baul, who lived on Baul, now called Raymond Island, in Lake King, Gippsland, said to me that they did not travel far from the Lakes for wives, but that men from distant places had to come to Baul for theirs. Although this list is incomplete, I feel no doubt that in all cases where it shows that wives were obtained from a certain locality, or that wives were supplied to it, there was reciprocity between them. That this reciprocity is not always shown in the list merely proves, what I am quite aware of, that my information is incomplete, by reason of some of the divisions of the tribe having died out.

[TABLE

KURNAI TRIBE—EXOGAMOUS INTERMARRYING LOCALITIES

Clans.	Divisions.	Wives from.	Wives to.
Krauatungalung	(*a*) Beri-Sydenham Inlet	*b, c, d*	Yuin tribe
	(*b*) Dura - Orbost, about twelve miles up the Snowy River from the sea	*c, a, t*	*c, a, t*
	(*c*) Wurnunggatti — Lake Tyers	*e, f, k*	*e, f, k*
	(*d*) Brt - britta — Jimmy's Point, now called Kalimna	*e, t,*	*b, t*
Brabralung	(*e*) Bruthen, on the Tambo River	*b, c, d, k*	*b, c, f, g*
	(*f*) Waiung—Bairnsdale	*c, e, g, t*	*c, e, g*
	(*g*) Wuk-Wuk—Lindenow	*f*	*f*
	(*h*) Munji — north shore of Lake Victoria	?	?
	(*i*) Dairgo—Dargo River	?	?
Brayakaulung	(*k*) Kutbuntaura — Bushy Park	*d, i, e, h, l*	*d, i, l*
	(*l*) Bunjil-nullung — country between the Avon and Providence Ponds	*k*	*k*
	(*m*) Bunjil - daan — the country between the Avon, Macalister, and Thompson Rivers	*e, o*	*e, o*
	(*n*) Bunjil - Kraura — all the country of the clan west of (*m*)	*i, o, q*	*i, o, q*
Brataualung	(*o*) Kut - wut — the Agnes River[1]	*m*	*m*
	(*p*) Yau-ung — Warrigal Creek	*n*	*n, q*
	(*q*) Drelin — Merriman's Creek	*i, p, t*	*p*
Tatungalung	(*r*) Yun - thur — adjoining and east of (*q*)	*m*	*m*
	(*s*) Ngarawut — the south side of Lake Victoria	*l, m, q, t*	*l, m, t*
	(*t*) Binna-jerra, Baul-Baul	*d, e, f, g*	*d, g*

[1] There was another division called Jato-wara-wara of the Brataualung clan, which occupied the country east of Anderson's Inlet, being the neighbours of the Bunurong to the west of it. Here the Kulin and the Kurnai intermarried, but I do not know with which of the other Kurnai divisions the Jato-wara-wara exchanged women as wives.

The Kurnai man, with the rare exceptions mentioned, could acquire a wife in one way only, namely, by running off with her secretly and with her own consent. Marriage, therefore, was by elopement, and this was brought about in different ways. A young man who was so fortunate as to have an unmarried sister, and who also had a friend similarly provided, might arrange with him that they should take each other's sisters, these being of course consenting parties, for under the peculiar conditions of this tribe the choice of a husband rested altogether with the woman. Or a man might send a message to a girl he fancied, or a girl might even send a message to a young man, such as, "Will you find me some food?"

A young man who had been initiated at the *Jeraeil*, and had served a certain probation, was qualified thereby to take a wife. He would go on a visit to his relatives in that locality from which his mother had come, or to one of the other localities with which his own had marriage relations; and seeing some girl that he fancied, and the feeling being reciprocated, the two would elope. Of the numerous ways in which marriage by elopement was brought about, there are two which are worthy of special notice. If it happened that there were marriageable girls, but that the marriageable young men did not take the initiative, the women set it going by killing a *Yiirung* (emu-wren), that is, one of the "men's brothers," and casually letting the men see it. Then the men became very angry because one of their brothers had been killed. The young men who might be suitors got sticks, the girls took their digging-sticks, and a fight commenced between them, at which many blows were struck, heads were broken, and blood flowed. Even the married men and women joined in the fight. The following day the young men killed a *Djiitgun* (superb warbler), that is, a "woman's sister," and in consequence caused another fight, perhaps worse than the former. After a time, the wounds and bruises having healed, one of the eligible young men and one of the girls meeting, and being inclined towards each other, he looking at her would say "*Djiitgun?*" to which, if she responded to the understood

meaning of the term so used, she would reply "*Yiirung;* what does the *Yiirung* eat?" He in reply says, "He eats so and so," mentioning kangaroo, opossum, or some other game. This constitutes an offer and its acceptance, and the couple then on a favourable occasion elope.

The second instance to be given is that of the *Bunjil-yenjin*, a medicine-man, whose specialty was the arrangement of marriages by elopement spells. *Bunjil* is a prænomen applied to men who have some special qualification; in this case the marriage spells were called *Yenjin*, as *Gunyeru* is the term for those songs which accompany dancing, usually called by us corrobborees. Probably the office of *Bunjil-yenjin* has been vacant since, if not before, 1855. Before that time there was at least one in each division of the tribe. Some men were more celebrated than others, and of them Bunjil-gworan, before mentioned, had a great name. The following account is derived from the statements of the Kurnai, and from those of old residents of Gippsland, who as boys in the early days were much with the blacks in their camps, and thus conserved and remembered many practices which are now obsolete.[1]

It seems from these statements that almost the last time when the *Bunjil-yenjin* exercised their office on a large scale was at the holding of a *Jeraeil* on the south side of Lake Wellington, about the year 1855. At it ten or a dozen young couples ran off under the influence of love and the songs of the *Bunjil-yenjin*. Some of the people who were there were well known to me, and from them, and especially from a woman who was a girl at that time, and who then ran off with her future husband, I have received very full accounts of what was done.

The substance of those statements is as follows. It was the business of the *Bunjil-yenjin* to aid the elopement of young couples. For instance, when a young man wanted a wife, and had fixed his mind on some girl, whom he could not obtain from her parents, he must either go without her, persuade her to run off with him, or call in the aid of the *Bunjil-yenjin*. In the latter case his services were retained

[1] J. Macalpine and W. Lucas.

by presents of weapons, skin rugs, or other articles. The *Bunjil-yenjin* then lay down on the ground in or near the encampment; next to him was the young man, and beyond him his comrades. The *Bunjil-yenjin* then sang his song, and the others all joined in with him.

The following is one of these songs, of which there were very many used on such occasions, and it is said to have been a very powerful one. One of my Kurnai informants, whose wife was one of the girls that eloped at the *Jeraeil* above mentioned, said in speaking of it, "That *Yenjin* made the women run in all directions when they heard it."

Bara-burni	*Wangur*	*molla*	*tallo-burni*		
Roll up the twine,	Jaw,[1]	down there	little twine		
tallo	*karagan*	*ngella-galli*	*kernanga*	*gola*	*yinna*
little	sweetheart	I go first	the hollow (to)	before	you.

Another of these songs, also said to be a most powerful charm, is as follows:—

Kaiaki-jirai	*yendu*	*Yiirung*	*malbretung*
Why cut off	beard,	Yiirung,	long ago?

Djiitgun-djiitgun	*muna*	*betjurunga*
Djiitgun	there (at that place)	the place where the girl sleeps in her mother's hut.

Or, freely translated, "Why did the young man cut off his beard long ago? the maiden sleeps in her camp."

This performance—ceremony it might even be called—was well known to all the camp, for there was no concealment, and even if done at a little distance, there was always some female friend to carry the news to the girl, and say, "There is so and so singing a *Yenjin* about you."

When the *Bunjil-yenjin* thought his magic was strong enough, he ceased his song. In one case, when one of my informants was present, Bunjil-gworan was the *Bunjil-yenjin*, and the girl's parents covered themselves as if asleep.[2]

Before the youth could avail himself of the spell, something more had to be done, and probably in the above-mentioned case it preceded the covering up of the

[1] Wangur was the name of the girl to whom this *yenjin* was addressed.

[2] W. Lucas.

parents. Another medicine-man had to use his art to send them to sleep. At the time of the *Jeraeil* which I mentioned a few pages back, this man was the renowned Bunjil-daua-ngun mentioned later on, and his proceeding was as follows. Being paid by the youth with weapons, opossum rugs, and other things, he stuck his magical spear-thrower into the ground, slanting towards the camp of the parents, and with such an inclination that after a time it fell down. By its side he placed his *Bulk*, and at a little distance his *Yertung*,[1] and beside it his *Gumbart* (nose-peg). He then sang his song, and when the spear-thrower fell down the charm was completed, and the parents were believed to be in a magical sleep. Tulaba, before mentioned, was the youth in this case, and might now run off with his sweetheart, but only after a formality which shows that the final choice rested with her. Stealing round to the back of her parents' camp, in which she was sitting, he touched her with a long stick, and she being ready to run off, pulled the end as a signal. He then left, and the girl, having her bag (*Batung*) packed up, in fact, having her trousseau ready, flitted after him.

In the case which I am now describing, the proceedings were not yet over. After a time the old people, according to my informant Mr. Lucas, woke up, and finding their daughter gone, the old man summoned those of his kindred who were at the camp, to assist him in singing a song which should make the young man's legs become so weary that he would not be able to effect his escape. Finally, he took his spear-thrower, and, holding it loosely in his hand, made blows with it towards different points of the horizon. When it made a sound like a crack, it indicated the direction in which the runaways had gone.

On the occasion of the elopement, the man gave notice to his *Brogan*, that is, those who were initiated at the same *Jeraeil* as himself. They met him and the girl at some appointed place, and had the right of access to her. This right, having been exercised, is at an end. No sexual licence occurred in this tribe beyond this; except when

[1] A small bone instrument used for extracting splinters from the hands or feet.

the *Aurora Australis* was seen, when they thought it to be *Mungan's* fire, which might burn them up. The old men then told them to exchange wives for the day, and the *Bret* (the dried hand of one of their dead kinsfolk) was swung backwards and forwards with cries of "Send it away."

While there were medicine-men who assisted those who wished to elope, there were other medicine-men who aided the pursuing kindred to discover them. Such a one was Bunjil-bataluk,[1] whose familiar was a tame lace-lizard, which is said to have gone in front of him to show where the pursued couple were. If such a couple could escape, and remain away for a long time, their offence against the tribal customs might be overlooked, especially if a child had been born to them while away. But if caught, the girl was severely punished. The women, including her female kindred, beat her with their digging-sticks, her father or brother might spear her through one or both feet, to prevent her running away again, or she might be cut down the back by a blow from a *Tundiwung*,[2] or be even killed. Her husband would be attacked by the men, and even by the women, other than his own kindred, the men with their weapons, and the women with their digging-sticks, sharpened at the point, to stab him in the stomach if possible. His friends would try to prevent the others from attacking him, and usually a severe fight was the result. He might

FIG. 13.
SPEAR-THROWER USED AT KURNAI *JERAEIL*, AND CONSIDERED TO BE VERY STRONG MAGICALLY.

[1] Bataluk is the lace-lizard.

[2] This weapon is called in Central and Western Victoria *Laiangel*, being formed with a sharp point, at almost a right angle with the handle.

even have to save himself by flight. Yet after all this the two would go away again on the first opportunity. Finally the affair blew over and they settled down among the married people, who indeed had themselves gone through the same experience.

In cases where they returned after the first anger of the girl's relatives had subsided, the procedure was somewhat different. A good instance was one which occurred among the Tarra blacks, South Gippsland, in the year 1856. The young man concerned was working as a stock-keeper on a station near Tarraville. He ran off with a girl of the *Tara-tara* division of the *Brataualung* clan. As was customary there, they went to Snake Island, and remained there some time. When they returned, there was such a disturbance in the camp that my informant [1] went to see what it was about. The young man was standing naked about sixty yards distant from the camp, holding a shield in his hand. A number of his friends were standing further back. Some women were drumming on rolled-up skin rugs, and the Head-man Bunjil-gworan [2] and other men stood facing the young man and his friends. Much speaking went on. Bunjil-gworan made an oration, and an old woman followed him. Then came a speech from another old man and another old woman, and so on alternately for about two hours, after which several men stood out, each having a spear and a boomerang. In succession each threw a spear, and immediately after a boomerang, which were warded off or dodged by the offender. When each had thrown his weapons, the matter ended, and the young man was permitted to retain his wife. This was one of those regulated expiations which I have spoken of.

Snake Island was the place of refuge of the Brataualung, not only in cases of elopement, but also when raids were made on them by the other clans of the Kurnai. It lies off the mouths of the Tarra and the Agnes Rivers.

There can be no doubt that the old people of the Kurnai winked at this practice of marriage by elopement. In by far the greater number of cases they themselves had obtained a wife or husband in this manner, and yet when their daughter

[1] W. Lucas. [2] *Gworan* is "thunder."

married in the same way they were furious at it, and punished her with severity.

The explanation of this extraordinary state of matrimonial affairs is to be found in the deadlock brought about by the widespread system of the Kurnai relationships, the universally held abhorrence of sister marriage, and the practice of exogamy in the local groups only. The prohibition, thus arising out of the prohibited degrees and from locality, rendered it next to impossible for a man to find a woman who was not so related to him that she was forbidden to him as a wife. Where such was the case, and where the consent of the parents and the kindred could not be obtained, recourse was had to the only other alternative, namely, elopement, and the office of the *Bunjil-yenjin* arose to give sanction to the practice.

This system of elopement continued till as late as 1875, about which time I met two old men in the mountain country between Buchan and the Snowy River in search of the daughter of one of them, who had eloped with a young man from Lake Tyers.

The strength of feeling in the Kurnai tribe against a man speaking to his wife's mother is well shown by an instance which occurred in the Brabralung clan. A man who had become a member of the Church of England was talking to me, as his wife's mother was passing us at a little distance, and I called to her. Suffering at the time from a cold, I could not make her hear, and said to the Brabralung man, "Call Mary! I want to speak to her." He took no notice whatever, but looked vacantly on the ground. I spoke to him again sharply, but still without his replying. I then said, "What do you mean by taking no notice of me?" He then called out to his wife's brother, who was at a little distance: "Tell Mary that Mr. Howitt wants her"; and turning to me, continued reproachfully, "You know very well I could not do that; you know that I cannot speak to that old woman."

A man had always to provide his wife's father, when they were camped together, with a certain share of flesh food, which was called *Neborak*. I remember that Tulaba on one occasion gave his father-in-law five opossums. Therefore

a man with several daughters well married found himself provided for.

I may repeat what I said in the last chapter as to the Chepara, namely, that they had no class divisions or totems, thus, as to the former, resembling the Kurnai. In marriages it was usual for the consent of the parents, the mother's brother, and of the girl, to be obtained, but strictly speaking the last was not essential. It was also necessary for the consent of the man's father and mother to be given. I was told that the consent of the Headman of the local division was necessary, and on further inquiries this was confirmed. A wife was obtained from any clan, even that of the husband.

It was against the tribal custom for a man to have more than two wives at the same time. If he persisted in taking a third, the Headman and the elders on their parts also insisted on his sending her back to her parents; and if he still refused to do so, the strength of public opinion usually compelled him to obey.

At the *Bora* wives were obtained from the friendly tribes attending it.

Should a man take a girl without the consent of her parents, there would be a great quarrel, ending in a fight between the relations of both parties, in which the women also took part. This being over, the pair were married, and the woman was not punished by spearing or otherwise, as in some tribes.

If a single girl was captured in a raid on one of the clans, or from one of the neighbouring tribes, she was the property of her captor, and there was no common right of access exercised by his companions. Wives were not exchanged under any circumstances, nor were lent to friendly visitors.[1]

A woman is not permitted to see her daughter's husband in camp or elsewhere. When he is present she keeps her head covered with an opossum rug. The camp of the mother-in-law faces in a different direction to that of her son-in-law. A screen of high bushes is erected between both huts, so that no one can see over from either, and

[1] J. Gibson.

conversation between him and his wife is carried on in a tone which her mother cannot overhear. When the mother-in-law goes for firewood, she crouches down as she goes in or out, with her head covered. If the son-in-law should climb a tree to take a hive of native bees, his wife may sit at the butt of the tree, but her mother stays a long way behind with her head covered. When he has got the hive, he goes away, and then she comes up and helps her daughter to cut up the comb and carry it away.[1]

In connection with the remarriage of widows, which has been incidentally referred to in this chapter, special mention may be made of the practice which is probably universal in all the native tribes, by which a widow becomes the wife of a brother, usually the older one, of her deceased husband. The most primitive form is evidently that of the Lake Eyre tribes, where a man's *Tippa-malku* wife becomes the *Pirrauru* wife of his brother during his lifetime. This practice is part of the system of group-marriage, traces of which are still discernible in the systems of relationships of tribes whose marriage rules have progressed far from the older practice. In the Kurnai tribe, for instance, a woman is, by their terminology of relationship, the titular *Maian*, or spouse, of each of the own or tribal brothers of her husband, and after his death becomes the actual *Maian* of his elder surviving brother. In this instance we can recognise the familiar features of the Dieri *Pirrauru* marriage.

The late Mr. M'Lennan considered that the Levirate was derived from the practice of polyandry. It seems to me that we may with more reason seek it in the practice of group-marriage, which I venture to forecast will be ultimately accepted as one of the primitive conditions of mankind.

The evidence adduced in this chapter seems to show beyond doubt some of the stages of social change through which the native tribes have passed. This is specially evident when one considers the marriage customs in connection with the development of the class organisation, and the change of descent from the female to the male line.

The social changes are relatively small in degree, and

[1] J. Gibson.

have not been accompanied by much, if any, advance in culture, but they mark collectively a really great advance from the status of group-marriage in the Lake Eyre tribes to more than incipient individual marriage in such tribes as the Kurnai.

Summary of Limitations

It may be well to summarise briefly the limitations which affect marriage in the series of tribes spoken of in this chapter.

There is first of all the segmentation of a whole community into two exogamous intermarrying moieties, thus limiting the choice of a wife to one-half of the women in a tribe. The broad principle of intermarriage between the two exogamous moieties is controlled by a prohibition of marriage between parents and children, brother and sister. Next we find a further limitation by which the choice is again restricted to a certain group of those women; for instance, the *Noa* group of the Dieri tribe.

While in some tribes, such as the Urabunna, the marriage of the children of a man and those of his sister is permitted, in others, such as the Dieri, it is forbidden on the ground that they are "too near in flesh." In other tribes, for instance, the Bangerang, the children of such persons are also forbidden to marry on the same grounds, and so also are their descendants as far as they can be traced.

In the tribes with four sub-classes, the choice of a wife is restricted to one sub-class, much in the same manner as it is done in the two-class tribes. In eight sub-class tribes this choice is again lessened by the segmentation of the sub-class.

When we turn to the totems, we find that there also this system of limitation obtains, for in some tribes marriage is only permitted between certain totems on either side, and not, as for instance in the Dieri, between any of the totems on one side and any of the totems on the other. This again lessens the number of women otherwise available.

So much, briefly, as to the limitations provided for by the social organisation. But the local organisation in some

tribes adds to them by only allowing certain localities to intermarry, and this is especially marked in those tribes where the social organisation has more or less or completely died out, as with the Kurnai.

Such is, shortly, a statement of the position of the marriage rules of different tribes, and the position may be summed up by saying that all these sexual limitations, whether imposed by the social or the local organisation, have the effect, no doubt intended, of preventing marriages of persons who are of "too near flesh." All these complicated and cumulative restrictions were certainly made intentionally to meet a tribal sense of morality.

It may seem to some that there is no inherent reason why, if a child is to take the name of one of its parents, it should be that of its mother rather than its father, and especially where group-marriages are the rule, unless it be that in the latter case the individual mother is a certainty.

However that may have been, there is the significant fact that in Australia female descent is associated with group-marriage, while male descent occurs in tribes in which group-marriage is either merely a vestigiary survival or remains only in evidence in the terminology of relationships.

My own view is that female descent was the earlier, and male descent the later, institution, the latter being one of a series of social changes which have profoundly affected the organisation of Australian tribes.

If one can judge in this question of the past by the present, I should say that the practice of betrothal, which is universal in Australia, must have produced a feeling of individual proprietary right over the woman so promised. When accentuated by the *Tippa-malku* marriage, it must also tend to undermine the *Pirrauru* marriage. Indeed I find that, as the practice of group-marriage disappears, so does the practice of individual marriage grow. This is not individual marriage as we know it, but the marriage practice of certain tribes, which was clearly indicated by an old blackfellow, when he said to me, "A woman can only have one husband, but a man can have as many wives as he can get."

Another phase of this feeling is clearly shown by the

remark made to me in several cases, that a woman is only a nurse who takes care of a man's children for him.

A step further is when a man gives his totem name to his son, who then has those of both mother and father. This has been done even in the Dieri tribe. Such a practice leads directly to a change in the line of descent.

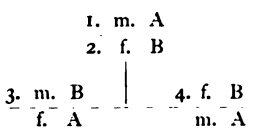
Whatever cause has led to the change from the female to the male line, the result has been to attach the class and totem names to the paternal locality. In tribes with female descent, a woman living in her husband's local division transmits to her children her class and totem; and her husband's sister, who is exchanged for her, likewise transmits her class and totem to her children in the new locality. Thus the classes and totems alternate between intermarrying localities with each generation. Under female descent the class and totem names are scattered over the tribal territory. It is so with male descent also, only that they are fixed to localities, while in some cases, such as the Narrang-ga, the Narrinyeri, the Wurunjerri, the Bunurong, and perhaps other tribes, the classes and totems are segregated into separate localities. How this has come about I am not at present able to explain.

While this work has been going through the press, it has been my great privilege to discuss many salient points with Dr. J. G. Frazer. Such discussions are stimulating, and clarify views which otherwise might remain obscure. A case in point is my statement on p. 282, that the segmentation of a whole community into two exogamous intermarrying moieties limits the choice of a wife to one half of the women of the tribe, and that the broad principle of intermarriage between the two exogamous moieties is controlled by a prohibition of marriage between parents and children, brothers and sisters.

Dr. Frazer pointed out to me that the effect of dividing the community into two exogamous intermarrying sections was to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters, and that the effect of further subdividing the community into four exogamous intermarrying sections was to prevent the marriage of parents with children. This view he briefly

indicated in his paper, "The Origin of Totemism" (*Fortnightly Review*, May 1899, p. 841, note 2). Dr. Frazer also called my attention to the fact that in *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), pp. 469 *sqq.*, Mr. E. Crawley has independently reached nearly the same conclusions, though he has given an undue extension to the exogamous prohibitions which result from the subdivision of the community into four exogamous sections. That Dr. Frazer is right in his view of the effect of the successive segmentation of the community into two and four exogamous sections, will be seen from the following diagrams :—

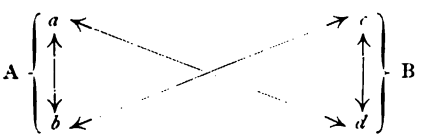
DIAGRAM XXV



This gives the marriages and descents in tribes having female descent, which extend over a great part of south-east Australia. It shows the universal practice of exchange of sisters which in those tribes accompanies exogamy. This segmentation prevents the marriage of brother and sister, but not that of parent and child, as for instance 1 and 4, or 2 and 3.

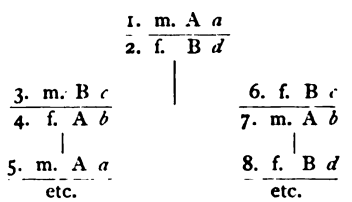
The next step in providing restrictions on marriages which are deemed incestuous, is the resegmentation of the two classes into four. This is shown by the two following diagrams :—

DIAGRAM XXVI



This shows the marriages and descents under the exogamous law of the four sub-classes with female descent, which may be more clearly seen in the following diagram :—

DIAGRAM XXVII



The woman 6, who under the exogamous law of the two classes is the potential wife of her father, is now no longer of that group which is marriageable with his, and it is only in his granddaughter (8) that she reappears.

By the next following segmentation into eight exogamous sub-classes, or as Dr. Frazer terms them, sections, a man's potential wife is removed still further.

I venture to suggest as a reasonable conclusion to be drawn from these successive restrictions that the initiative movement may have been brought about by an objection to intermarriage between children of the same mother.

I am pleased to be able, through Dr. Frazer's far-seeing suggestion, to place my views in this amended form.

A belief in the soundness of my view that all these and following restrictions upon what the native tribes regard as incestuous marriages have been the result of intention, is much strengthened by the fact that the same conclusions have been independently formed by Dr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. E. Crawley, and myself.

MATERNAL DESCENT IN THE SALIC LAW

I now draw attention to one of the ancient Teutonic laws which seems to be capable of illumination by Australian custom.

In working out the details of the tribal systems of relationship, and the marriage rules given in this chapter, I was struck with an apparent analogy to one of the laws of the Salian Franks, and therefore also probably to the customs of other Teutonic tribes.

In following this out, I had recourse to the oldest available literature of the Teutonic peoples, namely, the so-called

Barbarian Laws, which were, as regards the oldest of them, apparently compiled before the tribes accepted the Christian religion, at which time these laws assumed their Latin versions.

These codes of customary laws are rich storehouses of facts, illustrating the social condition of the Teutonic tribes on the continent of Europe and of those which settled in Britain.

They picture peoples who had passed out of savagery into barbarism, and with descent in the male line strongly marked, although that in the female line was still recognised in certain customs, such as the allocation of the Wergeld by the Salic law, one half going to the sons of the man who was killed, and the other divided between the paternal and maternal kindreds. There is no indication as to the proportion which each received, but some light is thrown upon the matter by the Anglo-Saxon laws. The first instalment of the Wer, namely, the Halsfang, went to the children, the brothers, and the paternal uncles; the remainder was divided between the paternal and the maternal mægs, two-thirds to the former and one-third to the latter. This evidence is the more valuable because the Anglo-Saxons had not been in contact with the romanised provincials, as the Salian Franks, the Burgundians, Visigoths, and others had been, and thus carried to Britain their old tribal customs, which were there reduced to writing. Next in value to the Anglo-Saxon laws are those of the Salian Franks, and it is one enactment in these laws that I have taken for consideration.

There are five recensions of the Salic law extant, of which I have been able to consult two.[1] The passage to which I desire to invite attention is the law entitled De Reippus. This term is explained by the commentators as being the price paid on the remarriage of a widow.

The two versions of this law agree as to the procedure to be followed by a man who desired to marry a widow, but

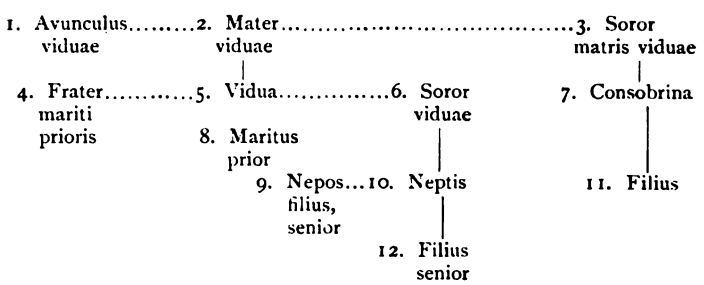
[1] "Pactus Legis Salicae Antiquior," in Canciani, *Barbarorum Leges Antiquae*, vol. ii., and the "Lex Salica Reformata" in the same volume. The "Pactus Legis Salicae" is the same version as the "Liber Legis Salicae" of Bignon's edition, and also the earlier one of Lindenbrog.

they differ materially in some of the later clauses, and these differences are interesting in their bearing on the question now under discussion. In order to bring this out clearly, I shall state concisely the provision of the law as it stands in the "Lex Salica Reformata," and then the version in the "Pactus Legis Salicae Antiquior."

When a man desired to marry a widow he was required to take certain procedure before the Tunginus or the Centenarius.[1]

This was to be done at a public assembly, and, no objection being raised, three solidi and one denarius were paid to the person entitled to receive them as the "bride-price." Rules are then laid down as to which person is entitled to receive this payment. In the note to this law in the Pactus there is a convenient diagram, of which I avail myself to explain the points which I desire to make. But to adapt it to my purpose I have rearranged the order of the persons referred to, and I have numbered them for convenient reference.

DIAGRAM XXVIII



The following is the sequence in which the right to the Reippus runs consecutively :—

1. The nephew (9), being the eldest son of the widow's sister (6).

2. The eldest son (12) of the daughter (10) of the widow's sister (6).

3. The son (11) of the female cousin (7) of the widow on the mother's side.

[1] Canciani, vol. ii. p. 86. Eccard speaks of the Centenarii as "minores judices."

4. The brother (1) of the widow's mother.

5. The brother (4) of the widow's deceased husband, provided he had not inherited the property of the deceased.

6. Failing these, he who was nearest after the above-named in the given order of relationship, down to the sixth "joint" (grade), if he have not come into the inheritance of the deceased.

7. Failing all these, the Reippus is to go to the King's purse.

It is quite evident that in this matter the female line is preferred, and is followed down to the utmost limit to which the Teutonic tribes counted their relationships. To make this clear, I must explain the manner in which it was done.[1]

The complete generation commenced with the parents, and the method of counting the relations was by using the joints of the body as grades, beginning with the head, at which the parents were placed. The complete enumeration on this basis was as follows:—

Father and mother	The head
Children	The neck
First grade (grandchildren)	The shoulders
Second grade	The elbow
Third grade	The wrist
Fourth grade	The knuckle
Fifth grade	The middle joint of the middle finger
Sixth grade	The first joint of the middle finger

In the next stage there is no joint but a nail, and it was called the *naghel-maghe* or "nail kindred," because there the kindred ended; *sib* or "relationship" was contained between the nail and the head. This must be a relic of the very early times, and it is perhaps worth noting as an instance of similarity of practice in tribes in, or emerging from, savagery, that the system of counting by the parts of the human body was also practised by the native tribes of the State of Victoria. Their enumeration commenced at the little finger of the one hand, and went over the head to the little finger on the other hand.

[1] A. Luebben, *Der Sachsenspiegel.* Oldenburg, 1879. After the "Codex picturatus" of 1336.

There is no allocation in the Salic law of the bride-price of a woman on her first marriage.[1]

The bride-price evidently was for the purchase of a woman from her kindred, or for compensation to them for her loss. This comes out clearly in the Anglo-Saxon custom, which, in the absence of direct evidence of detail, may be looked at for the general Teutonic practice. The betrothal, which was the essential part of marriage, was arranged by the respective kindreds (mæg) of the bridegroom and the bride; the bride-price was agreed upon, the bridegroom's mæg guaranteed it, and the bride's kindred might also require a guarantee for her good treatment if she were taken into "another thene's land."[2] Indeed, as in other transactions, it was the group which acted for the individual, protected him or her against wrong, or avenged his or her death.

It is quite clear, from the law of the Reippus, that it was the kindred of the widow, on the mother's side, who had a claim to the bride-price; and the same principle may be fairly assumed to have governed the price at her first marriage. It is clearly laid down that the line of maternal descent is to be followed, the one exception being the brother of the deceased husband. As to this, it may not be an unreasonable conjecture that he was included, for the reason that in past times he had a personal claim over the widow. The practice of the Levirate seems to have been common in Teutonic tribes before they came under the control of the Christian Church. The numerous successive enactments which forbid marriage between persons within certain degrees of relation show what the previous practice was, and instances in the writings of Beda, and of Gregory of Tours, show how common marriages of this character were both in Frankish Gaul and in Anglo-Saxon England. Even as late as the time of Henry I. of England, the marriage of a woman with two brothers is referred to in one of his laws as "humbling her to the day of her death."[3]

It is easily understood, however, why the husband's

[1] Canciani, vol. ii. p. 85, footnote 8, and quoting Eccard, says: "De puellae vero pretio, quod mireris, Lex Salica nihil habet."

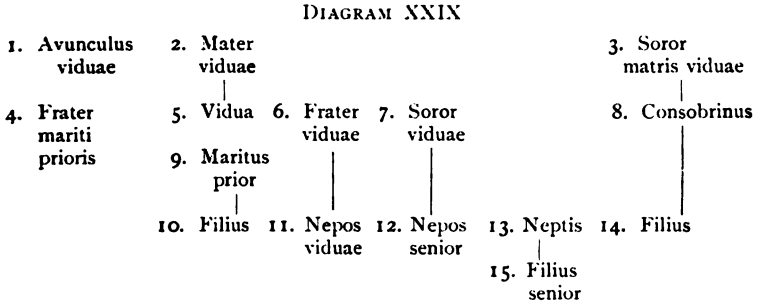
[2] Dr. Reinhold Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 390. Leipzig, 1858.

[3] Schmid, *Leges Henrici Primi, Consuetudo West-Saxae*, cap. 70, 17, p. 471

brother is included among those who are entitled to the bride-price, because under maternal descent he always occupies a prominent position. Under this descent the widow, her sister, and the "consobrina" are all on the same level, being sisters; and the nepos, the neptis, and the filius consobrinae are also in the relation of brother and sister. The fact that these persons, from the widow's maternal uncle down to the individual indicated by the last "joint," are all links in a line of maternal descent, most strongly suggests that this law is a vestigiary custom carrying us back to a time when the ancestors of the Franks had not emerged from that level of savagery in which descent through the mother is alone recognised. But this enumeration of successive individuals, to whom the Reippus is due, failing each predecessor, shows a strong departure in the direction of individualisation from the group, which, however, still remains in evidence in many of the laws. Such an instance is the law entitled De Chren-ceuda,[1] which provides a formal procedure by which a man might shift his share of the Wergeld for homicide from his own shoulders on to those of his paternal and maternal groups of kindred.

The second version of the law of Reippus, which I shall now quote, is the same as the one which I have given from the first up to the fourth clause. The fifth to the eleventh differ, and those of the Pactus are as follow. Diagram XXIX. is that given in Eccard's note.[2]

DIAGRAM XXIX



[1] *Pactus Legis Salicae*, tit. lxi.; Canciani, vol. ii.
[2] Canciani, vol. ii. p. 88.

The following is the sequence of individuals :—

1. The eldest son (12) of the widow's sister (7).

2. The eldest son (15) of the widow's sister's daughter (13).

3. The son (14) of the male cousin (8) of the widow on the mother's side.

4. The brother of the widow's mother (1).

5. The brother of the widow's deceased husband (4), provided that he has not succeeded to the property of the deceased.

6. He who is nearest after the above-mentioned, taken consecutively down to the sixth "joint" of kindred, if he have not succeeded to the property of the deceased husband.

7. Failing these, the King's purse.

The difference between this law and that of the other version is the introduction of the male cousin (8) and his son (14) instead of the female cousin and her son. The former certainly belong to the kindred counted through the female line, and this is probably a survival of the old custom.

But the commentators seem not to be satisfied with it,[1] and have introduced further corrections, which are shown in the diagram by the individuals numbered 6, 10, 11, being the widow's son, her brother, and her son. I find it difficult to understand how under female descent the widow's son can be one of the group which would have a claim upon her Reippus. Her brother under the customs of tribes having that form of descent would certainly be of that group. His son would also come in under the arrangement which admitted 14. But there seems to be a further departure from the original principle of a group of kindred bound together by female descent, who claimed a compensation for the loss of one of their members.

Eccard suggests that "parentella" in the third clause of this law implies "familia, cognatio, consanguinitas," but he naturally refers to the Roman customs with which he was well acquainted, while he had no knowledge of the customs

[1] Canciani, vol. ii. p. 88, footnote 4, quoting Eccard, who refers to the *Codex Guelferbytanus*, which I have not been able to consult.

of tribes with maternal descent. His suggestion does not seem to fit this case. The cognati were all those who sprung from one person, whether male or female. The consanguinei were those who had a common father, while those who had a common mother only were the uterini. As to the familia, it was that which distinguished certain of the cognati from the above definition, namely, those who had their descent through males and were of the same familia.[1] That which we have here is a group of kindred, who have the same ancestors from whom they descend in the "generatio matris." On this view the group indicated by the law of the Reippus appears to be the first stage from a time when maternal descent prevailed to that time when, as now, paternal descent was the only one recognised. Between these two periods there would be a time when a child had, to use the Anglo-Saxon term, two mægs, one being the paternal and the other the maternal.

The law of Reippus suggests such a case, for the widow's mæg evidently followed that line.

It seems a far cry from the Teutonic tribes to the native tribes of Australia; nor do I suggest any ethnical connection between them, but I do say that many customs of savagery at the present time are evidently the same in character as those of peoples, now civilised, who practised them within the knowledge of classical writers.

If I am right in my conjecture that the law of the Reippus is a survival from the time when descent was counted in the female line, then there are certain similarities of custom in Australian tribes which may serve as sidelights on the Frankish custom.

I have shown in this chapter how universal the exchange of a sister for a wife is in Australian tribes, and each woman is, so to say, the "bride-price of the other."

In tribes with descent in the female line, such as the Dieri, it is practically the group, consisting of the own mother, and the own and tribal brothers of the mother, and of the daughter, which betroths the girl on either side. A

[1] *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, William Smith, second edition, 1878, p. 309.

woman by betrothal becomes the specialised *Noa* (*Tippa-malku*) of a certain man, but subsequently becomes the *Pirrauru*, or group-wife, of a number of men who are his own or tribal brothers. This practice of betrothal, which specialises the female *Noa*, overrides temporarily the right of *Pirrauru*, or group-marriage, which is the practice of this tribe, and is evidently the more primitive one.

If we now look at Diagram XXVIII. by the light of the Dieri practice, we may be able to see why the sister of the widow and of the widow's mother should be introduced prominently, for under female descent and the classificatory system of relationships, the women 2 and 3 are own or tribal mothers of 5; and 5, 6, and 7, who are so likewise as to 9, 10, and 11, who are consequently in the fraternal relation to each other. The mother's brother (1) is properly included in the group, and the brother of the widow has personal rights over her. Such an association of persons as that under the Law of the Reippus would seem quite natural to an Australian savage living under maternal descent. That the male members of such a group should participate in some benefit, to the exclusion of its females, would also seem to him quite proper.

Among the Teutonic tribes a woman was the property of her kindred, who exchanged her for a valuable consideration.[1] In the time of the Salic law it was a money payment, but in earlier times it was doubtless made in kind, as described by Tacitus, in the cases of compensation for homicide. If we imagine a still earlier period when these tribes were in a complete state of savagery, and when there was little or no personal property beyond the rude weapons of the individual, one may safely conjecture that the most probable bride-price would be a woman for a woman. Then we should reach the precise condition of very many, if not the majority, of the Australian tribes.

[1] In the earliest laws of the Anglo-Saxons the bride was sold by her father, a later social stage than that recorded by the Law of the Reippus.

CHAPTER VI

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

The aborigines obeyed their laws and customs from fear of tribal as well as supernatural punishment—Executive power of tribal councils of old men—Jalina-piramurana, Headman of the Dieri—Old men and women both instruct the young people in laws of conduct—Powers and qualifications of Headmen of various tribes—In all tribes men were recognised as having control over their tribes-people and who were obeyed — In some tribes there was a tendency for the office to become hereditary—The term "Headman" is to be preferred to that of Chief—The tribal councils—Punishment of offences—Blood-feuds between the Kurnai clans and with neighbouring tribes.

WHEN an Australian tribe is looked at from the standpoint of an ordinary observer, the conclusion that there is no recognised form of government seems to be justified. Apparently no person, or group of persons, has the right to command, under penalties for disobedience, or who is obeyed by the community. There seems to be no person to whom the whole community yields submission, who has peculiar privileges which are patent to observation, or who is surrounded by more or less of savage pomp and ceremony. All that is seen by a general superficial view of an Australian tribe is, that there is a number of families who roam over certain tracts of country, in search of food, and that while they appear to show a considerable respect to the old men, all the males enjoy such liberty of action, that each may be considered to do what seems best to himself.

A more intimate acquaintance with such a tribe, however, shows that there must be some authority and restraint behind this seeming freedom, for it is found that there are well-understood customs, or tribal laws, which are binding on the individual, and which control him, as well as regulate his

actions towards others. I have shown in the chapters on marriages and on the initiation ceremonies that there are stringent laws which regulate the intercourse of the sexes, which relate to the secret ceremonies of the tribe, which restrict the choice of food, and so on; and these laws or customs are enforced by severe penalties, even in some cases by death itself.

It is quite true that many such laws or customs are obeyed without the dread of physical punishment being inflicted for their breach, by any tribal authority, individual or collective. But such laws or customs are obeyed because the native has been told, from his earliest childhood, that their infraction will be followed by some supernatural personal punishment. Take, for instance, the universal law of mutual avoidance of each other by the man and his wife's mother. I know of no rule which is more implicitly obeyed. The belief is that some result of a magical nature will follow a breach of this rule, for instance that the person's hair will become prematurely grey. The nearest approach to a personal punishment for this offence, if it can be so called, which I have met with, was in the coast Murring tribes, where any personal contact, even accidental touching of one by the other, was punished by the man being compelled to leave the district, his wife returning to her parents.

This rule of avoidance would properly come within the statement made by Mr. E. M. Curr[1] where he says, "the power which enforces custom in our tribes is for the most part an impersonal one." This impersonal authority must have been either public opinion or a supernatural sanction. According to Mr. Curr, it is "education," that is to say, a blackfellow is educated from infancy in the belief that a departure from the customs of his tribe is invariably followed by one, at least, of many possible evils, such as becoming prematurely grey, being afflicted with ophthalmia, skin eruptions, or sickness, but above all, that it exposes the offender to the danger of death from sorcery.[2] This is undoubtedly true as to such a case as that of the mother-in-law, or as to a breach of the rule that a novice must not receive food from the hand of a

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 52. [2] *Id.* p. 54.

woman (Kurnai), or speak in the presence of one, without covering his mouth with the corner of his skin rug or blanket (Yuin), but it does not account for the corporal punishments inflicted for other offences.

I shall detail these cases at length further on, but as an instance will refer to the *Pinya*, or armed party, of the Dieri tribe, which goes out to kill some man who is considered by the old men of the tribe (tribal council) to have brought about the death of some one by evil magic. Such offences as these are therefore punished by the actual authority of persons in the tribe, and not merely by public opinion or the effect of "education," and it is evident that there must be some executive power by which such offences as these are dealt with and punished.

I shall now show what this executive power is, and how it acts in an Australian tribe.

In the Dieri tribe, as in all others of those kindred to it, the oldest man of a totem is its *Pinnaru*, or head. In each horde there is also a *Pinnaru*, who may happen also to be the head of a totem. But it does not follow that the head of a totem or of a local division has necessarily much, or even any, influence outside his totem or division. I remember such an instance at Lake Hope where the *Pinnaru* was, by reason of his great age, the head of the eagle-hawk totem, but he had otherwise little personal influence, for he was neither a fighting-man, a medicine-man, nor an orator. He was the head of his totem by reason of his age, but was not the *Pinnaru* of the local division. The *Pinnarus* are collectively the Headmen of the tribe, and of them some one is superior to the others. At the time when I knew the tribe, in 1862-63, the principal Headman was one Jalina-piramurana, the head of the *Kunaura* totem, and he was recognised as the head of the Dieri tribe. Subsequently Mr. S. Gason, as an officer of the South Australian Mounted Police, was stationed in the Dieri country for six years, and was well acquainted with this man. He has described him to me as a man of persuasive eloquence, a skilful and brave fighting-man, and a powerful medicine-man. From his polished manner the whites called him "the Frenchman."

He was greatly feared by his own and the neighbouring tribes. Neither his brothers (both of them inferior to him in bravery and oratorical power) nor the elder men presumed to interfere with his will, or to dictate to the tribe, except in minor matters. He decided disputes, and his decisions were received without appeal. The neighbouring tribes sent messengers to him with presents of bags, *Pitcheri*, red ochre, skins, and other things. He decided when and where the tribal ceremonies were to be held, and his messengers called together the tribe from a radius of a hundred miles to attend them, or to meet on inter-tribal matters.

His wonderful oratorical powers made his hearers believe anything he told them, and always ready to execute his commands. He was not by nature cruel or treacherous, as were many of the Dieri, and when not excited was considerate, patient, and very hospitable. No one spoke ill of Jalina-piramurana, but on the contrary with respect and reverence. This is understood when Mr. Gason adds that he distributed the presents sent to him amongst his friends to prevent jealousy. He used to interfere to prevent fights, even chastising the offender, and being sometimes wounded in so doing. On such an occasion there would be great lamentation, and the person who had wounded him was not infrequently beaten by the others.

As the superior Headman of the Dieri, he presided at the meetings of the *Pinnarus*, sent out messengers to the neighbouring tribes, and even had the power of giving away young women, not related to him, in marriage, of separating men from their wives, when they could not agree, and of making fresh matrimonial arrangements.

He periodically visited the various hordes of the Dieri tribe, from which he also periodically received presents. Tribes even at a distance of a hundred miles sent him presents, which were passed on to him from tribe to tribe.

He was one of their great *Kunkis* or medicine-men, but would only practise his art on persons of note, such as heads of totems or his personal friends.

He was the son of a previous Headman, who was living during Mr. Gason's residence in the country, and who,

although too infirm to join in the ceremonies, gave advice to the old men. He boasted that he had the command of the tribe before his son acquired it. He was believed to be proof against magical practices, such as "striking with the bone."

Jalina-piramurana had succeeded to and indeed eclipsed his father. He was the head of the *Kunaura murdu*, and boasted of being the "tree of life," for the seed *Kunaura* forms at times the principal source of vegetable food of these tribes. He was also spoken of as the "*Manyura murdu*,"[1] that is, the plant itself of which the *Kunaura* is the seed.

I knew Jalina-piramurana when in the Dieri country before Mr. Gason went to it. He was at Lake Hope, (Pando) as I was returning to the South Australian settlements, and, to use the language of the present day, interviewed me, together with a deputation of his *Pinnarus*, with two requests. The first was, that I would go with him and kill all the "Kunabura-kana," that is, the men of Kunabura, who were "*Malingki kana*," that is, bad men; the second, that I would tell the white men who were coming up to his country, according to the information sent him by the tribes further down, that they should "sit down on the one side of Pando, and the *Kana* would sit down on the other, so that they would not be likely to quarrel." I can say also, that he was a courteous blackfellow, with plenty of conversation. He walked with me for some miles on our next day's journey round Lake Hope, and was much amused at my remark, when the horse I was leading suddenly terrified him by neighing close to his ear,—"Wotta yappali yenni, nanto yattana," that is, "Do not fear; the horse is talking."

I observed that there were such *Pinnarus* in the tribes to the north and north-east of the Dieri, for instance the Yaurorka and Yantruwunta.

When going northward from my depôt at Cooper's Creek, on the occasion of my second expedition, I obtained the services of a young Yantruwunta man, who knew the country as far north as Sturt's Stony Desert. He belonged

[1] Manyura is *Claytonia* sp.

to the small tribal group in whose country my depôt was fixed. My first stage was to a pool of water, from which I could make a good departure northwards. At this place the young man ran away after dark, being alarmed, as he afterwards told me, at the precautions I took for the safety of the party during the night. With my own blackboy I tracked him in the morning to a camp of his tribe at a small pool in the river-bed, about two miles distant. Here the *Pinnaru*, after satisfying himself that I meant no harm to the guide or to his people, sent two of his men to bring the refugee from the place where he was concealed, and handed him over with an admonition not to run away again. Here was an exercise of authority, and obedience to it.

When in the Yaurorka country I camped for the night near the encampment of one of the small groups of that tribe. Some of the old men, the *Pinnarus* of the place, came to visit me, and asked me to go with them to see the *Pinna-pinnaru* (the "Great-great-one"), who could not come to see me. I went with them and found, sitting in one of the huts, the oldest blackfellow I had ever seen. The other *Pinnarus* were mostly grey-headed and bald, but he was so old as to be almost childish, and was covered with a grizzly fell of hair from head to foot. The respect with which he was treated by the other old men was as marked in them as the respect which they received from the younger men. They told me that he was so old that he could not walk, and that when they travelled some of the younger men carried him.

Such Headmen as those of the Dieri tribe appear to be found in the neighbouring tribes, but no doubt Jalina-pira-murana was an exceptionally able and therefore an unusually influential man.

It may be mentioned here that the old men, in their leisure time, instructed the younger ones in the laws of the tribe, impressing on them modesty of behaviour and propriety of conduct, as they understood it, and pointing out to them the heinousness of incest. The old women also instructed the young ones in the same manner.[1]

[1] S. Gason.

In the Tongaranka tribe of the Itchumundi nation, authority is in the hands of the Headman and the elders, who have much to say in the management of affairs, such as the allotment of wives, ceremonies for making rain, and such like.

It is said that in the Karamundi nation there were no Headmen, but when anything important had to be settled all the initiated men gathered together and decided what was to be done.[1]

In the Wiimbaio tribe a Headman must have age, personal prowess, talents as a leader, and a clever tongue. If a man had magical powers, he might be feared, but he would not be thereby a Headman. In one of their tribal councils the old men spoke first, after them the younger men, then the old men directed what should be done. There were also meetings of the whole community, who might be camped together. At an assembly of that kind all the men sat in a circle near the camp, old men and young men together, and most of them carried something in their hands, such as a club. At one of these councils, which occurred about the year 1850, one of the oldest men, named Pelican, went into the ring with spear and shield and exhibited an imaginary combat, using his weapons to explain to the young men how to fight. This old man had not any special claim to authority excepting that he was old and skilful in fighting. At times, in the evening, an old man might rise up in his camp, holding his spear or some other weapon in his hand, and make an oration. Once when they feared that another tribe might come up against them, an old man stood up in the evening in this manner and made a speech on the subject.[2]

The Theddora, who lived on the sources of the Mitta-Mitta, Tambo, and Ovens Rivers, were practically extinct by the year 1860, and all I can now say is that they had Headmen, who were called *Turki*, and whose authority was much of the same degree as that of the *Gweraeil-kurnai* of the Kurnai tribe.

I heard much from the few survivors of one Metoko, who combined the office of Medicine-man and Headman, and thus

[1] J. W. Boultbee. [2] J. Bulmer.

was the analogue of the *Gommeras* of the Yuin tribe. Some interesting particulars are given of the tribe by Mr. Richard Helms, from whom I quote. The oldest man of the tribe was recognised as a kind of chief, but whenever an attack on some enemy was planned, the ablest warrior was, as a rule, chosen to lead, and his advice then received the endorsement of the old men.[1]

Some of these old men were known to me by repute, not only from the survivors of the tribe, but also from the Kurnai, Wolgal, and Ngarigo, with whom I was acquainted, and who had known them. The principal one seems to have been the Metoko before mentioned, who, it is said, could, in his character of medicine-man, blow a thread, "like a spider's web," up to the sky and ascend by it. The principal fighting-man was "Kobbon Johnny," that is "Big Johnny," whose native name I never heard. Other Headmen are mentioned in the account of the great Kurnai blood-feud.

In speaking of the tribal councils, I have described at length the Headmen (*Gommeras*) of the Yuin. Similarly there were Headmen, who combined the office with that of medicine-man, in the Ngarigo and Wolgal tribes. When the Wolgal went to fight they had no regular leader. Their fights generally commenced with a single combat, and when one or the other was beaten the fight would become general. The old men would direct operations, but in actual fighting the combatants would not be in any state to be controlled.[2]

As to the southern tribes of the Kamilaroi, situated to the northward of Maitland, I have evidence dating back to about 1830. There might be two or three Headmen in each division of the tribe. Their position was one of influence and authority, and depended on the valour of the individual. It was not hereditary, but a man who distinguished himself as a warrior or orator would become a leader by mere force of character, and his son, if valiant, would be very highly thought of. The oldest Headman would be the chief or principal man in the council of elders. He could carry a measure by his own voice, as the Kamilaroi

[1] *Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1895, vol. x. p. 387.
[2] J. Bulmer.

have great respect for age. The Headman had a great amount of authority, and all the disputes among the members of his division of the tribe would be settled by him, such a man being the Headman of his division, not because he was the oldest man in it, but for the reasons stated. In the early days of settlement of New South Wales a white man could not be marked down for death excepting by the voices of the Headmen; and the *Bora* ceremonies are held by their orders.[1]

In the southern Wiradjuri a Headman is called *Bidja-bidja*, and, as I have heard him described, is one who "gives orders to people," there being a Headman of this sort in each local division. The *Bidja-bidja* was always a medicine-man. If, for instance, he were the oldest Yibai, and a medicine-man, he would be the head of the Yibai sub-class; but, assuming that he also became the Headman of the local group, then all the people of that division, not only of this "Budjan" (sub-class), would obey him. Each totem also had its Headman. I have heard the *Bidja-bidja* spoken of by a term equivalent to "master," this being the analogue of the *Biamban* of the Yuin. The office of Headman was in a sense hereditary, for a son would inherit the position of his father, if he possessed any oratorical or other eminent ability. But if not, then the son of the brother of the deceased Headman would probably hold the position, and failing him some qualified relative of the same sub-class. But this was with the consent of the community, for the office went in fact by election in each division.

The Headman called his people together whenever it was necessary for them to assemble; for instance, to hold the Burbung ceremonies. At such great meetings of the tribe, matters relating to its interests were discussed, and the course of action as to murders, abduction of women, adultery, or raids on, or by, other tribes were discussed.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, there were not any recognised Headmen in the Wakelbura tribe; the strongest and best fighting-men were listened to in a debate, and the aged men held some little authority.[2]

[1] C. Naseby. [2] J. C. Muirhead.

On the other hand, it is said that in the Dalebura tribe the government appeared to be in the hands of Headmen called *Bubi-beri*. But beyond this I have not been able to learn anything, even from my correspondent, who had exceptionally favourable opportunities of becoming acquainted with his "faithful Dale-buras."[1]

In the Unghi tribe there are no chiefs; such a thing is unknown to them, although a black of more than average courage may be looked upon with greater respect than the rest. They are a community where all are equal; their law is communism; whatever one gets is shared with the others. But it is communism regulated and restricted by recognised rules.[2]

The Headman of the Bigambul tribe was the best fighting-man with the strongest following, but a certain degree of respect was shown to the old men and medicine-men.[3]

In the Kaiabara tribe there were two Headmen, one being of the Kubatine and the other of the Dilebi class, and they ruled their classes respectively. When one of them died, his son, or one of the next-of-kin, inherited the office of the deceased. The Headman wore a band round his arm made of *Bunya* fibre, as the mark of his office.[4]

In the tribes of the Wotjo nation the oldest man of the local group was its head; and the people, not only of his own totem, but also of others in the same group, listened to, and obeyed him. When two or more local groups were together, their respective Headmen met and talked over matters of importance. The oldest of them was their head for the time, just as the oldest man of a totem is its head. Such a man sent out messengers on matters requiring an assemblage of the totem, or of the people of the local group.

Among the Mukjarawaint some of the heads of totems were also Headmen of local groups, but unless such a man possessed qualifications for the position, some younger man would be chosen in preference to him. When the Headman of a totem died, all the totemites were called together by

[1] R. Christison.
[2] A. L. P. Cameron.
[3] J. Lalor.
[4] Jocelyn Brooke.

the man next in age; and not only the men of the totem, but every one—men, women, boys, and girls. The women of the totem who were married were necessarily with their husbands, and were not notified. The assembly was called together in the manner I have spoken of in relation to "messengers."

When all were assembled at the appointed place, they formed a ring, the old men with their wives in the front row, the younger men with their wives in the next, and outside were the young men and the girls to look on, but not to take any other part in the proceedings. These were commenced by one of the elders speaking, followed by other men; finally, the sense of the meeting was taken, and then the old men stated who should be the Headman. The choice being thus made, presents were given to the new head by the other Headmen, who had collected things from their people, such as opossum or other skin rugs or weapons.

If a Headman offended the tribes-people, or was in some respects very objectionable to them, the other Headmen would at some great tribal meeting consult at the *Jun* or council-place, and perhaps order him to be killed. This probably would be carried out under the personal direction of one of them.

I was not able to learn of an instance where a son necessarily succeeded his father in this office.

As the totems were scattered over the whole of the country, and as there was a Headman in each local division, the men of totems other than his had to obey him as to general matters, while they had to obey the head of their own totem in matters relating to it. This will be brought out in speaking of the ordeal by combat in this tribe.

When important matters are discussed by the old men of the Jupagalk tribe, a fire is made at the *Jain*, or meeting-place. Here they would talk over such cases as that of a man who had approached a woman who was of too near *Yauerin* (flesh) to him, and whom he could not therefore marry. The Jajaurung call the *Jain*, *Ulambara*.

The office of Headman was, in the Gournditch-mara tribe, hereditary, and when a Headman died, his son, or

failing him a near male relative, became Headman. This was, as the Gournditch-mara say, the law of the tribe before the white men came to the country. He had the power of declaring hostilities against other tribes, and when he did so the tribes-people followed him. He settled all quarrels and disputes, and when he had done this no one questioned it. When forays had been made on some neighbouring tribe, and spoil had been taken, he divided it, taking the best for himself. The men of his tribe were obliged to provide him with food, and to make presents to him, such as skin rugs, stone tomahawks, flint knives, weapons, etc.[1]

This tribe is one of those which Mr. Dawson described in his work before quoted.

As to those tribes, Mr. Dawson says that every tribe has its chief, who is looked on in the light of a father, and whose authority is supreme. He consults with the best men of the tribe, but when he announces his decision, they dare not contradict or disobey him. If a chief leaves home for a short time he is always accompanied by a friend, and on his return is met by two men who conduct him to his *Wuurn* (hut). When a tribe is moving from one part of the country to another, the chief, accompanied by a friend, precedes it, and obtains from the next chief permission to pass, before his followers cross the boundary. When approaching a friendly camp the chief walks at the head of his tribe ; a strange chief approaching a camp is met at a short distance by the chief, and invited to come and sit down ; a fire is made for him, and then he is asked where he comes from and what is his business.

When a chief dies, the best male friend of the deceased is appointed to take charge of the tribe until, at its next great meeting, the succession is decided by the votes of the chiefs. The eldest son is appointed, unless there is some good reason for setting him aside. Failing him, the office goes to the deceased chief's eldest brother, or to his younger brothers and their successors.[2]

I have quoted from Mr. Dawson in his own words, but

[1] J. H. Stähle.

[2] J. Dawson. *The Australian Aborigines*, pp. 5, 6.

if the word "Chief" is replaced by the term "Headman," his description falls in with much that I have said as to the office of Headman in the Wotjobaluk and other tribes of Western Victoria. But in the tribes described by Mr. Dawson, the succession by the eldest son seems to have been much more established, and as he had such exceptional opportunities of observation, from nearly the settlement of the State, I accept his account as accurate.

The Wurunjerri serve as an example of the practice of the tribes which formed the Kulin nation. The old men governed the tribe, and among them there were men called Ngurungaeta.[1] If a man was sensible and, as Berak put it, "spoke straight," and did harm to no one, people would listen to him and obey him. Such a man would certainly become a Ngurungaeta, if his father was one before him. It was he who called the people together for the great tribal meetings, sent out messengers, and, according to his degree of authority, gave orders which were obeyed. Such a man was always of mature age, and possessed of some eminent qualities, for which he was respected.

At an expiatory combat he could put an end to it, if he thought that enough had been done. There is a passage in the life of Buckley which bears on the powers of the Ngurungaeta.[2] He says, "I had seen a race of children grow up into women and men, and many of the old people die away, and by my harmless and peaceable manner amongst them had acquired great influence in settling their disputes. Numbers of murderous fights I had prevented by my interference, which was received by them as well meant; so much so that they would often allow me to go among them previous to a battle and take away their spears and waddies and boomerangs." This shows that Buckley had, by reason of age and consideration, grown into the position of a Ngurungaeta or Headman. So far as my inquiries have gone, I have not been able to find out that such an interference by a Ngurungaeta, as spoken of by Buckley,

[1] This term was used by the Thagunworung also. The Jajaurung term was *Nge-im-etch*.

[2] John Morgan, *Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, p. 101. Hobart, 1852.

would be ineffective. The Kulin would not have refused to obey such an interference, unless in a case where public opinion happened to be very strongly divided and one side were against him. In the case of ceremonial ordeals and expiations, as I shall have occasion to mention later on, such interference by a Headman has been effectual in staying the hands of his own men, and apparently those of the other side also.

Among the Kulin there was a Headman in each local group, and some one of them was recognised as being the head of all. Some were great fighting-men, others were orators, and one who lived at the time when Melbourne was established, was a renowned maker of songs and was considered to be the greatest of all.

If a Headman had a son who was respected by the tribes-people he also would become a Ngurungaeta in time. But if he were, from the native point of view, a bad man, or if people did not like him, they would get some one else, and most likely a relative of some former Headman, such as his brother or brother's son.

A Headman could order the young men of the camp to do things for him and they would obey him. He might, as I have heard it put, say to the young men, "Now all of you go out, and get plenty of 'possums and give them to the old people, not raw but cooked." Similarly the wife of the Ngurungaeta could order the young women about.

Each Headman had another man "standing beside him," as they say, to whom he "gave his words." This means that there was a second man of somewhat less authority, who was his comrade, or rather "henchman," who accompanied him when he went anywhere, who was his mouthpiece and delivered his orders to those whom they concerned. When the Headman went out to hunt with his henchman, or perhaps with two of them, if he killed game, say a wallaby, he would give it to one to carry; if he killed another, the other man would carry it, and it was only when he obtained a heavy load that he carried anything himself.

The account of these Headmen given by William Thomas, who was Protector of the Blacks in the early years

of the settlement of Port Phillip, falls into line with the particulars which I have given. I have condensed his statements as follows:[1] "Each tribe has a Chief who directs all its movements, and who, wherever he may be, knows where all the members of the community are. The Chief, with the aged men, makes arrangements for the route each party is to take, when the tribe, after one of its periodical meetings, again separates.

"Besides the Chiefs, they have other eminent men, as warriors, counsellors, doctors, dreamers who are also interpreters, charmers who are supposed to bring or drive rain away, and also to bring or send away plagues, as occasion may require."

Such are Mr. Thomas's statements. He had great opportunities for obtaining information, for, as he says, he was "out with them for months," but it is much to be regretted that he did not place on record the very many facts which he must have seen as to their beliefs and customs, which would have been invaluable now.

The Wurunjerri tribe of the Woëworung-speaking people gives a good example of the manner in which the lesser divisions (clans) were arranged, and of the relation to them of the Ngurungaeta. In order to make clearer what I shall have to say about the Headman, it will be necessary to say that when Melbourne was established, the tribe was divided into three parts. One, called Kurnaje-berring was subdivided into those who, under their Headman Bebejern, occupied the country from the Darebin Creek to the sources of the Plenty River, and those who, under their Headman Billi-billeri,[2] lived on the east side of the Saltwater River, up to Mt. Macedon.[3] The second division lived about the Yarra Flats, under their Headman Jakki-Jakki,[4] and occupied

[1] *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, p. 65, Thomas Francis Bride, LL.D., Government Printer, Melbourne, 1899.

[2] William Thomas says of this man "*Bi-li-bel-la-ri* was the Chief of the Yarra tribe. He stands foremost, and justly so, as ever having been the white man's friend, generous, frank and determined as he was" (*op. cit.* p. 70). "The good old Billi-billary" (*Impressions of Australia*, Richard Howitt, 1845).

[3] *Jurawait* is the name of this mountain.

[4] This is one of those men whose names as *Jagajaga* appear as grantors in Batman's celebrated deed. My Woëworung, Thagunworung, and Jajaurung

also the country on the northern slopes of the Dandenong Mountains. The third division was the "real Wurunjerri," who dwelt on the western side of the Saltwater River, and as far as Mt. Macedon, under their Headman Bungerim.

Immediately adjoining the Wurunjerri country, on the west side, was that of the Kurnung-willam [1] who were also Woëworung, and whose Headman was called Ningu-labul,[2] but was named by the white men "Captain Turnbull." He was a great maker of songs, which, as Berak said, "made people glad when they heard them," but when he sang one of them to me, it had the contrary effect, for it made him shed tears. Ningu-labul came of a family of gifted singers, for his father and grandfather had been renowned song-makers, and this, as well as his own poetical power, was the cause of his great authority as a Ngurungaeta, not only in his own tribe, but also in those adjoining. The case of this man shows how headmanship was hereditary in a family, whose members were gifted beyond their fellows.

On the northern side of Mt. Macedon were the Gal-gal-bulluk part of the Jajaurung tribe, whose Headman was known by the white people as "King Bobby," and who was the "partner" [3] of Ningu-labul. If the latter wished to bring people from further north, he sent "his word" to Bobby, who in his turn sent it on by the next near Headman. To the westward of Ningu-labul was the country of the Kri-balluk, whose Headman was a great medicine-man called Doro-bauk mentioned in Chap. VIII.

To the south of the Wurunjerri was a clan of the Bunurong tribe, called the Yalukit-willam, whose Headman was Benbu.[4]

Most of the Headmen were related to each other by marriage, and thus in a family such as that of Ningu-labul, where there was a tendency for authority to become hereditary, there was the germ of a practice which, under

informants ridiculed the idea of the marks appended by them to the deed having any meaning, beyond that of imitation of, or compliance with, what Batman showed them.

[1] *Kurnung* means "creek," and *willam* is "camp."

[2] This name means "shining," as explained to me, "like the sun shining on a smooth stone," that is, reflected from it.

[3] *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, Thomas, p. 70.

[4] *Op. cit.* Thomas, p. 70.

favourable circumstances, might have established a privileged family, such as some of my correspondents have spoken of.

In tracing out these connections between the several Headmen, it became clear to me that they exercised much influence in making the Ngurungaetas. Thus it was Ningu-labul, whose influence made Bebejern and Billi-billeri Headmen. The former and other old men made Bungerim a Ngurungaeta.

The right to hunt and to procure food in any particular tract of country belonged to the group of people born there, and could not be infringed by others without permission. But there were places which such a group of people claimed for some special reason, and in which the whole tribe had an interest. Such a place was the "stone quarry" at Mt. William near Lancefield, from which the material for making tomahawks was procured. The family proprietorship in this quarry had wide ramifications, including more than Wurunjerri people. On the one side it included the husband of Billi-billeri's sister, one of the Headmen of the Kurnung-willam, who lived at Bacchus Marsh, and who was named Nurrum-nurrum-biin,[1] that is, "moss growing on decayed wood." On another side it included Ningu-labul, and in another direction Bebejern, the son of an heiress in quarry rights, from whom an interest came to Berak through his father Bebejern. But it was Billi-billeri, the head of the family whose country included the quarry, who lived on it, and took care of it for the whole of the Wurunjerri community. When he went away, his place was taken by the son of his sister, the wife of Nurrum-nurrum-biin, who came on such occasions to take charge, when it may be assumed, like Billi-billeri, he occupied himself in splitting stone to supply demands. The enormous amount of broken stone lying about on this mountain shows that generations of the predecessors of Billi-billeri must have laboured at this work.

When neighbouring tribes wished for some stone they sent a messenger to Billi-billeri saying that they would send goods in exchange for it, for instance, such as skin-rugs.

[1] Probably the *Mur-rum-Mur-rum-bean*, mentioned by Thomas in *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, p. 73.

When people arrived after such a message they encamped close to the quarry, and on one occasion Berak heard Billi-billeri say to them, "I am glad to see you and will give you what you want, and satisfy you, but you must behave quietly and not hurt me or each other."

If, however, people came and took stone without leave, it caused trouble and perhaps a fight between Billi-billeri's people and them. Sometimes men came by stealth and stole stone. I have heard Berak speak of such a case, and the manner in which it was met is described further on.

Stone tomahawks and axes are made either from water-worn pebbles or pieces split from larger blocks of stone. The former was the practice in Gippsland, where suitable material is very plentiful in the mountain streams. Both

FIG. 14.—STONE AXE, GROUND.

methods were used by the Kulin tribes. The material for the latter of the two was supplied by the stone quarry at Mt. William.

A Kurnai man having found a waterworn stone suitable for his purpose, first of all chipped or pounded the part intended for the cutting edge with a hard rounded pebble, then having brought it somewhat into shape, he rubbed it down on a suitable rock in the bed of a stream until he had produced a good edge. This process was much more expeditious than might be expected. Pieces of grinding-stone which abraded quickly were kept, and even carried from camp to camp for the purpose of sharpening the edge when necessary.

Such methods are also used in Central Australia by tribes inhabiting hilly country, such as the Mardala, to the southward of Lake Eyre.

A side-light is thrown on the position and powers of these

Headmen by a passage in Knopwood's account of Colonel Collins' attempt to form a settlement in Port Phillip Bay in the year 1803.[1] A party who were surveying "at the north-west point of the bay" were met by a number of natives, who, on a shot being fired over their heads, "ran away a small distance, but soon approached again with the king, who wore a very elegant turban crown and was always carried upon the shoulders of the men. Whenever he desired them to halt, or to approach, they did it immediately." The fact that he was carried by his men may, however, mean no more than that he was from some cause unable to walk.

In reference to the office of the man for which I have thought the expression "henchman" not inappropriate, it may be observed that he stands a little at one side of, and to the rear of, his principal. The henchman of Ningu-labul was the brother of Berak's father, Bebejan, whose henchman was a man named Winberi.[2] These men seem to have had the same position as "the friend," who, Mr. Dawson says, accompanied the "Chief" of one of the tribes described by him.

In the Yerkla-mining tribe the medicine-men are the Headmen, and are called *Mobung-bai*, from *mobung*, "magic." They decide disputes, arrange marriages, and, under certain circumstances, settle the formalities to be observed in combats by ordeal, and conduct the ceremonies of initiation. They cut the gashes which, when healed, denote the class of the bearer, or his hardihood and prowess. In fact, they wield authority in the tribe, and give orders where others only make requests.[3]

In the Narrang-ga tribe the office of Headman was hereditary from father to son, and there was one in each of the four tribal divisions. The eldest of them was most considered. One Headman, who was living in the year 1887, was a man probably over eighty years of age, and therefore was alive before the establishment of Adelaide, and he

[1] *Journal of the Rev. Knopwood: Historical Records of Port Phillip*, p. 92. J. Shillinglaw, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1870.

[2] As to *Winberi*, Thomas says, *op. cit.* p. 74, "the unfortunate *Winberi* (shot by Major Lettsom's party)."

[3] D. Elphinstone Roe.

inherited his office from his father. His son had in that year already some authority in the tribe. Other old men of nearly the same age were unanimous in affirming the above statements as to the Headmanship in this tribe.[1]

According to the account given to me by the Rev. George Taplin, and afterwards confirmed and extended by his son, the late Mr. W. Taplin, there was a Headman in each of the clans, who was called *Rupulli*. He was the leader in war, and in battles he was carefully guarded by the warriors of his clan. The office was not hereditary, but a Headman was elected by the heads of families, who chose either the son or brother of the deceased Headman as seemed best.[2]

In the Yuin tribe there was a Headman in each of the local divisions. He was called *Gommera*, and, to be fitted for the office, must be a medicine-man, be aged, able to speak several languages (dialects), be skilful as a fighting-man, and be, above all, able to perform those feats of magic which the *Gommeras* exhibit at the initiation ceremonies.

Although there were totems, they differed from the totems of other tribes, in so far that they were, as the Yuin say, "more like a *Joĭa* than a name," and there was no totemic Headman, such as those who were found in the Wotjobaluk tribe.

The *Gommera* was also called *Biamban*, which may be rendered as "master," and in his particular locality he dictated to his people. All the *Gommeras* were *Biamban*, and the greatest was he who could, as the Yuin say, "bring the greatest number of things up out of himself" at the ceremonies.

There was a head *Gommera*, named Waddyman,[3] who died about 1884 at a great age. His account of himself was that, when a little boy, he was taken by the then head *Gommera*, and trained by him, so that he might take his place when he died.

The power of these men is riveted on the younger men

[1] T. M. Sutton.

[2] See also *The Narrinyeri*, by Rev. G. Taplin. Adelaide, 1873.

[3] *Waddyman* is a free translation of the term applied to those of the Yuin who live back from the sea, and gain their food mainly by climbing trees for it. A waddy is a "tree," "wood," hence also a "stick," a "club."

by the impressive instructions which are given at the initiation ceremonies, as to the implicit obedience to be given to their orders, and also by the apparently supernatural powers which they exhibit thereat. But the *Gommeras* also admonish their people directly, as when one of them stands up by his camp fire and tells those present about the old laws which they must obey.

When Sydney was established in 1788, the natives of Botany Bay, Port Jackson, and Broken Bay were found to be living distributed into families, the head, or senior, of which exacted compliance from the rest. When the English met with families, they were always accosted by the person who appeared to be the eldest of the party, while the women, youths and children were kept at a distance. The word which in their language signifies "father" was applied to their old men; and when after some time, and by close observation, they perceived the authority with which Governor Phillip commanded, and the obedience which he exacted, they bestowed on him the distinguishing appellation of *Be-anna* or "father." The title being conferred solely on him (although they perceived the authority of masters over their servants) places the true sense of the word beyond a doubt, and proves that to those among them who enjoyed that distinction belonged the authority of a Chief.

When any of them went into the town, they were immediately pointed out by their companions, or those natives who resided in it, in a whisper, and with an eagerness of manner which, while it commanded the attention of those to whom it was directed, impressed them likewise with an idea that they were looking at persons remarkable for some superior quality even among the savages of New South Wales.[1]

In the Gringai tribe there was a Headman called *Nurjain*, who must have been an aged man before he was much thought of. The office is said to have been in a certain family, the members of which were either Ipai or Kumbo. Assuming this to have been so, it follows that descent must have been in the male line in this tribe, which is a departure

[1] Collins, *op. cit.* p. 35.

from the Kamilaroi practice. This is not, however, improbable, for, as I have pointed out, male descent is common in some of the tribes of south Queensland, which have the Kamilaroi class names. The medicine-man (*Kuratchi*) was not necessarily a Headman.[1]

Among the Geawe-gal, the best man in war would be recognised by them as principal adviser, and would have authority by consent of the elders. When the son proved himself a capable warrior, the office has been hereditary, but without such proof, there was no possibility of his being accepted. A *Koradji* (medicine-man) might be such a leader. In every case, however, the leading or chief man would be only *primus inter pares*, and be liable to be set aside by the old men, if his directions were disapproved of.[2]

Mr. Dawson, in speaking of the tribes at Port Stephens as they were about the year 1830, says positively that there were no Chiefs, but that there were certain leading characters who had more influence than others among the multitude when assembled. No one was invested with or assumed any authority whatever in the tribe.[3]

In the Kurnai tribe, age was held in reverence, and a man's authority increased with years. If he, even without being aged, had naturally intelligence, cunning and courage, beyond his fellows, he might become a man of note, weighty in council, and a leader in war; but such a case was exceptional and, as a rule, authority and age went together. The authority of age also attached to certain women who had gained the confidence of their tribes-people. Such women were consulted by the men, and had great weight and authority in the tribe. I knew two of them, who being aged, represented the condition of the Kurnai before Gippsland was settled. Together with the old men, they were the depositaries of the tribal legends and customs, and they kept alive the stringent marriage rules to which I have referred elsewhere, thus influencing public opinion very strongly. Possibly the reason for this may have been in

[1] J. W. Boydell. [2] G. W. Rusden.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 327.

part that in this tribe the women take part in the initiation ceremonies up to a certain point.

When Gippsland was settled in 1842, there were two principal Headmen who were recognised as their *Gweraeil-kurnai*, or Great Men. One lived in the northern and the other in the southern part of the district. These men were the recognised leaders. One was a great fighting-man ; the other less so, but he was also a great medicine-man. There were also Gweraeil-kurnai in the local divisions, and it is significant that some of these men gave their names to the divisions, of which they were respectively the Headmen. This may be seen on inspection of the table of clans in Chapter II.

How a man gradually increased in influence as he increased in years is shown by the case of the last Gweraeil-kurnai. He was the man Bunbra, whom I shall mention when speaking of the expiatory combats later on in this chapter. I watched this man's career during many years. Since the time of the expiatory combat, in which he was the defendant, the old men, who were successively the leaders of the people, had died off, until Bunbra came to be the oldest man left. The name by which, apart from his English name, he was known, is *Jetbolan*, or the Liar ; but, by reason of age, he finally became the Gweraeil-kurnai. During the same time Tulaba, the tribal son of the former great Headman Bruthen-munji, had also grown into age, and much consideration attached to him in his twofold character, as one of the elders and as being a worthy son of the former Headman. During this time the pressure of our civilisation had broken down the tribal organisation ; the white man's vices, which the Kurnai had acquired, had killed off a great number, the remainder had mostly been gathered into the mission-stations, and only a few still wandered over their ancestral hunting-grounds, leading their old lives in some measure, and having apparently abandoned their ancestral customs. When, however, it was decided that the Jeraeil ceremony should be revived for the instruction of their young men, I observed with much interest, that the old tribal organisation arose again, so to say, out of the dust, and

became active. Bunbra who, at the time when Bruthen-munji directed the proceedings of the Nungi-nungit against him, was a comparatively young man, and without any consideration in the tribe, was now by reason of his age its Headman, to whom all matters were referred. To him messengers were sent, he gave orders as to the time for assembling, and the others obeyed them. Indeed, without him they would not have moved at all.

At the Jeraeil ceremonies he was the leader, and it was mainly his voice that decided questions which arose and were discussed at meetings of the initiated men. When during the ceremonies two of the novices were brought before the old men charged with having broken some of the ceremonial rules, it was Bunbra who spoke last, and his directions as to them were followed.

In one of the intervals of the ceremonies at the Jeraeil, when I was sitting with some of the old men ; they spoke of the old times, and what was very unusual, of the old men who were now dead, and of their great actions. I could understand then how they came to be the Gweraeil-kurnai of the tribe. One of those they mentioned was a man of the Brataualung clan, who in a fight with one of the other clans, ran ahead of his men and broke the legs of some of the enemy with his hands, leaving them to be killed by his followers. So also another man of the Brayaka, who lived near where Rosedale now is, used in wet winters, when the ground was very soft with rains, to run down the old men kangaroos, and thus catch them with his hands, and kill them. Another old hero was Bruthen-munji, whom I have mentioned before. It was said that he ran down one of the Brajerak, at a place now known as Blackfellow's Gully, near Buchan, and held him till his brother, another fighting-man of renown, came up and killed him with his club.

In the Chepara tribe there was a Headman called Kulumba-mutta, that is, "Great Man," and in the Chepara clan of the tribe it was the Kulumba-mutta of it who was superior to any of the other Headmen.

The office of Headman descended to the son ; if there were no son, then to the daughter's son ; and, failing this,

to the brother of the deceased. If a Headman became incapacitated, or for some other reason did not fill his office satisfactorily, the old men would set him aside, and select some one of the above mentioned in his place, but the medicine-man did not necessarily become a Headman.[1]

These instances extend over a great part of the south-eastern quarter of Australia, and they have been recorded either from my own observation or from that of competent correspondents. I have also as in former chapters quoted from certain authors, either because their remarks have a special bearing on the subject-matter in question, or to complete more fully the details of my subject. But in those cases I have exercised my judgment as to the individual value of their evidence, when compared with that of others.

I have shown that there are, and were, men recognised as having control over the tribes-people, and whose directions are obeyed. Such men receive designations which, in some cases, may be translated "Elder" or "Great One." This evidence justifies the conclusion that in other tribes within the area which my evidence covers there were also such Headmen. No doubt, in some tribes, their power and authority have been better established than in others, while in certain of them there is a tendency for the office of Headman to be transmitted from father to son, if the latter be found worthy. But the area to which my evidence refers is but one quarter of the continent, and the investigations of Spencer and Gillen show that, in the Arunta and others of the same group of tribes, there is not such a marked authority attaching to certain leading men as I have found to be especially the case in the coast tribes of south-eastern Australia.

Simply as a question of terminology, it is well to avoid the use of the word Chief, because it inevitably suggests by its associations the hereditary chieftainship, with which we are familiar in some of the South Sea tribes. But the statement of some authors is most certainly erroneous that there are no men who have controlling powers, and that each man may do what is right in his own eyes, without

[1] J. Gibson.

regard to other considerations than retaliation by the individual, or his kindred, who may suffer by his action.

I have chosen the term Headman as being less likely to be misunderstood than that of Chief, which has associations not applicable to the Australian savage. But if we must use the word Chief to imply a person having power to direct the people of his class or tribe, and that his directions or orders are obeyed by them, then I say that the *Pinnaru*, *Gweraeil-kurnai*, the *Ngurungaeta*, and the *Gommera* are Chiefs. Although when compared with those of well-known tribes in other parts of the world, their power is limited, yet it is an actual power to command, coupled with a certain measure of ability to compel obedience.

Such are the Headmen of certain tribes; but there are other men of mature age who exercise a degree of authority associated with them, and beyond them there is a large group, composed of all "full men," that is, of all the men who have been initiated in the sacred mysteries of the tribe.

The Tribal Council

I have constantly observed in those tribes with which I have had personal acquaintance, that the old men met at some place apart from the camp and discussed matters of importance, such as arrangements to be made for hunting game, for festive or ceremonial meetings, or indeed any important matter. Having made up their minds, one of them would announce the matter at another meeting, at which all the men would be present, sitting or standing round, the younger men remaining at the outside. At such a meeting, the younger the man the less he would have to say, indeed, I never knew a young man who had been only lately admitted to the rights of manhood presume to say anything or to take any part in the discussion. All that they have to do as part of the assembly is to listen to what the elders have to say.

In the Dieri tribe such meetings as these are composed of the heads of totems or local divisions, fighting-men, medicine-men, and, generally speaking, of old men of stand-

ing and importance. That is to say, of the men who have been present at the series of ceremonies described in another chapter. The younger men look forward for years to the time when, having been present at the great Mindari ceremony, they will be permitted to appear, and ultimately to speak at the council of men. These meetings are so secret that to reveal what takes place at them is punished by death.[1]

Mr. Gason, speaking of these councils, informed me that it was only after a long time, and when he had learned to speak the Dieri language, that he was permitted to be present at these meetings. The proceedings were directed by the principal Headman, and among the matters which it dealt with were: procuring death by magic, as for instance, "by the bone," murder, breach of the tribal moral code, offences against tribal customs, revealing the secrets of the tribal council, or the secrets of the initiation ceremonies to women or to the uninitiated.

Offences against the moral code would be intercourse with a woman of the same *murdu*, or who was too nearly related to the accused. Interference with the wife of another man, she being *Noa-mara* to the offender, would be merely a personal matter to be revenged by the injured husband, or by the kindred in a fight.

When a person had been adjudged guilty of having caused the death of another by magic, he was killed by an armed party (Pinya) sent out by the Headman.

The council also made arrangements for holding the great ceremonies, and on ceremonial occasions it reallotted the several pairs of *Pirraurus*, as before explained.

Such a meeting was summoned by some old man, instructed by the Headman. If the matter was of importance, he introduced it, and in doing so he adhered to the ancient customs of their fathers. If all were agreed to some course the council separated, if not, then it met at some future time.

Everything relating to the council is kept profoundly secret from those who have not the right to be present at it.

[1] S. Gason.

As I have before said, Mr. Gason was for over two years unable to obtain permission to be present at it. He sought permission in the broken English usually spoken to the natives by the white men, he tried intimidation, and he tried the effect of presents, without avail. It was only when he had acquired a command of the Dieri language, and a knowledge of their customs, that he attained his wish. The tribe then said that *Kuchi* must have instructed him; and, as he worked on their superstitions by favouring this idea, the Dieri at length permitted him to attend their council, and assist at their ceremonies, until at length he was accepted as a fully initiated man when any great ceremony was about to take place. My own experience is much in line with that of Mr. Gason. It was only after I became one of the initiated in the Yuin tribe, that I was present at meetings of the old men at places apart from the camp, at which matters of tribal importance were discussed. The meeting-place where these councils are held is called by various names in different tribes. For instance by the Yuin it is *Katir-than*,[1] *Jun* by the Wotjobaluk, and *Jain* by the Jajaurung. In order to announce a meeting, I have seen the leading man pick up a lighted stick from his camp fire, and, looking round at the other men, walk off to the appointed place.

It is well to quote Mr. Gason's own description to me of the proceedings of a council at which he was present:—

> I have frequently attended at their councils by invitation, and on occasions they gave me permission to speak. I was thus able to save the life of a man who was charged with having caused the death by magic of another person. Two of the members of the council also dared to speak in favour of their friend, the accused, and they afterwards made me presents of several bags and weapons for my advocacy of him. Three years after, however, he was cruelly killed by order of the council, for an offence which he had not committed, but with which his enemies had charged him.
>
> After the principal Headman has spoken, the heads of totems address the assembly. The manner of speaking is by the repetition of broken sentences, uttered in an excited and at times almost frenzied manner. Those who coincide with the speaker repeat

[1] Quick Speech.

his sentences in a loud voice, but no one comments on what he says until it comes to his turn to speak.

The council always breaks up peaceably, but quarrels sometimes follow it, although the camp is not allowed to know the real cause of disagreements, for the secrets of the council are always kept as sacredly as those of a masonic lodge. The greatest cruelties are threatened against any one who should divulge its secrets, which are many. I have never heard the younger men or the women utter a word which could convey the idea that anything had been communicated to them.

I have often been cautioned not to divulge what I had there heard and seen, nor to repeat to strangers any words uttered there, until they had convinced me that they had passed through the ceremony of *Karawali wonkana*.

In the Turrbal tribe, as my valued correspondent Mr. T. Petrie tells me, there was no regular council, but the old men met and consulted on such matters as hunting, fishing, or the death of any person. They sent out messengers when the time for making *Kippers* came round, or when the mullet came in, or the Bunya-bunya fruit was ripe. What he describes is, however, the council of which I speak, and it falls in with other instances. In speaking of the "Bunya tribe," he also says that when the "council" of old men has met, and decided on holding a Bunya feast, they send out two medicine-men as messengers to friendly tribes.

In the tribes within a radius of about fifty miles of Maryborough[1] the old men made up their minds as to the course to be followed in any matter, by having afternoon meetings held in private, a little way from the camp, women and young men not daring to approach within hearing. Those of the old men who choose attend such secret councils, and in the evening they orate, standing in their camps, and some of them make fine speeches.

The old men governed the tribe, but also consulted the people on matters which had to be decided. This they did by standing at their fires and speaking to all on the questions under consideration.

As the tribes spoken of by Mr. Aldridge met with the Turrbal at great tribal gatherings, his remarks as to the

[1] H. E. Aldridge.

council of old men illustrates Mr. Petrie's statements, and seem to show, as I have said, that the old men in it met and consulted in secret on matters relating to the tribe.

In the Kaiabara tribe the old men held conferences on all matters of importance, sitting in a circle, with their clubs placed on the ground before them, the younger men being allowed to stand round and listen, but not to laugh or speak. One man at a time made a speech, while the others listened.[1]

The Buntamurra tribe on the Bulloo River, Queensland, hold a council, sitting within a circle of spears stuck in the ground, inside of which the young men must not come, neither must they talk or laugh.[2]

In the Wotjobaluk tribe the old men formed a kind of council, and the oldest man among them was their head. The place where these men met was called *Jun*, whether it was the meeting-place of the old men of a small local group, or of those of the whole tribe when it met on some great occasion. The younger men are permitted to come to the *Jun*, but not on all occasions, and, if admitted, are expected to sit near and listen, but are not allowed to take part in the discussion.

The various Ngurungaeta of the Kulin tribes, when they met, decided when the great tribal meetings should take place, and also consulted about matters of tribal importance, such as the initiation of the boys, marriages, etc.

The government of the Narrang-ga tribe is in the hands of the old men who, with the Headmen, form a council which deals with tribal matters, such as the initiation ceremonies, and from time to time meets to discuss something of importance. That this council is formed only by those men who have an inherited authority, is emphasised by the fact that the medicine-men (*Gurildra*) are not, as such, entitled to be present, nor are the young men allowed to be present at these meetings, unless specially invited. Women are altogether excluded from them. Cases have, however, occurred where men, distinguished perhaps by great oratorical powers, have been invited to join the deliberations of this council. It decides what shall be done

[1] Jocelyn Brooke. [2] J. H. Kirkham.

in cases of breach of tribal laws, the punishment for some breaches being in olden times, death.[1]

In the Narrinyeri each clan has a council of its elders, called *Tendi*. When a member of a Tendi dies, the surviving members select a suitable man from the clan to succeed him. The Headman (*Rupulli*) of the clan presides over this council.[2]

In the Yuin tribe the initiated men assemble, when circumstances require it, at some place apart from the camp, where matters are discussed relating to the tribe. Women or children, that is, the uninitiated members of the tribe, dare not come near the spot. I have been present at such meetings; the elder men sit in the front line, the younger farther off, and the *Gommeras* usually a little apart from the others, although with them, and take a prominent part in the discussion. I was struck by the restrained manner of the younger men at these meetings.

At other times the *Gommeras* meet alone, to arrange matters for future discussion in the general meeting of the initiated men.

In the Geawe-gal tribe the old men met in council at night, when the younger men might be present, but were not allowed to speak.[3]

In the Gringai tribe the tribal council consists of the oldest, and as a rule the most intelligent men. Mr. A. Hook once came suddenly upon a group of old men sitting in a circle in deep deliberation, and was told by one of them in a whisper not to tell the other blacks what he had seen.

In the old times the Headmen, and other prominent men of the Kurnai tribe, took an active part in dealing with breaches of tribal customs or native morality. It was by the Gweraeil-kurnai and the other old men that important matters were decided, such as the *Jeraeil* ceremonies, the arrangement of the *Nungi-nungit*, and raids on other clans, or neighbouring tribes. But in all cases these men were in touch with the men somewhat younger than themselves, and

[1] T. M. Sutton. [2] Rev. G. Taplin and F. W. Taplin.
[3] G. W. Rusden.

had probably discussed with them the matters which the elders dealt with.

The elder men of the clan formed a council in the Chepara tribe. This council recognised the Headman of the clan as its head. In momentous proceedings such as the *Bora*, they were all subordinate to the Headman [1] of the tribe. In this they were analogous to the Yuin, where there was a principal *Gommera*, who was the leader of the others when they were all assembled together.

Such are the powers that govern the tribe, and I shall now relate the punishments for tribal and individual offences and the manner in which those punishments are carried out.

The Punishment of Offences

When a man dies in the Dieri tribe, it is thought he has been killed by some one through the action of evil magic, for instance, by "pointing with the bone," or "striking with the bone," as it is called, a practice which I have described elsewhere.

When a man has been adjudged by the council to have killed some one by evil magic, an armed party called *Pinya* is sent out to kill him.

The appearance at a camp of one or more natives marked with a white band round the head, with the point of the beard tipped with human hair, and with diagonal red and white stripes across the breast and stomach, is the sign of a Pinya. These men do not speak, and their appearance is a warning to the camp to listen attentively to the questions they may think it necessary to put regarding the whereabouts of the condemned man. Knowing the discipline of a Pinya and its remorseless spirit, any and every question is answered in terror, and many a cowardly man in his fear accuses his friend or even his relative, and it is on this accusation that the Pinya throw the whole of the responsibility of the death they inflict. When the deed is done, the Pinya is broken up, and each man returns to his home.[2]

A recent instance of a Pinya and its course of action is

[1] J. Gibson. [2] S. Gason.

the following, and it must be premised that under all circumstances the *Neyi* (elder brother) is the protector of his *Ngatata* (younger brother). For instance, if there is some trouble in the "fighting place" with a man, his elder brother hastens to it, and calls on the adversary to deal with him. Similarly when a Pinya has judicially condemned some native to death, the penalty of death does not fall upon the offender, but on his eldest brother at that place. In the case referred to, a man with several companions came to a camp near Lake Hope. A man had lately died at Perigundi, from whence they came, and in order that they might be received by the people at Lake Hope, they halted twenty yards from the camp and there gathered the spears and boomerangs that were thrown at them ceremonially by one of the Lake Hope men, they being as usual easily warded off. Then going nearer, they again halted and warded off the weapons thrown, and again moved on, until, being close together, the man from Perigundi and the man from Lake Hope should have taken hold of each other, and sat down together. But the former, not taking heed of the position of the sun and being dazzled by its rays, was unable to ward off the spear thrown at him, which entered his breast, and he died in the night. His companions fled to Perigundi and there formed a *Pinya* of a number of men, and returned to Lake Hope. The leader of this was a man called Mudla-kupa, who suddenly appearing one evening placed himself before him who had killed the Perigundi man, and seizing his hand announced his sentence of death. An elder brother of this man drew Mudla-kupa to one side, saying, "Don't seize my *Ngatata*, nor even me, for see, there sits our *Neyi*; seize him." At the same time he threw a clod of earth in the direction in which the man was. Mudla-kupa now turned to him, seized him by the hand, and spoke the death sentence over him, which he received with stoical composure. Mudla-kupa led him to one side, when the second man of the Pinya came up, and as Mudla-kupa held the man out to him as the accused, he struck him with a *maru-wiri*[1] and split his head open. The

[1] A weapon shaped like a great boomerang, which is used with both hands like a sword.

whole Pinya then fell upon him with spears and boomerangs. In order that they should not hear how he was being killed, the other men, women, and children in the camp made a great rustling with boughs and broken-off bushes.

The same Pinya executed about the same time two *Pinnarus* (elders), who lived at other places. It was reported that they strangled one, and brought him to life again (that is, they allowed him to recover), and the following night they burned the froth which came from his mouth when he was being strangled. It was supposed that this caused his death. In another case the Pinya thrust a spear into the side of the condemned man, so that, as the *Kunki* (medicine-man) said, "his heart was pierced," and then withdrew it. The *Kunki* closed the wound with sinew and the man lived for several days before he died. It was then said that the *Kunki* killed him, brought him to life, and finally killed him again.[1]

As connected with the Pinya, it may be well to state here the manner in which the blood revenge is avoided by the Dieri.

When a death occurs which would be followed up by the Pinya as just explained, there is a practice which may be said to act as a sort of peacemaking, in so far that the two parties show that by a respective bartering of goods, they put aside all enmities, and will shed no more blood on account of the man killed, whether by "giving the bone" or otherwise. A late instance of this practice called *Yut-yunto* at Kopperamana, will show how it acts.

A Lake Hope man, one Ngurtiyilina, who had lived for a long time at Kopperamana, died in the year 1899, at a place half-way between there and the Salt Creek. His elder brother was one Mandra-pirnani,[2] much feared for his strength, and the blacks among whom Ngurtiyilina lived sent to him through their Headman a Yut-yunto, a "cord," which being tied round his neck, authorised him to collect articles for barter with them. These were collected from the Kumari-kana[3] belonging to Kopperamana, Kilallpanina, and the surrounding country. When he had collected

[1] O. Siebert.

[2] *Mandra*, "belly"; *pirnani*, "great."

[3] *Kumari*, "blood"; *Kana*, "men."

sufficient articles for barter, messengers were sent out to carry information as to where and when the meeting would take place. Mandra-pirnani with a large following proceeded to the appointed spot, sending off and also receiving messengers by the way. Meanwhile a great number of men and women had collected at the "bartering place," awaiting the arrival of the Yut-yunto-kana and his companions. These had made their last camp a few miles off in order to arrive at the appointed place early in the day.

On the following morning they approached it in a column, with the Yut-yunto-kana as its leader, as if prepared for combat, and the two contingents of the other party, also under their leaders. The men were all armed with boomerang, shield and spear, and fully painted as a Pinya. Those of them who had participated in the funeral feast had a ring of charcoal powder drawn round the mouth. Immediately behind this armed band were the women carrying all the articles provided for barter.

The two parties being now near to each other, the leader of the Yut-yunto danced his war-dance, pointing now to the left and now to the right with his spear, while stamping rhythmically with his feet. The leader of the other party now came forward, and, approaching the leader of the Yut-yunto, ceremonially seized the cord round his throat, and breaking it, cast it into a fire. This being done, he said, "*Wordari yindi workarai?*" (How do you come?) "*Yindi tiri workarai?*" (Do you come in enmity?) To which the Yut-yunto answered, "*Aai! nganai murlari workarai.*" (Oh no! I come peacefully!) Then the other said, "That being so, we will exchange our things in peace." As a sign of peace, they embraced each other, and then sat down amicably together. While this was going on, the inferior leaders had been dancing their war-dance opposite each other, and the party of Mandra-pirnani was led round by the inferior Headman to the left side of the bartering place, where they sat down behind him. The other party then moved on to it, and sat down behind their Headman. The women of each party crouched behind it, carefully concealing the articles for barter from the eyes of the opposite side.

Now the leader of one of the parties caused one of the articles, a shield or boomerang, to be handed to him. It was passed from the last man to the first, all standing in a row, and each man passing it between the legs of the man in front of him, so that it was not seen until produced to the leader, who stood at the head of the line. He, on receiving it, threw it down between the parties with an important air. Then one of the other side threw on it some article in exchange, for instance, a bundle of cord for tying up the hair. In this way article after article was exchanged, and then the Kumari-kana asked, "Are you peaceable?" In this case the reply, I believe, was, "Yes, we are well satisfied." Each person took the articles he had obtained by barter.

If in these cases the parties are not satisfied, there is first an argument, and then a regulated combat between all the men present.[1]

Men of a Pinya use bunches of emu feathers in a decoration called *Kabuluru*. The head net is called *Kakabilli*. The name applied to emu feathers is *Maltara*.

These are also used for dance decoration, called either *Maltara* or *Ngaru*. The decoration is a large bunch fastened to the head, or single feathers worked into a band which encircles the head. They are not, however, used in decorations which consist mainly of white cockatoo feathers.

The emu dance of the Dieri tribe is called *Maltara*. In the Molongo dance, which was brought down to the Dieri country from the north-east, bunches of Maltara were worn suspended from the hips (Fig. 15).

An instance of what seems to have been the punishment of an offence against the tribe came partly under my own knowledge. On my second expedition I had with me one of the Dieri from Blanch-water, which was at that time the farthest out-station in the far north of South Australia. He accompanied me through the country of his tribe, and beyond it as far as the Diamantina River, and when about where Birdville now is, he ran away fearing, as he told me afterwards, that I was going still farther north. Some time after

[1] Otto Siebert.

FIG. 15.—MOLONGO DANCE IN WHICH DECORATIONS OF EMU FEATHERS ARE WORN.

I returned from the expedition, I learned that he had been killed by an armed party from his own tribe, who chased him for some nine miles before he was overtaken and killed. The reason given for this, was that he had been too familiar with the white men, and served them as guide. This I have mentioned elsewhere.

In the Tongaranka tribe offences against the marriage laws and class rules were punished by death, and the whole tribe took the matter in hand. Individual offences, such as theft, were dealt with by the individual wronged, by spear or other weapon.[1]

In the southern Kamilaroi disputes about hunting-grounds, and trespasses on them, occasioned numerous parleys, which sometimes settled the matter. At one such meeting, some fifty years ago, there were two white men with guns in the camp of the weaker party, who boasted that with their assistance they would kill all their opponents. These declared that they did not care, but would fight. The friends of the white men then advised them to go home, because if any disaster happened in the fight, their lives would be certainly taken for it. They left, and a messenger was sent to tell their adversaries that the white men had gone. It was then decided that an equal number from each side should fight the next day. But after all, this dispute was settled by single combat.[2]

In the Wiradjuri tribes there is an assembly of the initiated men, at which the Headmen discuss matters and decide what is to be done. Such matters are, for instance, disputes with other tribes, dealing with tribal offences, and similar circumstances. In cases of abduction of women, adultery, or murder, and where the offender has escaped to his own local division, or to a neighbouring tribe, the course is as follows. If the Headman decide that he is to be killed, the people with whom he has taken refuge are required by messenger to give him up. If they refuse to do so, there is a fight between them. If in this the offender's tribe is routed, no more is done, but the offender is always in danger of being killed, if possible.

[1] J. W. Boultbee. [2] C. Naseby.

There was ordeal by combat in the tribes living within fifty miles of Maryborough (Queensland). A man died, and a relative saw in a dream the person who had killed him by magic. He walked up to this man, who was of another camp, while he was blowing up his camp fire, and striking him on the back of the neck, nearly killed him. The friends of this man then sent a messenger to the offender telling him that "he was afraid to come to their camp." He went and fought with them, one after the other, with club and shield. This case, however, differed from the usual custom, in so far that both men were armed, whilst in the expiatory fights the defendant merely had a shield, to defend himself against the attacks of the aggrieved people.[1]

Among the Buntamurra all offences are punished by the tribe. The relations of the injured man fight and thrash the offender.[2]

When two divisions of the Kaiabara tribe fell out about some man's offence, and his people supported him, a challenge was sent to them. The challenge is vouched for by a boomerang-shaped piece of wood, the two ends of which are coloured white, while the middle is coloured with red ochre, and has a shell tied to one of the ends. If the challenge is accepted by the people to whom it is sent, they keep the stick and shell. If however they do not feel themselves sufficiently strong, and are afraid to meet the other side, they break the shell on a stone, as a sign that they acknowledge themselves to be beaten, and send the stick back.

If two blacks quarrel over a woman, the tribe does not interfere if they are of the same class, and the stronger of the two keeps the woman. But if the men are of different classes, then the tribe interferes and settles the matter.[3]

In the Turrbal tribe individual quarrels were settled by a stand-up fight. Ceremonial combats, and also expiatory combats, arose at the initiation ceremonies, or out of abduction of women, or the belief that a person had been killed by magic. At the ceremonial combats the men were painted

[1] H. E. Aldridge. [2] J. H. Kirkham.
[3] Jocelyn Brooke.

black on one side of their bodies and white on the other side. The face was as black as charcoal and grease could make it, except the nose, which was red-ochred.[1]

A man of one of the neighbouring tribes was living with the Wiimbaio, but became suspected. They thought that he might return to his own tribe and take something with him which had belonged to some Wiimbaio person, and by which he might do that person harm. They also thought that he might take away with him one of their women. Therefore he was doomed by the old men, and when out hunting with the other men, they all threw their spears at him and killed him.[2]

In the Wotjobaluk tribe private quarrels were settled on the spot by the parties. If their anger was very hot, possibly in the camp, otherwise in the open near it. Each man would be armed with the weapon called by them the *Lai-au-wil* (the *Laiangal* of the Wurunjerri), and they would fight till blood was drawn and their anger appeased. The friends would interfere if it seemed likely that their man would be injured or killed. After the combat, if they still remained at variance, some woman, such as the mother or sister of one of them, would go to them, and reason with them, and persuade them to be friends.

When a serious offence occurred and the offender belonged to some one of the other local divisions, the custom was to send a messenger (*Wirri-gir*) to call on him to come forward and undergo punishment. In such a case, if he were a man of consequence, or if the affair caused much feeling among the people, all the totemites of each of the men assembled under their respective Headmen at the place agreed on.

Such a case occurred in the Mukjarawaint tribe, and was reported to me by a man of the *Garchuka* totem, whose brother and maternal grandfather had for some matter of personal offence killed a man of the black snake (*Wulernunt*) totem. They speared him at night, when sleeping in his camp, and escaped, but were seen and recognised by his wife. The relatives of the deceased sent a *Wirri-gir* to

[1] Tom Petrie. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay.

the offenders, telling them to look out for themselves and be prepared for revenge. A messenger was sent in reply saying that they should come with their friends, and that they would be prepared to stand out and have spears thrown at them. There was then a great meeting of the respective totems, the Garchuka being that of the offenders and the Wulernunt that of the avengers.

Having met as arranged, at the time and place fixed, with their respective kindreds, the Garchuka Headman stood out between the opposed totemites and made a speech, calling upon his men not to take any unfair advantage in the encounter. Then he appointed a spot near at hand where the expiatory encounter should take place that afternoon, it being agreed that so soon as the offenders had been struck by a spear the combat should cease. Then the offenders stood out, armed with shields, and received the spears thrown at them by the dead man's kindred, until at length one of them was wounded. The Headman of the Garchukas then threw a lighted piece of bark, which he held, into the air, and the fight ceased. If it had been continued there would have been a general fight between the two totems.

Among the tribes of south-western Victoria, in cases of blood-feud, if the murderer be known and escapes the pursuit of the victim's kindred, he gets notice to appear and undergo the ordeal of spear-throwing at the first great meeting of the tribes.

If he pays no attention to the summons, two strong active men, called *Paet-paet*, accompanied by some friends, are ordered by the chief to visit the camp where he is supposed to be concealed and to arrest him. They approach the camp about the time when the people are going to sleep, and halt at a short distance from it. One of the Paet-paets goes to one side of the camp and howls in imitation of a wild dog. The other at the opposite side answers him by imitating the cry of the *Kuurka* (owl). These sounds bring the Chief to the front of his *Wuurn* (hut) to listen. One of the Paet-paets then taps twice on a tree with his spear, or strikes two spears together as a signal that a friend wishes

to speak to him. He then demands the culprit, but as the demand is generally met by a denial of his being there, they return to their friends, who have been waiting to hear the result. If they still believe him to be concealed in the camp, they surround it at dawn, stamping and making a hideous noise to frighten the people. In the meantime the Chief, anticipating the second visit, has very likely aided the culprit to escape while it was dark.

Persons accused of wrong-doing get one month's (*sic*) notice to appear before the assembled tribes and be tried on pain of being outlawed and killed. When a man has been charged with an offence, he goes to the meeting armed with two war spears, a flat light shield, and a boomerang. If he is found guilty of a private wrong, he is painted white, and his brother, or near male relative, stands beside him as his second. The latter has a heavy shield, a *Liangle*, and a boomerang, and the offender is placed opposite to the injured person and his friends, who sometimes number twenty warriors. These range themselves at a distance of fifty yards from him, and each individual throws four or five spears and two boomerangs at him simultaneously "like a shower." If he succeeds in warding them off, his second hands him his heavy shield, and he is attacked singly by his enemies, who deliver each one a blow with a Liangle. As blood must be spilt to satisfy the injured party, the trial ends when he is hit.

If the accused refuses to be tried, he is outlawed, and may be killed, and his brother or nearest male relative is held responsible, and must submit to be attacked with boomerangs.[1]

In the Wurunjerri tribe when a man, say a *Bunjil*, was called on to appear and answer for having killed some other man, say of the *Waang* class, all the Bunjil men, his kindred, stood at one side, and all the Waang men, the kindred of his victim, at the other, each party under their Headman.

The avengers would throw spears at him until he was killed, or so injured that he could no longer defend himself, or until his Headman called out "Enough."

[1] J. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 76.

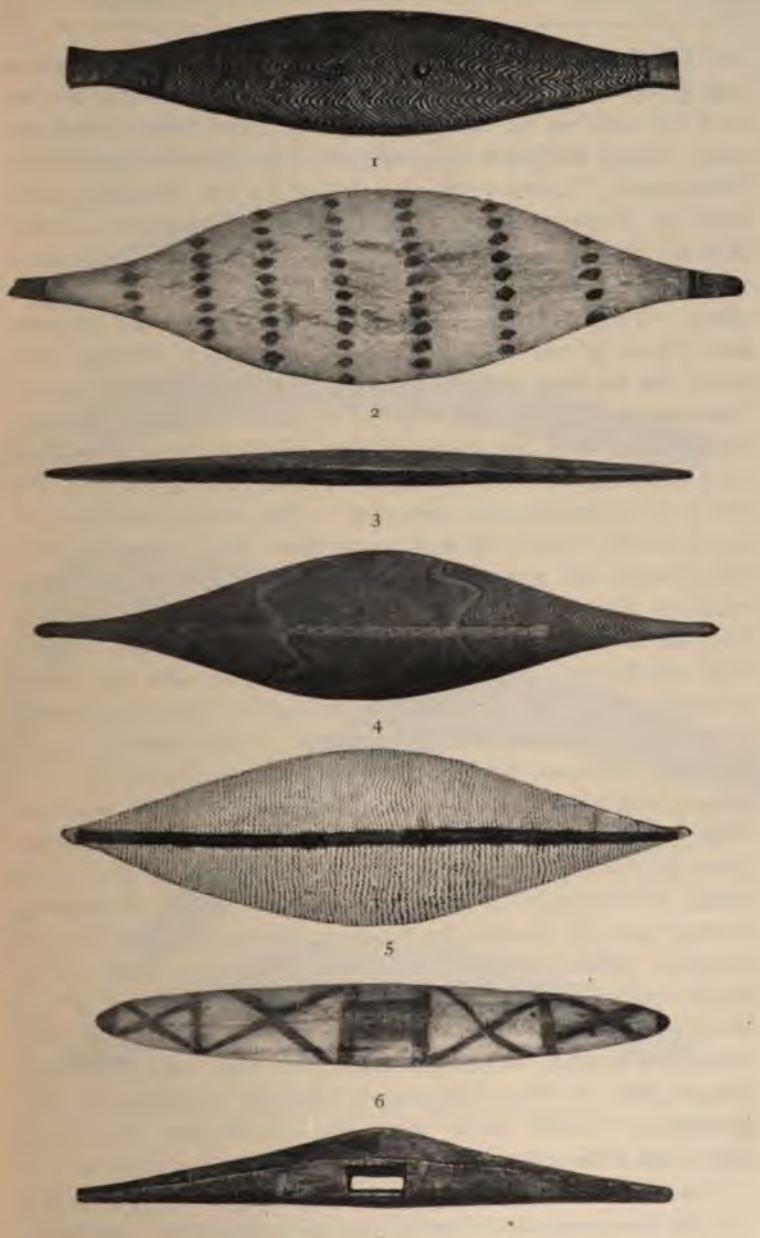


FIG. 16.—NOS. 1, 2, 4, 5, SHIELDS USED TO WARD OFF SPEARS; 3, 6, 7, SHIELDS FOR CLUB FIGHTING.

The following account of one of these ordeals in expiation was given to me by Berak, who was present at it. So far as I am able to fix the time, it must have been about the year 1840, and the locality was the Merri Creek near Melbourne. It arose out of a belief by the Bunurong who lived at Western Port, that a man from Echuca, on the Murray River, had found a piece of bone of an opossum which one of their tribe had been eating, and then thrown away. They were told that he, taking up this bone between two pieces of wood, had placed it aside until, having procured the leg-bone of a kangaroo, he put the piece of opossum bone into its hollow and roasted it before his fire. He and others then sang the name of the Western Port man for a long time over it, until the spear-thrower fell down into the fire and the magic was complete. This news was brought down to the Bunurong and some time after the man died. His friends did not say anything, but waited till a young man of the Echuca tribe came into the Western Port District, when they killed him. News of this was passed from one to the other till it reached his tribe, who sent down a messenger to the Bunurong tribe, saying that they would have to meet them near Melbourne. This was arranged, and the old men said to the man, "Now, don't you run away; you must go and stand out, and we will see that they do not use you unfairly." This message had been given in the first instance by the Meymet[1] to the Nira-baluk, who sent it on by the Wurunjerri to the Bunurong. It was sent in the winter to give plenty of time for the meeting, which took place on the Melbourne side of the Merri Creek. The people present were the Meymet, whose Headman had not come with them, the Bunurong with their Headman Benbu, the Mt. Macedon men with their Headman Ningu-labul, the Werribee people with the Headman of the Bunurong; finally there were the Wurunjerri with their Headman Billi-billeri.

All these people except the Meymet and the Bunurong

[1] The Wurunjerri called the tribes about the junction of the Goulburn and Campaspe Rivers with the Murray by the name of Meymet, as they called the Gippsland natives Berbira, thus distinguishing both from the Kulin, who were their friends.

were onlookers, and each party camped on the side of the meeting-ground nearest to their own country, and all the camps faced the morning sun.

When the meeting took place, the women were left in

FIG. 17.—BOOMERANGS OF VICTORIAN TRIBES.

the camps, and the men went a little way off. The Bunurong man stood out in front of his people armed with a shield. Facing him were the kindred of the dead Meymet man, some nine or ten in number, who threw so many spears and boomerangs at him that you could not count them.

At last a reed spear went through his side. Just then a Headman of the Buthera-baluk who had heard what was to take place, and had followed the Meymet down from the Goulburn River, came running up, and went in between the two parties, shouting "Enough!" and turning to the Meymet said, "You should now go back to your own country." This stopped the spear-throwing; they had had blood, and all were again friends. A great corrobboree was held that night.

Buckley gives an account of a somewhat similar case which happened in his tribe the Wudthaurung, and is worth quoting in this connection.[1]

In speaking of an elopement, he thus describes the expiation which followed it, "At length the young man advanced towards us, and challenged our men to fight, an offer which was accepted practically by a boomerang being thrown at him, and which grazed his leg. A spear was then thrown, but he warded it off cleverly with his shield. He made no return to this, until one of our men advanced very near to him, with only a shield and waddy, and then the two went to work in good earnest, until the first had his shield split, so that he had nothing to defend himself with but his waddy. His opponent took advantage of this and struck him a tremendous blow on one side of the head, and knocked him down; but he was instantly on his legs again, the blood, however, flowing very freely over his back and shoulders. His friends then cried out, 'Enough!' and threatened general hostilities if another blow was struck. This had the desired effect, and they soon after separated quietly."

As a good instance of the manner in which trespasses by a person of one tribe on the country of another tribe were dealt with, I take the case of a man of the Wudthaurung tribe, who unlawfully took, in fact stole, stone from the tribal quarry at Mt. William near Lancefield. I give it in almost the exact words used by Berak in telling me of it, and who was present at the meeting which took place in consequence, probably in the late forties.

It having been found out that this man had taken stone without permission, the Ngurungaeta Billi-billeri sent a

[1] J. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 63.

messenger to the Wudthaurung, and in consequence they came as far as the Werribee River, their boundary, where Billi-billeri and his people met them. These were the men who had a right to the quarry, and whose rights had been infringed. The place of meeting was a little apart from the respective camps of the Wurunjerri and the Wudthaurung.

At the meeting the Wudthaurung sat in one place, and the Wurunjerri in another, but within speaking distance. The old men of each side sat together, with the younger men behind them. Billi-billeri had behind him Bungerim, to whom he "gave his word." The latter then standing up said, "Did some of you send this young man to take tomahawk stone?" The Headman of the Wudthaurung replied, "No, we sent no one." Then Billi-billeri said to Bungerim, "Say to the old men that they must tell that young man not to do so any more. When the people speak of wanting stone, the old men must send us notice." Bungerim repeated this in a loud tone, and the old men of the Wudthaurung replied, "That is all right, we will do so." Then they spoke strongly to the young man who had stolen the stone, and both parties were again friendly with each other.

At such a meeting all the weapons were left at the respective camps, and each speaker stood up in addressing it.

In the Narrinyeri tribe offenders were brought before the *Tendi* (council of old men) for trial. For instance, if a member of one clan had been in time of peace killed by one of another clan, the clansmen of the latter would send to the friends of the murderer, and invite them to bring him for trial before the united Tendis. If, after trial, he were found guilty of committing the crime, he would be punished according to his guilt; if it were murder, he would be handed over to his clansmen to be put to death by spearing; if for what we should call "manslaughter," he would receive a good thrashing, or be banished from his clan, or be compelled to go to his mother's relations. A common sentence for any public offence was so many blows on the head.[1] I was not informed by Mr. Taplin what he included in the term "public offence."

[1] Rev. G. Taplin and Mr. F. W. Taplin.

Among the Yuin there was the same practice of expiatory ordeals as among the other tribes I have quoted, and the old men preferred this to armed parties being sent out to exact blood-revenge in a feud. But the kindred of the deceased frequently revenged themselves by lying in wait for the suspected person, and killing him when out hunting alone. This naturally led to reprisals, and thus to complications such as those which caused the great blood-feud in the Kurnai tribe.

An instance is known to me of an expiatory meeting in the Yuin tribe, in consequence of a Moruya man being killed by a man from Bodalla, but I am not aware whether by violence or by magic.

The Bodalla *Gommera* sent a *Jirri* (messenger) to the Moruya man, telling him he must come to a certain place and stand out. Meanwhile the men of Bodalla were preparing their spears and heating their boomerangs in hot ashes to make them tough. At the time fixed the man appeared, armed with two shields. As he was charged with killing some one, he had to stand out alone; but if he had been only charged with injuring him, or with having used *Joïas*, that is, magical charm, without actually killing the person, he would have been allowed to have a friend to help him. His friends with their *Gommera* stood at one side, a little out of spear range, while the Moruya men and their *Gommera* were at one side of the friends of the dead man.

It having been arranged how many of the fathers and brothers (own or tribal)[1] of the dead man should attack the defendant, the *Gommera* then told them what to do, and they went forward towards the Bodalla man, who stood alone expecting them. At about thirty yards' distance from him they halted for a while to give him time to prepare himself for defence, then standing in a line facing him, they threw their boomerangs and then their spears at him. He being wounded, his *Gommera* shouted out "*Jin ail*," that is, "Enough!" and they ceased. There was no further action in this matter, for blood had been taken.

[1] There is individual marriage in this tribe, but the relationship terms class a man and all his brothers as fathers of their respective children.

In certain cases the *Gommera* took action to punish offences directly. If a man was in the habit of "catching people" by evil magic, the Gommera might say to his young men, "That man is very bad, he is catching people with *Joïas*, you must kill him." He would then be surrounded at some convenient place and killed. Umbara, in speaking of this, said that he had seen such a man after he had been killed look, with the spears in him, "like a Jannang-gabatch," that is, a spiny ant-eater. If a man killed another of his own local group, or if a man revealed the bull-roarer to a woman, or any of the secrets of the *Bunan* or the *Kuringal*, he was killed by the order of the *Gommera*. In such cases there was no expiatory meeting, even when, as was within the knowledge of my Yuin friends, none of the culprit's kindred was among those who carried out the *Gommera's* orders. Nor was there any expiation when a man killed one who had murdered his kinsman, the former being of the same local group.

In the Kamilaroi tribes, if serious complaints were made of the conduct of a Murri (*i.e.* a man), a council of the Headmen might decree his death.[1]

In the Gringai tribe individuals fought a personal quarrel with any weapons nearest at hand, but in cases of serious offences which concerned the tribe, the offender had to stand out, with a shield (*Hiela-man*), while a certain number of spears, according to the magnitude of the offence, were thrown at him. If he could defend himself, well and good; if not, then he was either injured or killed.[2]

The principal social restrictions in the Geawe-gal tribe were laws which demanded satisfaction for injury done, by the offender submitting to an ordeal. According to the magnitude of his offence, he had to receive one or more spears from men who were relatives of the deceased person; or when the injured person had recovered strength, he might himself discharge the spears at the offender. Obedience to such laws was never withheld; but would have been enforced, without doubt, if necessary, by the assembled tribe. Offences against individuals, or blabbing about the

[1] C. Naseby. [2] J. W. Boydell.

sacred rites of the tribe, and all breaches of custom, were visited with some punishment. Such punishments, or such ordeals, were always *coram publico*, and the women were present. Not so the adjudication according to which the penalty was prescribed.[1]

FIG. 18.—TULABA, ONE OF THE KURNAI, AS A WAIT-JURK.

Among the Kurnai, when a man had been called upon to appear and submit to an ordeal by weapons, for some death which he had been supposed to have caused by magic, for instance by *Bulk*, *Murriwun*, or *Barn*, he was attended by his kindred and by that branch of the tribe to which he belonged. He was called *Wait-jurk*,[2] and the aggrieved person, that is, one of the near kindred, was called *Nungi-nungit*, which also applied to all his kindred who took part in the ordeal. They also were respectively supported by their section of the tribe.

In the proceedings, the aggrieved party and the accused were each at the ordeal accompanied by the *Gweraeil-kurnai* of their section of the tribe. The proceedings were conducted by the old men according to the ancient traditions, that is, as they would put it, "as their fathers did." An open and level piece of ground was chosen for the meeting. The two bodies of people assembled, facing each other, and some two

[1] G. W. Rusden.

[2] "Murderer."

hundred yards apart. The aggressor stood out in advance of his party, painted with red ochre over his face, with two broad stripes from the shoulders down the breast, where they met horizontal alternating bands of white and red across the stomach as far as the hips on each side. According to the rules, he was only armed with a shield, or in some cases with a club or a bundle of spears in addition. Some men presented themselves to their adversaries, dancing and twirling their shields in a defiant manner, others crouched down awaiting the attack. Beside the *Wait-jurk* his wife stood, if he had one, with her digging-stick, to help in turning aside or breaking the weapons discharged at him, and at one side of the ground the women sat beating their skin rugs in measured time. The body of people stood behind the women with the old men at hand to observe and direct the proceedings. At a distance of some two hundred yards were the aggrieved, who might be a numerous party, including widely ramifying relationships. These men were painted white in token of their kinsman's death. Each man was armed with his shield, a bundle of spears, several boomerangs, and various clubs used for throwing. Their women sat in front, drumming on their folded rugs, and singing at the same time some song appropriate to the occasion. In a *Nungi-nungit*, which I

FIG. 19.—TANKOWILLIN, ONE OF THE KURNAI, AS A NUNGI-NUNGIT.

saw represented in an alleged case of death by magic, the following song was sung, while the wife of the accused made abusive speeches to the advancing party :—

Nana-mulk	*eed-janung*	*dinne-bra-mittel*
Why you	thought	old husband mine
waitjurk-jandu	*dinn-din*	*baia-quung*
to murder	you bad	orphan

or, freely translated, "Why did you think to murder my old husband, you worthless orphan?" *i.e.* "person without any kindred."

The ordinary word used for "orphan" is *Yetherun*, but *Baia-quung*, which also has that meaning, is one of the most offensive terms which can be applied to a Kurnai, and in the old times would require to be expiated by spear-throwing, or other recourse to weapons.

After singing such a song, the women got up and went forward some thirty or forty paces, drumming their rugs as they carried them, and then sat down again and sang. As they walked forward, the men followed them closely, crouching down behind them, as if seeking concealment.

All this time the aggressor was dancing his defiance, and the *Nungi-nungit* came on by short stages until about sixty yards from him, when the women moved off to one side, leaving them and the Wait-jurk face to face. While the latter continued to dance, or sat crouched behind his shield, the former extended their line in the form of a crescent so as to hem him in. The oldest of the *Nungi-nungit* now addressed him, with a formal statement, as for instance, "Why did you kill our brother with *bulk?*" The reply might be, "I never did anything to him; it is all *jetbolan*" (lies). Then the aggrieved made motions as if spear-throwing, so that the defendant might place himself on his guard. The ordeal then commenced by a shower of spears. The Wait-jurk might be at once transfixed, or his shield be so full of spears as to be useless. If he escaped the spears, he was assailed with a shower of boomerangs, to be followed, if by his skill in defence or by good fortune he was still

uninjured, by weapons such as *Kunnin*[1] being thrown at him.

If it was a case in which the Wait-jurk might be armed with spears, he might throw them, or he might hurl back those of his adversaries, but it was seldom that he had the chance of doing so, if his adversaries were numerous. When disabled, his friends would certainly interfere, or if he had enough of it, he might run to them for security. It not infrequently happened that a *Nungi-nungit* became a general combat in which men and women on both sides fought furiously. In such fights a woman was not always at a disadvantage against a man armed with a club and shield, for an active woman armed with her digging-stick is a formidable opponent, using her weapon much as a man would do a quarter-staff.

When the *Nungi-nungit* ended either with the single ordeal of the *Wait-jurk* or by a general fight, the matter was set at rest and friendly relations were restored. There is a great difference between such legalised fights as the *Nungi-nungit* and those cases where fights occurred during the prosecution of a blood-feud, without these ceremonies.

The shields used were either the *Bamaruk*, for turning aside spears, or the *Turnmung*, which is used in club-fighting.

A good instance of the *Nungi-nungit* was one in which the man Bunbra, otherwise *Jetbolan*, was the defendant, and which occurred about the year 1850.

A brother of the Tulaba before mentioned awoke in the night and saw Bunbra standing over him, who said that he had come for some fire. The next day the man fell sick, and told his friends that Bunbra had "caught him," that is, that he had placed some magical spell on him. By and by he died, and his male kindred sent a message to Bunbra desiring him to come to a *Nungi-nungit*. At the time and place appointed he duly appeared, accompanied by many of his clan, the Tatungalung, and also of the Krauatungalung, who were their friends.

[1] The *Kunnin* is about eighteen to twenty inches in length, in the middle two to two and a half inches in diameter, and sloping to a point at each end.

The meeting was held on the Tambo River between Swan Reach and Lake King. The two parties faced each other at a little distance, in the manner described, and Bunbra had two shields for his defence, one for use and the other in reserve. The other side were armed with *Kunnin* for throwing, and boomerangs. It may be mentioned that the latter used in these ordeals are not those which return to the thrower, but the fighting boomerang which does not return. The proceedings commenced by Bunbra saying, "I want to tell you that I did not hurt that poor fellow." The reply was, "You must fight." Boomerangs were then thrown, as my informant said, "like a flight of parrots." Bunbra dodged or successfully warded them off. At last a *Kunnin* was thrown, which passed through his thigh, but which he drew out, and threw back at his assailants. The women then rushed in between the two parties and stopped the fight, and the feud was at an end.

Sometimes a blood-feud has spread until the whole tribe was involved, and the feud went beyond the power of a Nungi-nungit to heal. Such was one which arose shortly after the settlement of Gippsland, and not only brought in all the tribes on one side or the other, but also the Theddora of Omeo and the Mogullum-bitch of the Buffalo River. It was so much talked of among the Kurnai, even years after, that I carefully traced the course to its end in a battle between the Kurnai clans about the year 1855.

When the Gippsland and Omeo natives had become better acquainted with each other, through the white settlers, and were thus more or less friendly, one of the Theddora men named Billy Blew obtained a Brayaka woman for his wife. When on a visit to his wife's people, he ill-used her, and in consequence her father, Kaiung, fought with him and speared him, so that he died. Billy Blew's kindred came down from the mountains and killed Kaiung, together with another Brayaka man, called Lohni, the brother of Bundawal (Bite-spear), mentioned elsewhere. In revenge for this, Jimmy, a man of the Dargo division of the Brabralung clan, the sister's son of Kaiung's wife, killed a man called Johnny. Then Flanner, one of the Bunjil-baul, and other relations of

FIG. 20.—A NUNGI-NUNGIT PREPARING TO AVENGE A DEATH BY EVIL MAGIC IN THE KURNAI TRIBE.

Johnny, finding his skin hanging in a tree at Aitken's Straits, at the Gippsland Lakes, where the Dargo man had hung it, followed him southward and killed him at Erin Vale Station on Merriman's Creek.

At this point I take up the narrative given of this feud by Bundawal. He said :—

"I had two wives, both from Brt-britta. One of these had been married to the man who killed my brother Johnny at Aitken's Straits. I then collected all the men from Bruthen, Wy-Yung, and Binnajerra, for all my own men had died or been killed, so that there were only boys left. But those others were like my own people. We all sneaked round to Merriman's Creek, where we found a Dargo man, and Flanner speared him. We let him lie there, and did not eat his skin, because he was a Kurnai like ourselves. As he was a friend of the Brayaka, we went up to the Heart [1] to look for them. We found a number of Dargo, Brayaka, and Bratua there, and we fought them ; but we were beaten, because they had guns as well as spears, and were helped by two of the black police, and one police trooper. We ran away, and left everything behind us, only taking our spears. We had left our women near to the Lake's Entrance, at Metung, where the wild dog turned the Kurnai into stone. Our enemies and the police followed us as far as Lake Tyers, but they could not cross, and so we escaped. For a long time we were quiet, but at last we went to Manero to get the Brajerak to come and help us. By this time the white men had brought so many Brajerak from Manero and Omeo with them into Gippsland that we and they had become friendly. So we got the Manero men to promise to help us, and we went round the mountains to Omeo with them. There we got Nukong, their Headman, also to help us, and he sent a messenger to the men at the Ovens River and Mount Buffalo to send help, and it was arranged that we should meet them at the Bushy Park Station. When we got back we went to the meeting-place, where the men from the Ovens River and Mount Buffalo met us. We had gone

[1] A Station near to Sale, and so named because, when it was first occupied, the outline of a heart was found cut in the soil where the Homestead was fixed.

there to get some food, and to see some of the Brabralung and the Dargo men. There could not have been fewer than two hundred of us; at least the white men there counted us, and told us so. From that place we went round the country, looking for our enemies. We sent out four spies in the daytime, while the main body lay concealed in the scrub, and only travelled by night. Sometimes I was one of the spies, and sometimes it was Tankowillin. We went all over the country, even down to the Tarra River, but could not meet our enemies. At length we pretended to be friends and returned to the Mitchell River. We waited a while and then sent to the Snowy River men, who came to us, but the Brajerak from Manero and the Ovens River went home; only a few of the Omeo men stayed to help us.

"While this was going on, the Dargo and Brayaka men had sent *Lewin* (a message) to me, saying that we would fight, and then be friends. It was decided by the Dargo old men that the fight should take place near Dighton. We went there, and fought, but no one was killed. They were too strong for us, and ran us back to the Mitchell River. We now waited again for a time, and one of the Brataualung brought a message from the Headman at Dargo that we should be friends. It was their custom to do this by sending a spear jagged with quartz with a Bridda-bridda (man's kilt) hanging on it as a token, but the one he sent was jagged with glass. We said amongst ourselves, 'We will pretend to be friends, and wait till by and by.' The spear was carried on farther by way of Bruthen, and up to Omeo, and so round to Dargo. Then we all gathered, but the Snowy River men would not come, for they were frightened, two of their men having been speared.

"Bruthen-munji told us, 'We must send a message to the Dargo men where to meet us, but we must be quick and get to Bushy Park.' We had with us some Omeo men, with their Headman, Nukong. Our Headman was Bruthen-munji.

"On the morning on which we were to fight, we were all ready, and were painted with pipe-clay, because we were very angry at our men being killed, and also to frighten our

enemies. They were painted with red ochre, because they had killed our men. We were seated in a long row with our spears ready on the ground. Our women were in front beating on the ''possum rugs.' Nukong was at one end, just behind his row. Bruthen-munji was at the other end of the row, just behind me. It was about noon, and he looked up at the sun and said, 'We will eat first.' The enemy were not in sight, but were not far off. Then a Brabralung man came to us; he was a messenger sent to us; we knew him and he was our friend, and the husband of Old Nanny.[1] He said, 'There are not many of you.' Bruthen-munji replied, 'Never mind, we will see.' He then ordered the women to go back out of danger and made a great speech. He told us that we should beat them. Then we fought, and a Kutbuntaura man was speared and the others ran away. There was a running fight as they ran, leaving all their things behind them. By and by I shot one man, and others were speared. Several women were caught, and some of the Brabralung young men ran down a Brt-britta woman, but could not keep her, because they were too nearly related to her, and as she wanted to have me, her Breppa-mungan[2] gave her to me, and this was how I got my first wife from Brt-britta."

This must have been about fifteen years after the settlement of Gippsland, and it was a little more than fifteen years after that time that Bundawal gave me this account. During that time most of the old men of the tribe had died off, and the tribe itself had been almost broken up.

An instance of revenge for blood occurred almost within my actual knowledge, about the year 1865. The blacks told me of it when it happened, but as it was then supposed to have been in New South Wales, I did not pay any special attention to it. The locality was in the extreme eastern part of Gippsland in the Biduelli country, where there was a small tract of grazing ground surrounded by almost impenetrable scrubs and jungles, excepting one side, where

[1] Old Nanny has been already mentioned. She had great influence in the tribe.

[2] *Mungan* is father; *Breppa-mungan* is some one who is in the relation of father, such as the father's brother or mother's sister's husband.

there was forest, through which a bush track led to the settlements in New South Wales. This country is now opened up by tracks cut in various directions, and is partly occupied by settlers, and in a few other places by gold-miners, but at the time spoken of it was a veritable *terra incognita*, from which a bush track led to the nearest cattle station in New South Wales. Two white men occupied this spot, and had a blackboy from the Yuin tribe as a stock-keeper. Some of the Kurnai of the Snowy River occasionally went to Twofold Bay, to assist in whale-fishing as harpooners. Their road followed the sea-coast, and thus passed within about twenty miles of the tract of grazing country spoken of. A party of Kurnai, thus travelling, were invited by the Yuin boy to visit him, which they did, and he took the opportunity, under the protection of the white men, to shoot one of the Kurnai called *Bobuk* (water), and to carry off his daughter Bolgan from the midst of the other Kurnai. These escaped to their own country, and the Yuin blackboy kept Bolgan as his wife. The relatives of the murdered man, however, prepared for revenge. Men both of the male and female side formed a party under the guidance of Bobuk's brother, and finding the cattle station where the murder had taken place deserted, they tracked the Yuin to the nearest Station, where they killed him and recovered Bolgan. It was the sister's son who revenged his uncle, after chasing the offender for several miles.

Some years after I went through this country with these men and visited the scenes of this tragedy.

Upwards of fifty years ago, four of the Theddora (Omeo), accompanied by some of the Dargo clan, went on a visit to the Kutbuntaura division of the Brayakaulung, and when there they quarrelled with their hosts and were killed. In revenge some of their tribes-people came down to the low country and killed some of the Brayaka. They returned by way of the Snowy River so as to avoid pursuit, and called on their way home at the Black Mountain Station. It was there observed that they had with them pieces of human flesh, apparently cut from the calf of the leg or thigh, wrapped up in stringy-bark, and hung from the end of their spears.

They were taking these trophies to show their people at the Mitta-Mitta River.[1]

With the Chepara, offences, if not trivial, were seriously dealt with; and if a man became insane, or was in the habit of idiotically muttering to himself, they killed him, because they thought that it was *Wulle*[2] that was influencing him, and that disaster might happen to the camp. The Headman of the division might kill him while he slept in his camp, or he might be told to do so by the superior Headman of the tribe.

If a man showed the bull-roarer to a woman, both were killed by the *Bujerum* himself; and offenders against tribal law were punished by death.[3]

To the preceding evidence may be added the instances given in another chapter of the punishments inflicted for breaches of the class laws, or for incest. It will be evident that a distinction is drawn between offences which merely affect the individual, and are therefore left for him to redress, and those which may be called tribal offences, such as murder by evil magic, breaches of the exogamous law, or revealing the secrets of the initiation ceremonies. Such offences were dealt with by the elders and their leaders, the Headmen of the tribe.

[1] J. O'Rourke. [2] An evil being. [3] J. Gibson.

CHAPTER VII

MEDICINE-MEN AND MAGIC

Term "medicine-man" explained—In all tribes there is a belief that the medicine-men can project objects invisibly into their victims—The Dieri *Kŭnki*—"Pointing the bone"—Roasting charms for the purpose of harming others—The Wotjobaluk *Guliwil*—The Wurunjerri *Wirrarap*—The Wiimbaio *Mekigar*—The Wotjobaluk *Bangal*—The use of human fat in magic—The Yuin *Gommera*—The Wiradjuri *Bugin*—Magic of *Bunjil-Barn* and *Bulk* among the Kurnai—Curative practices of the medicine-men—Kurnai *Birraark* distinguished from the *Mulla-mulung*—Rain-makers and weather-changers—Charms to influence food-supply—Omens and warnings—The "Bad Country"—The making of medicine-men—Use of rock-crystal and human fat in magic—Conclusions as to the powers of medicine-men—Songs and song-makers.

I HAVE adopted the term "medicine-men" as a convenient and comprehensive term for those men who are usually spoken of in Australia as "Blackfellow doctors"—men who in the native tribes profess to have supernatural powers. The term "doctor" is not strictly correct, if by it is meant only a person who uses some means of curing disease. The powers which these men claim are not merely those of healing, or causing disease, but also such as may be spoken of as magical practices relating to, or in some manner affecting, the well-being of their friends and enemies. Again, the medicine-man is not always a "doctor"; he may be a "rain-maker," "seer," or "spirit-medium," or may practise some special form of magic.

I may roughly define "doctors" as men who profess to extract from the human body foreign substances which, according to aboriginal belief, have been placed in them by the evil magic of other medicine-men, or by supernatural

beings, such as *Brewin* of the Kurnai, or the *Ngarrang* of the Wurunjerri. *Ngarrang* is described as being like a man with a big beard and hairy arms and hands, who lived in the large swellings which are to be seen at the butts of some of the gum-trees, such as the Red Gum, which grows on the river flats, in the Wurunjerri country. The *Ngarrang* came out at night in order to cast things of evil magic into incautious people passing by their haunts. The effect of their magic was to make people lame. As they were invisible to all but the medicine-men, it was to them that people had recourse when they thought that a *Ngarrang* had caught them. The medicine-man by his art extracted the magic in the form of quartz, bone, wood, or other things.

Other medicine-men were bards who devoted their poetic faculties to the purposes of enchantment, such as the *Bunjil-venjin* of the Kurnai, whose peculiar branch of magic was composing and singing potent love charms.

At first sight the subject of this chapter might seem to be a very simple one, since the practices of the medicine-man may appear to be no more than the actions of cunning cheats, by which they influence others to their own personal benefit. But on a nearer inspection of the subject it becomes evident that there is more than this to be said. They believe more or less in their own powers, perhaps because they believe in those of others. The belief in magic in its various forms—in dreams, omens, and warnings—is so universal, and mingles so intimately with the daily life of the aborigines, that no one, not even those who practise deceit themselves, doubts the power of other medicine-men, or that if men fail to effect their magical purposes the failure is due to error in the practice, or to the superior skill or power of some adverse practitioner.

Allowing for all conscious and intentional deception on the part of these men, there still remains a residuum of faith in themselves which requires to be noticed, and if possible to be explained.

It is in this aspect that the question has shown itself as being most difficult to me. The problem has been how to separate falsehood from truth, cunning imposture from *bona*

fide actions, and deliberate falsification from fact. The statements which I have made in these pages are the result of long-continued inquiries as well as personal observation. I must say for my aboriginal informants, that I have found them truthful in their statements to me whenever I have been able to check them by further inquiries, and in only one instance did I notice any tendency to enlarge the details into proportions beyond their true shape. Even this instance was very instructive. The man's information as to the customs of his tribe, and especially as to the initiation ceremonies, I found to be very accurate, but it was when he began to speak of the magical powers of the old men of the past generation that I found his colouring to be too brilliant, and more especially as regarded his tribal father, the last great warrior-magician of the tribe. In his exaggeration of the exploits of this man one might see an instructive example of how very soon an heroic halo of romance begins to gather round the memory of the illustrious dead.

It is not difficult to see how, amongst savages having no real knowledge of the causes of disease, which is the common lot of humanity, the very suspicion of such a thing as death from natural causes should be unknown. Death by accident they can imagine, although the results of what we should call accident they mostly attribute to the effects of some evil magic. They are well acquainted with death by violence, but even in this they believe, as among the tribes about Maryborough (Queensland), that a warrior who happens to be speared in one of the ceremonial fights has lost his skill in warding off or evading a spear, through the evil magic of some one belonging to his own tribe. But I doubt if, anywhere in Australia, the aborigines, in their pristine condition, conceived the possibility of death merely from disease. Such was certainly not the case with the Kurnai.

In all the tribes I refer to there is a belief that the medicine-men can project substances in an invisible manner into their victims. One of the principal projectives is said to be quartz, especially in the crystallised form. Such quartz crystals are always, in many parts of Australia, carried as part of the stock-in-trade of the medicine-man, and are usually

carefully concealed from sight, especially of women, but are exhibited freely to the novices at the initiation ceremonies. Since the advent of white men pieces of broken bottle have sometimes taken the place of quartz crystals. Among the Yuin the hair of deceased relatives, for instance of father or brother, is used for making bags in which to carry quartz crystals, called by them *Krugullung*.

When travelling in the country back of the Darling River, before it was settled, I came across a blackfellow doctor, who accompanied me for the day, and he greatly alarmed my two black boys by seemingly causing a quartz crystal to pass from his hand into his body.

The *Kunki* or medicine-man of the Dieri tribe is supposed to have direct communication with supernatural beings called *Kutchi*, and also with the *Mura-muras*. He interprets dreams, and reveals to the relatives of the dead the person by whom the deceased has been killed. *Kutchi* was the cause of sickness and other evils, but could be driven out by suitable means applied by the *Kunki*. On one occasion Mr. Gason had caught cold, and Jalina-piramurana, hearing of it, sent to him to ask permission to "drive *Kutchi* out of the Police camp" before he came to examine Mr. Gason professionally as a medicine-man. If a Dieri has had a dream, and fancies he has seen a departed friend during the night, he reports the circumstance to a *Kunki*, and most likely embellishes the details. The *Kunki* probably declares that it is a vision and not a dream, and announces his opinion in camp in an excited speech. For the Dieri distinguish between what they consider a vision and a mere dream. The latter is called *Apitcha*, and is thought to be a mere fancy of the head. The visions are attributed to *Kutchi*, the powerful and malignant being, who gives to the *Kunki* his power of producing disease and death, or of healing that which has been brought about by some other *Kunki*. If the *Kunki* declares that he has had a real vision of his departed friend, he may order food to be placed for the dead, or a fire to be made so that he can come and warm himself. But it depends largely on the manner in which the interpretation is

received by the elders whether the *Kunki* follows it up. The *Kunki* say that, like a *Kutchi*, they can fly up to the sky by means of a hair cord, and see a beautiful country full of trees and birds. It is said that they drink the water of the sky-land, from which they obtain the power to take the life of those they doom.[1]

One of the most common spells used by the Dieri is "pointing with the bone" (human fibula), and this practice is called *Mukuelli-Dukana*, from *Muku*, "a bone," and *Dukana*, "to strike." Therefore, as soon as a person becomes ill, there is a consultation of his friends to find out who has "given him the bone." If he does not get better, his wife, if he has one, if not, then the wife of his nearest relative, accompanied by her *Pirrauru*, is sent to the person suspected. To him she gives a small present, saying that her husband, or so-and-so, has fallen ill, and is not expected to get better. The medicine-man knows by this that he is suspected; and, fearing revenge, probably says that she can return, as he will withdraw all power from the bone, by steeping it in water. If the man dies, and especially if he happens to be a man of importance, the suspected man is certain to be killed by the *Pinya*. When the tribe wished to kill some one at a distance, the principal men have joined in pointing their respective bones, wrapped in emu feathers and fat, in the direction of the intended victim, and at the same time naming him and the death they desired him to die. All those present at such a ceremony, which lasts about an hour, are bound to secrecy. Should they hear after a time that the intended victim continues to remain alive and well, they explain it by saying that some one in his tribe stopped the power of the bone.[2]

It is almost always the case for two persons to act together in "giving the bone." One of them points with it, and also ties the end of the hair cord, which is fastened to it, tightly round his upper arm in order that the blood may be driven through it into the bone. The other person holds the end of another cord fastened to the bone, and goes through the same motions as he who is holding the bone.

[1] O. Siebert. [2] S. Gason.

This is done because the legend which accounts for the origin of this practice in the Mura-mura times recounts how two of the Mura-muras, acting together, revenged the murder of a Mura-mura boy by "giving the bone" to those who had killed him.[1]

In the Tongaranka tribe, and in all the tribes of the Itchumundi nation, pointing with the bone is practised. The medicine-man obtains the fibula of a dead man's leg, which is scraped, polished, and ornamented with red ochre, and a cord of the dead man's hair is attached to it. It is believed that any person towards whom the bone is pointed will surely die, and a medicine-man who is known to have such a bone is feared accordingly. Another way of pointing the bone is by laying a piece of the leg-bone of a kangaroo or an emu, sharply pointed at one end, on the ground in the direction of the intended victim when he is asleep. After a time this is removed and placed in some secret place, point downwards, in a hole dug in the ground filled up with sticks and leaves, and then burnt. As the bone is consumed, it is thought to enter into the victim, who then feels ill, and falls down and dies. As the bone is believed to cause pain, sickness, and ultimately death, so a victim can be cured by a medicine-man sucking the cause out of him, and producing it as a piece of bone. Apart from the direct removal of the bone by the medicine-man, another remedy is to rub the victim with the ashes of the bone, if they can be found.[2]

There is a peculiar form of pointing among the Wiradjuri. Some of the medicine-men use a small piece of wood shaped like a bull-roarer, placed close to the fire but pointing towards the intended victim, with the belief that when this instrument, which is called *Dutimal*, becomes quite hot, it springs up and enters the victim without his being aware of it. Others of the Wiradjuri believe that people are killed by a medicine-man getting a piece of a man's clothes and roasting it, wrapped up with some of a dead man's fat, in

[1] "Some Native Legends from Central Australia," Mary E. B. Howitt. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. No. 4, p. 403.

[2] J. W. Boultbee.

front of a fire. This is said to catch the smell of the person from his clothing. The former wearer of it is then expected to fall ill and die shortly after. This form of evil magic is called *Murrai-illa.*

The medicine-man of the Wiradjuri also uses a kind of charm called *Yangura*, consisting of the hair of a dead man mixed with his fat and that of the lace-lizard, rolled into a ball and fastened to a stick about six inches long. This is carefully concealed by the medicine-man until he wishes to make a person ill, or cause his death. Then it is unwrapped and laid before a fire, pointing in the direction of the intended victim. It is believed that the spirit of the dead man whose fat has been used will help the charm to act.

In the Wotjobaluk tribe when a man was believed to have "pointed the bone" at another, the friends of the latter would request the former to place the bone in water so as to undo the mischief which he might have caused. If a man died from "pointing the bone," his friends would take measures to kill the offender by the same means, or by direct violence.

The Kurnai fastened some personal object belonging to the intended victim to a spear-thrower, together with some eagle-hawk's feathers and some kangaroo or human fat. The spear-thrower was then stuck slanting in the ground before a fire, and over it the medicine-man sang his charm. This was generally called "singing the man's name" until the stick fell, when the magic was considered to be complete. Those who used this form of evil magic were called *Bunjil-murriwun*, the latter word being the name of the spear-thrower. It was, as the Kurnai say, made strong, that is, magically powerful, by being rubbed with kangaroo fat. Although most commonly used for roasting things, it could be also used, as the Kurnai think, in a very fatal manner, by sticking it in the ground where the victim had attended to a call of nature, and in such a case the medicine-man sang the name of the victim, mentioning also the death which he was to die.

An instance of the manner in which the spear-thrower is used, or rather in which Tankowillin wished to use it, came

under my notice in the year 1888. He came to me and asked for the loan of a spear-thrower which I had, and which he thought to be of special magical power, because it had been used at the *Jeraeil* ceremonies. He informed me that he wanted it to catch one of the tribe who had married a relation of his, a widow, without the consent of her kindred, and also far too soon after the death of her husband, indeed so soon that "it had made all the poor fellow's friends sad, thinking of him." When I refused him the use of the *Murriwun*, he said it did not matter, for he and his friends had made a very strong stick to point at him with, singing his name over it, and spitting strong poison over it.

He used the word "poison" for "magic," but I think that in some tribes actual poison was used. For instance, in the Yuin tribe the *Gommeras* are credited with killing people by putting things in their food and drink. I was informed that one of these substances is a yellow powder. My informant said that he once obtained some of it from one of the old *Gommeras*, and having rubbed it on some meat, he gave it to a kangaroo dog, who fell down and died very shortly.

A similar statement comes to me from the Kamilaroi on the Gwydir River.[1] About Moree it is said that the medicine-men have two kinds of poison, which they use to kill people with. The poisons are called *Wuru-kahrel* and *Dinna-kurra*, from *Dinna*, "a foot," and *Kurra*, "to catch." It is said that they get these poisons by putting the dung of the native cat in a hole in an ant-hill, covered up with gum-leaves. After a while a white mossy powder comes on it, which they say is the poison. It is said to be very slow in its action, taking three weeks to operate. I give this for what it is worth.

I may note also that the Rev. George Taplin mentions in his account of the Narrinyeri tribe the *Neilyeri*, or poison revenge, which is by using a spear-head or a piece of bone which has been stuck in the fleshy part of a putrid corpse, and kept there for some weeks. This weapon is used by

[1] Cyrus E. Doyle.

pricking an enemy when asleep, and thus inoculating him with the virus of death.[1]

Such are the beliefs as to poisons from widely separated places. I have no means of testing their truth, but my informants fully believed in their effects, and there is no special improbability in their use by the medicine-men.

Returning again to the practice of roasting things for the purpose of harming the owners of them, I mention another form of it by the Wotjobaluk. In this they used a small spindle-shaped piece of wood called *Guliwil*, in the same manner as other tribes used the spear-thrower or yam-stick. The name *Guliwil* was not used for these pieces of wood, usually of the Bull-oak (*Casuarina glauca*) alone, but also for the whole implement, which consisted of three or four of the pieces of wood, and was tied up with some article belonging to the intended victim and human fat. Each *Guliwil* has on it some marks, such as a rude effigy of the victim, and of some of the poisonous snakes. The bundle was roasted for a long time, or for several times at intervals.

I am told that after the whites settled on the Wimmera River the Wotjobaluk employed on the stations found the great chimneys of the huts, especially of those which were used as kitchens, unrivalled places in which to hang their *Guliwils* so as to expose them to a prolonged heat.[2]

The following is an account, by one of the Wotjobaluk old men, of the effects produced by such a *Guliwil*, or the belief in it, which amounts to the same thing. "Sometimes a man dreams that some one has got some of his hair, or a piece of his food, or of his 'possum rug, or indeed anything that he has used. If he dreams this several times, he feels sure that it is so, and he calls his friends together and tells them he is dreaming too much about 'that man,' who must have something belonging to him. He says, 'I feel in the middle of the fire; go and ask him if he has anything of

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 23.

[2] *Guliwil* is apparently from *guli*, "anger, rage," not from *guli* or *kuli*, which is "man." For example, *guliyan*, "I am enraged"; *guliyarra*, "thou art enraged"; *guliya*, "he is enraged"; *guliyangal*, "we two are enraged"; *guliyangno*, "we all are enraged," and *guliyatgalik*, "you three are enraged."

mine in the fire.' His friends do his bidding, probably

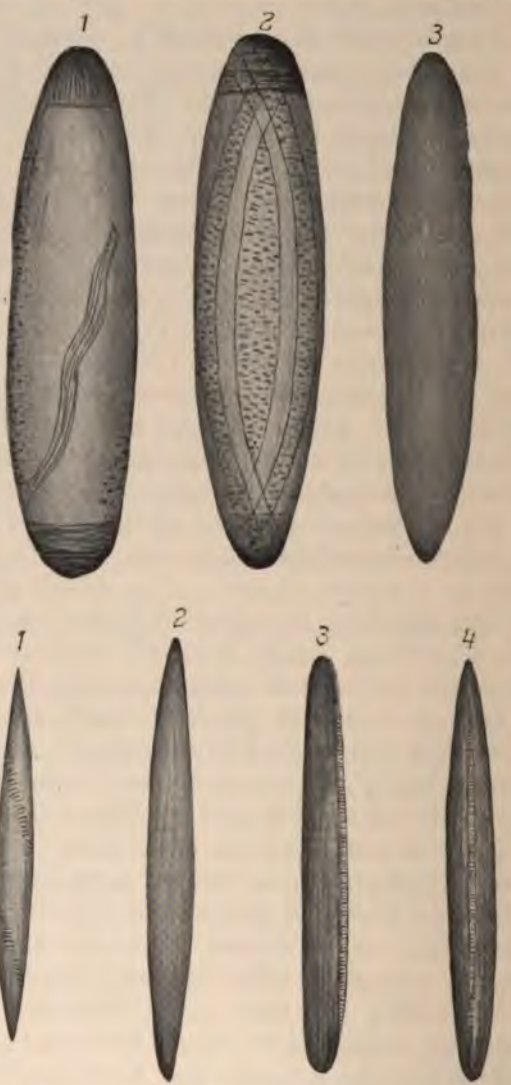


FIG. 21.—NOS. 1 AND 2 IN THE UPPER ROW ARE OPPOSITE SIDES OF A GULIWIL OF THE WOTJOBALUK TRIBE. NO. 3 IN THE UPPER LINE AND ALL THOSE IN THE LOWER LINE ARE GULIWILS.

adding, 'You need not deny it, he has dreamed of it three

times, and dreams are generally true.' Sometimes the suspected *Bangal* (medicine-man), seeing no other way out of it, admits that he has something that he is burning, but makes the excuse that it was given to him to burn, and that he did not know to whom it belonged. In such a case he would give the thing to the friends of the sick man, telling them to put it in water to put the fire out; and when this had been done, the man would probably feel better."

In the Jupagalk tribe the method was to tie the thing, or fragment which had belonged to, or been touched by, the intended victim, to the end of a digging-stick, by a piece of cord. This was stuck in the ground in front of a fire; and as it swung there, the *Bangal* sang over it till it fell, which was a sign that the spell was complete.

Among the Kulin tribes the practice was to use a spear-thrower for this purpose instead of a digging-stick, and it was called *Kalbura-murriwun*, or broken spear-thrower.

The Wurunjerri believed firmly that the *Wirrarap* (medicine-man) could kill persons, far or near, by means of *Mung*, or evil magic, through the agency of many substances, among which the *Thundal*, or quartz crystals, stood first. This he could project, either invisibly, or else as a small whirlwind a foot or so high. The effect on a man caught in such a way was, according to Berak, that he felt a chill, then pains and shortness of breath. A medicine-man, being consulted, would look at him and say, "Hallo! there is a lot of *Mung* in you." Then alone, or with other medicine-men, he sat near and watched the man, until one of them saw the magical substance trying to escape, it might be in the middle of the night. Then he would run after it, catch it, and breaking a piece off it to prevent it escaping again, put it into his magic-bag for future use. Any article once belonging to, or having been used by, the intended victim, would serve to work an evil spell. A piece of his hair, some of his fæces, a bone picked up by him and dropped, a shred of his opossum rug, would suffice, and among the Wotjobaluk, if he were seen to spit, this would be carefully picked up with a piece of wood, and used for his destruction.

The old beliefs are also adapted to their new surround-

ings since the settlement of Australia by the whites. The Wurunjerri dreaded a practice attributed to the native tribes about Echuca whom they called *Meymet*. This was the pounded flesh of a dead man with cut-up tobacco. This, given to the unsuspecting victim, caused him, when he smoked it, to fall under a deadly spell, which no *Wirrarap* could cure. The result was the internal swelling of the smoker till he died. Another instance of evil magic peculiar to the Wudthaurung tribe, the western neighbours of the Wurunjerri, was to put the rough cones of the She-oak (*Casuarina quadrivalvis*) into a man's fire, so that the smoke might blow into his eyes and blind him. The idea seems to have been that the eidolon of the rough seed cones would magically produce injury, as the object itself might do. This belief points to an attempted explanation of ophthalmia.

Besides these applications of evil magic, there was another form of this practice, namely, by placing sharp fragments of quartz, glass, bone, or charcoal in a person's footprints, or in the impression of his body where he has lain down. Rheumatic affections are often attributed to this cause. Once, seeing a Tatungalung man very lame, I asked him what was the matter. He replied, "Some fellow put bottle into my foot." I found out that he had acute rheumatism, and he believed that some enemy had found his footprint and buried in it a fragment of a broken bottle, the magic of which had entered into his foot.

One of the practices of the Wiimbaio *Mekigar* (medicine-man) was to step among the crowd at a corrobboree, and pick up something off the ground, saying that it was a piece of *nukalo* (quartz) which some *Mekigar* at a distance had thrown at them.[1]

When following down Cooper's Creek in search of Burke's party, we were followed by a number of wild blacks, who appeared much interested in examining and measuring the footprints of the horses and camels. My blackboy, from the Darling River, rode up to me with the utmost alarm exhibited in his face and said, "Look at those wild black-fellows!" I said, "Well, they are all right." Then he

[1] J. Bulmer.

replied, "I am sure they are putting poison in my footsteps." This is another instance of the use of our word "poison" for "magic."

USE OF HUMAN FAT IN MAGIC

The practice of using human fat as a powerful magical ingredient is widely spread over Australia, and consequently the belief is universal that the medicine-men have the power of abstracting it magically from individuals, or also of actually taking it by violence accompanied by magic. This is usually spoken of by the whites as taking "the kidney fat," but it appears to be the caul-fat from the omentum.

It is said by the Wiimbaio that the medicine-men of hostile tribes sneak into the camp in the night, and with a net of a peculiar construction garrotte one of the tribe, drag him a hundred yards or so from the camp, cut up his abdomen obliquely, take out the kidney and caul-fat, and then stuff a handful of grass and sand into the wound. The strangling-net is then undone, and if the victim is not quite dead, he generally dies in twenty-four hours, although it is said that some have survived the operation for three days. The fat is greatly prized, and is divided among the adults, who anoint their bodies with it and carry some of it about, as they believe the prowess and virtues of the victim will pass to those who use the fat.[1]

But they also say that the *Mekigar* of such tribes can knock a man down in the night with a club called *Yuri-battra-piri*, that is, ear-having-club, a club having two corners, *i.e.* ears. The man being thus knocked down, his assailant would remove his fat without leaving a sign of the operation. They had a great horror of those men of other tribes who, they believe, prowled about seeking to kill people. They called them *Thinau-malkin*, that is, "one who spreads a net for the feet," and *Kurinya-matola*, "one who seizes by the throat." These were their real enemies, and when they caught them they blotted them out by eating part of their bodies. Once when the Wiimbaio feared that their enemies

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay.

from the south, the Wotjobaluk, might come and attack them, they requested a white man who was with them to sleep in the opening of a horseshoe-shaped screen of boughs, which they built round their camp. They said that their enemies would not step over a white man, but would otherwise come in among them and put cords on their throats, and thus having choked them, would carry them off and take their fat.

One old *Mekigar* of this tribe was seen sitting in the camp with a piece of reed in his hand, which he stuck from time to time in the ground, bringing up on it something like meat. It was said that he was catching some one at a distance, and bringing up some of his fat.[1]

The Wotjobaluk practised this fat-taking apparently to a great extent Here is the account of the fat-taking powers of their medicine-men (*Bangal*) as given to me by one of the old men of the tribe. As usual, the favourite plan is to sneak on the victim when asleep. As soon as the *Bangal* is near enough to see the man by the light of the fire, he swings the *Yulo* (bone) round his head, and launches it at him. It is supposed to dart into him invisibly, and compel him to come out of his camp to the medicine-man, who throws him over his shoulder and carries him to a convenient spot. Or, if he was acquainted with the man, he would manage to arrive at his camp late, so as to be asked to remain for the night. Pretending to sleep, he watches until his host is in a sound slumber, when he passes his *Yulo* under his knees, round his neck, and through the loop of the cord attached to it, and so carries him a little way from the camp.

This old man also gave me an account of the manner in which the fat is always taken, whether the victim was noosed by the *Yulo* or knocked down by a blow on the back of the neck with the *Breppen*, that is a club with a knob at the end. The victim is laid on his back and the medicine-man sits astride of his chest, cuts him open on the right side below the ribs, and abstracts the fat. Then bringing the edges together, and singing his spell, he bites them together to make them join without a visible scar. Then he retires to a

[1] John Bulmer.

distance, leaving the man lying on his back. The medicine-man then sings a song with the following effect. At the first singing the victim lifts one leg, at the second the other, at the third he turns over, at the fourth a little whirlwind comes, and blowing under his back, lifts him up. At the same time a star falls from the sky, called *Yerigauil*, with the man's heart. He thereupon rises and staggers about, wondering how he came to be sleeping there. This process is called *Deking-ngalluk*, or "open side."

Whenever the Wotjobaluk see a falling star, they believe that it is falling with the heart of a man who has been caught by a *Bangal* and deprived of his fat.

The *Yulo* was used by all the tribes of the Wotjo nation. By the Mukjarawaint it was made in the following manner. When the corpse of a man had remained on the funeral stage so long that it had become dry, his father, own or tribal, made "magic" of the fibula. He pointed it at one end, and tied some of the dead man's flesh to it with kangaroo sinews, and anointed the whole with some of the dead man's fat mixed with raddle. Being then hung over a fire to make it "strong," it was tied up tight in a bag made of opossum-fur string, until required for use. When used it was swung round by a length of about five feet of kangaroo sinew, and then thrown in the direction of the intended victim, who was supposed in consequence to swell up and die. This instrument was, as a whole, called *Yulo* or *Jinert* (sinew), and the victim was believed generally to learn in a dream who had "caught him," and he then informed his friends. In the extreme verge of the country occupied by the Wotjo tribes, on the borderland between them and the Jajaurung tribe, there was the same practice and the same belief as to the falling star.

The song which the *Bangal* would use to make his victim regain his senses, and go away, is such a one as the following, which belongs to the Jajaurung of the St. Arnaud district. But in this case it is the man's ghost which is to get up and go away.

Moronga	*morove*	*leanijulin*	*willain-gurk*	*kroia-bangalo.*
Rainbow	spirit (ghost)	like a knife cutting	swallow	curlew.

If the victim were a stranger, the *Bangal* would not take the trouble to bring him back to life, but would leave him where he lay. But if he were some one whom he knew, he would do as described, and moreover he would be careful when laying him out, preparatory to operating on him, to place him in that direction in which the dead of his totem are buried.

The following account was given to me by one of the oldest of the Wotjobaluk people, who was one of the principal actors in it.

Before the white men came to the Wimmera River, a man died at a place beyond Lake Hindmarsh, from having his fat taken by a *Bangal*. My informant went out with a party of his friends into the bush surrounding the place where the dead man's camp was, and watched in the dark. He said that, after a time, they saw the figure of a man sneaking among the trees, and as he came nearer, they recognised him as the maternal uncle of the deceased. That is, they believed it to be the *Gulkan-gulkan*, the wraith, or spirit, of the suspected *Bangal*, sneaking to the camp where his victim lay. The brother of the murdered man struck at the *Gulkan-gulkan*, when it disappeared. It had just the appearance of a man, and carried its spear in rest in the throwing-stick, just as when he speared the victim, who was his sister's son, for his fat.

The belief that the *Bangal* always watches at the place where he has killed a victim is common to all the Wotjo tribes, and extends to their neighbours, the Jajaurung.

In the case mentioned, the relatives of the deceased, knowing who the murderer was, buried the body and made up a party to kill him. He was found near to where Nhill is now situated, and a false *Wirriki*, or messenger, a tribal brother of the deceased, was sent on ahead to the camp. The avengers followed, led by the brothers of the victim. It was arranged that the *Wirriki* should have three days' start in which to find the offender, and if possible to get him to go out hunting with him to a certain place. He, however, could not do this, and he met his party, and they agreed that they would surprise the camp at night. This

was done, and at a signal from the *Wirriki* the man was speared.

The Mukjarawaint had a similar belief as to the fat-taking by medicine-men. The account given to me was almost identical with that of the Wotjobaluk, the only difference being that, unless the *Bangal* takes precautions, the victim will follow him when he regains his senses. He therefore hides till he sees him rise and stagger towards him, when he turns him away homewards, by throwing some earth at him. The time to elapse before the victim dies is fixed by the *Bangal* walking along the nearest fallen tree-trunk. Its length in strides fixes the number of days he has to live. The victim goes home, feels ill, does not know what ails him, but just before he dies dreams of the man or men who have taken his fat, and so is able to tell his friends, who forthwith make up an avenging party.

This belief in a sort of clairvoyance just before death seems to be very general among the aborigines. I have found it with the Wiradjuri, where a man, just before his death, said to his friends, who were standing round him, "Go on one side so that I may be able to see who it is who has caught me."

It also occurred in Gippsland, where a few years ago one of the Kurnai died from the effects of drinking and exposure. When so near death that he was lying speechless in his camp, his great friend, the before-mentioned Tankowillin, besought him earnestly to tell him who it was who had caused his death, and was inconsolable because the sick man died without being able to do so.

In speaking of the powers of the *Gommeras* with a number of the old men after the ceremonies in the Yuin tribe, they all agreed that they could throw *Joïas* at people, invisibly—"like the wind," as they said. A victim could not therefore know when he was hurt, but a man who was so killed might be able to tell his friends, before he died, who it was who had hurt him. But often some one was able to say in such a case, "I saw so-and-so going behind him throwing *Joïas*. The *Gommera* could tell the Yuin who had "caught" a deceased man. So, if they knew

that he had been at some place shortly before he died—if, for instance, a Moruya man had been to Bodalla—then his father, or brothers, and a *Gommera* would sneak down to that place and look out for blacks. It would not matter whom they caught, any man from that place would do. I remember hearing from one of the Yuin that in a case of this kind some blacks from Tumut or Goulburn came and killed about twenty-five Braidwood people—men, women, and children. They put some *Gubburra* (evil magic) in their grog, and as they were having a drunken spree, all sucking out of one bottle, they all died.

A very intelligent Jupagalk man gave me the following account of what he saw, as a boy of about ten years of age, of the fat-taking practice by the medicine-men of his tribe. He spoke as follows:—

"When I was a boy, I went out one day with some of the men to hunt. We were all walking in a line, when one of them hit the man in front of him on the back of the neck and knocked him down. Two or three of the men held me tight so that I could not run away, for I was very frightened. Then the man cut open the one he had knocked down, by a little hole in his side below his ribs, and took out his fat. After that he bit the two edges of the cut together, and sang to make them join, but he could not succeed. He then said he could not do this because some one had already taken this man's fat before, as he could see by the marks on the liver, and that whenever a man had been opened and closed up, no one could do it again. As they could not wake the man up, they buried him. They smoked the fat over a fire and took it away wrapped up tightly in a cloth. They wanted it to carry with them to make them lucky in hunting."

The Kurnai called this practice *Bret-bung*, or "with the hand." The men who practised it were called *Burra-burrak*, or "flying," and also *Bret-bung mungar worugi*, or "with the hand from a long distance." They were believed to throw their victims into a magic trance by pointing at him with the *Yertung*, which is a bone instrument, made of the fibula

of a kangaroo, corresponding to the *Yulo* of the natives of north-western Victoria. In the Kurnai tribe men have died believing themselves to have been deprived of their fat, although there were no signs of violence on their bodies. At the same time there is no doubt that the taking of fat was actually practised. An informant on whom I can rely tells me that when a boy, not long after Gippsland was settled, he saw an old man roasting fat which they had taken from a blackfellow, whom they had knocked down with a club. This they ate, and told the boy that they would now have the strength of the other man. The alleged victim of this action did not die, but was killed some time after by his own people for some tribal misdemeanour.

The effect of dreams in which the sleeper believed that he had fallen into the hands of such a medicine-man may be seen from a remark made by my Wurunjerri informant, that "Sometimes men only know about having their fat taken by remembering something of it as in a dream."

The Omeo blacks used to take out the kidney fat of their slain enemies and rub themselves with it when they went out to fight. They used to grease their clubs and put them out in the sun to dry. In reference to this practice my informant said, "Once I was going to take hold of a waddy (club), which was being treated in this way, when the owner ran to me and said that, if I touched it, I should get a very sore hand."[1]

I feel no doubt that the property of evil magic attributed to this weapon was derived from its being anointed with human fat.

The Yuin called the fat-takers *Bukin*, and the belief extends with the same name in dialectic forms across the Manero tableland to Omeo and down the Murray and Murrumbidgee waters. The Wolgal medicine-man Yibai-malian had the character among the Kurnai of being a *Bukin*, or, as they call it, a *Burra-burrak*.

The Wiradjuri greatly dreaded the *Bugin*, as they call them, and their practices, and attributed to them all kinds of supernatural powers. They are generally believed to be

[1] J. Buntine.

the medicine-men of neighbouring tribes lower down the Murray and the Murrumbidgee Rivers. These are called *Dulu-durrai*, from *Dulu*, the great jag-spear, and are said to carry the pointed bone, and the long end of plaited sinew, called by the Wiradjuri *Gungur*, the analogue of the Wotjobaluk *Yulo*.

Watching till the victim sleeps, the *Bugin* is supposed to creep to him, pass the bone under his knees, round his neck, and through the loop end of the cord of sinew. Thus having secured his victim, the *Bugin* carries him away to extract his fat. This is said to be done in the manner already described.

The *Bugin* is thought to be able to walk invisibly, and to turn himself into an animal at will. My Wiradjuri informant, Murri-kangaroo, in speaking of this practice of the *Bugin*, of which he expressed great dread, said as follows:—"If I saw an old man kangaroo come hopping up, and sit and stare at me, I should keep my eyes fixed on him and try to get out of his way, lest he might be a *Bugin*, who, getting behind me, would have me at a disadvantage."

The *Bugin* when hard pressed is believed to be able to turn himself into a stump, or other inanimate object, or to go down into the ground out of sight, to escape his pursuers. Yibai-malian, the before-mentioned medicine-man, professed to have saved himself from the pursuit of his enemies by having entered into a horse and thus galloped off, a feat which was thought much of by the Murring to whom he told it.

Once when a feud was in progress between the Omeo people and those living at Bruthen in Gippsland, the former accounted for their enemy coming upon them unawares by saying that the medicine-men of the Gippsland blacks could turn themselves into crows, and fly about to watch the motions of the Omeo men.[1]

A very dangerous practice attributed to the *Bugin* is to get inside a tree, and when a blackfellow is climbing it to cause a limb of which he has laid hold to break off suddenly, so that he falls to the ground and becomes an easy victim.

[1] J. Buntine.

When a Wiradjuri man feels his flesh twitch, he knows that a *Bugin* is near, and thus is of the same opinion as the second witch in *Macbeth*, who says, "By the pricking of my thumbs, something wicked this way comes."

The fat-taking practice of the Wurunjerri *Wirrarap* or medicine-men has been fully described to me. It was called *Burring*, and was carried out by means of an instrument made of the sinews of a kangaroo's tail and the fibula of its leg (*Ngyelling*), which had the same name. The sinew cord had a loop worked at one end, and the pointed bone was attached to the other. Armed with this, the medicine-man would sneak up to the camp during a man's first sleep. I am told that the most favourable time would be when the sleeper snored. The assailant would then place his fingers on the forehead of the sleeper. If it felt cool, he would not wake up, but if warm, the assailant waited. If the time was propitious, the cord was passed lightly round the sleeper's neck, and the bone being threaded through the loop, was pulled tight. Another *Burring* was then passed round his feet and the victim carried off into the bush, where he was cut open and the fat extracted. The opening was magically closed up, and the victim left to come to himself with the belief that he had had a bad dream. If the fat thus extracted was heated over a fire, the man died in a day or two, but otherwise he would linger for some time.

At other times the human fat was obtained by violence without recourse to the *Burring*. While out hunting with some pretended friends, one of them would engage the attention of the victim in conversation; suddenly another would say, "Look at those birds!" or something of the sort, to take his attention, while a third man would fell him with a blow by a club (*Kugering*). Then, according to my informant, he would be rolled about on the ground to make his *Murup* (spirit) come out of him. The fat was then extracted in the usual way. If not actually killed by the blow, the man might come to himself and be able to return to his camp. I was told of such a case, where an old man of the Wurunjerri tribe had been thus caught by some of the Jajaurung, but got back to his camp before he died. In all

cases where such acts were said to have been done by a medicine-man, and the wound closed magically and invisibly, and the man died in the belief that his fat had been taken, we may feel assured that the origin of the belief was a dream, as in this particular case.

Among the Kamilaroi the taking of the fat was called *Krammergorai*, or stealing fat.[1]

The Yuin believed that their *Gommeras* could make a man go to sleep, and then take his fat, closing up the wound so as not to leave a mark, and then sending him home. He wakes up there, feels very ill, and dies. This they call *Buggiin*. When a spear was rubbed over with such fat, it became, as the Yuin say, "poisoned," that is, infected with evil magic.

The blacks living about Dungog believed that when a person became ill and wasted away, the medicine-man (*Kroji*) of some hostile tribe had stolen his fat.[2]

THE BUNJIL-BARN OF THE KURNAI

Death is attributed by the Kurnai not only to the action of evil magic, but also to the combination of evil magic and violence. Such is the magical proceeding called *Barn*, a practice much affected by the Kurnai, who called those who carried it out *Bunjil-barn*.

Here is an instance which took place in 1874. Some Brabralung Kurnai, among whom were Tankowillin and Turlburn, had a grudge against Bundawal, and they determined to catch him with *Barn*. They chose a young He-oak tree,[3] lopped the branches and pointed the stem, then drawing the outline (*Yamboginni*) of a man as if the tree-stump grew out of his chest, they also cleared the ground for a space round the tree, making a sort of magical circle. Then they stripped themselves naked, rubbed themselves over with charcoal and grease, a common garb of magic, and danced and chanted the *Barn* song. They told me afterwards that they did this for several days, but that,

[1] C. Naseby. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay. [3] *Casuarina suberosa.*

as Tankowillin expressed it, they "were not strong enough." Under the influence of their magic spells, Bundawal was expected to rise from his camp and walk to them in a trance, "like it sleep." When the victim entered the magic circle the *Bunjil-barn* would throw small pieces of He-oak wood, shaped like the *Guliwils* before mentioned, at him. When he fell to the ground they would cut out his tongue, or rather, as the *Bunjil-barn* explained to me, would have pulled out a great length of it, cutting it free at each side as it was protruded, and so sent him home to die. The Brabra clan of the tribe called this practice *Jellun-daiun*, or tongue-choke. The great Headman Bruthen-munji is said to have been the last known victim of this form of evil magic. His tribal son Tulaba has repeated to me his counter charm against *Barn*, which runs as follows: "*Numba jellung barnda*," literally, "Never sharp barn," or anglicised, "Never shall sharp barn catch me." This was repeated in a monotonous chant.

The secrecy with which personal names are often kept arises in great measure from the belief that an enemy, who knows your name, has in it something which he can use magically to your detriment.

I have been told of a certain way of catching a person with *Barn*, namely, to find the place where he has sat down on the ground and left an impression on it. But the incantation must be commenced immediately after his departure.

One of the spells sung by the *Bunjil-barn* is as follows:—

Munang	*ngiai*	(then the person's name),	
Coming	he is		
biar	*lounganda*		*barnda.*
along	swinging him		barn is.

A practice analogous to that of *Barn* obtained in the Yuin tribe, where medicine-men, when it was deemed advisable to kill some one, or attack people in secret, went into the bush and made a *Talmaru* or magic fire. Round this they danced, rubbed with charcoal, and shouting the name of the person, and showing *Joïa*, that is, exhibiting magical objects after their manner at the initiation cere-

monies. Having done this sufficiently, they piled a high mound of earth over the fire and drove a stake into the centre of it. This performance was to make the person or persons stupid and easily surprised.

A practice of evil magic much practised by the Kurnai is that of *Bulk*. This is a rounded and generally black pebble, which the medicine-man carried about and occasionally showed to people as a threat. One method of using it was to find the fresh excreta of the intended victim and to place the *Bulk* in it, the expected result being that he would receive the evil magic in his intestines and die. To touch it is thought to be highly injurious to any one but the owner. I have seen women and girls beside themselves with terror at an attempt to put one of these *Bulk* in their hands.

How a man might become possessed of a *Bulk* is seen from the account given to me by Tulaba as to how he obtained one. It was when he was gathering wild cattle for a settler on the Upper Mitchell River, and he dreamed one night that two *Mrarts* (ghosts) were standing by his camp fire. They were about to speak to him, or he to them (I now forget which), when he woke. They had vanished, but on looking at the place where they had stood he perceived a *Bulk*, which he kept and valued much.

A *Bulk* is believed to have the power of motion. For instance, Tankowillin and another man told me that the evening before they had seen a *Bulk* in the form of a bright spark of fire cross the roof of a house and disappear on the other side. Also that they had run round to catch it, but it had vanished.

Curative Practices of Medicine-men

I have now spoken of the manner in which the medicine-men, according to the beliefs of the aborigines, are accustomed to work ill upon them. It remains to show these men in a more favourable light, as alleviating suffering, and shielding their friends from the evil magic of others. One of the special functions of the medicine-man is to counteract the spells made by others.

Their method of procedure is that common in savage tribes, and which has been so often described that it may be dismissed in a few words, being, in perhaps the majority of cases, a cure effected by rubbing, pressing or sucking the affected part, possibly accompanied by an incantation or song, and the exhibition of some foreign body, extracted therefrom, as the cause of the evil. Or the evil magic may be sucked out as a mouthful of wind and blown away, or got rid of by pinching and squeezing to allay the pain. In some cases the "poison," as they now call it in their "pidgin English," is supposed to be extracted through a string, or a stick, by the doctor from the patient, who then spits it out in the form of blood. A few instances may be given from various tribes, which will show the similarity in the curative practice, and its range in the quarter of Australia with which I am now dealing.

Some years ago a party of Brajerak from Manero and some Biduelli came down into Gippsland to see me, and were friendly with the Kurnai. The two Headmen of the former were the before-mentioned Yibai-malian and Mragula. After they left on their return home, one of the Kurnai, in speaking of them said, that Yibai was a most powerful *Mulla-mullung*, or medicine-man, and he explained that during their visit his brother had become very ill, and Mragula had extracted from his body something like a glass marble which Yibai-malian had put into him. It was perhaps as well for Yibai that the patient recovered, otherwise he would have been held answerable for his death.

As an instance of the methods used by the Kurnai, I give the practice of Tankli the son of Bunjil-bataluk. His method of cure was to stroke the affected part with his hand till, as he said, he could "feel the thing under the skin." Then, covering the place with a piece of some fabric, he drew it together with one hand, and unfolding it he exhibited a piece of quartz, bone, bark, or charcoal, even on one occasion a glass marble as the cause of the disease. The use of the fabric was quite evident to any one but a blackfellow.

The Tongaranka medicine-man, when about to practise his art, sits down on the windward side of his patient, and his power is supposed to pass to the sick person "like smoke." The doctor then sucks the affected part, and withdraws his power out of him, and also at the same time the pain, usually in the form of a quartz crystal.[1]

One of the curative practices of the Wiimbaio was curiously associated with the offender. If, for instance, a man had nearly killed his wife in a paroxysm of rage, he was compelled to submit to bleeding. The woman was laid out at length on the ground in some convenient spot, and her husband's arms were each bound tightly above the elbow. The medicine-man opened the vein and the blood was allowed to flow over the prostrate body of the woman till the man felt faint.[2]

The Wiimbaio medicine-man was called *Mekigar*, from *Meki*, "eye," or "to see," otherwise "one who sees," that is, sees the causes of maladies in people, and who could extract them from the sufferer, usually in the form of quartz crystals.[3]

The extraction of pain by means of a cord tied to the sick person was also done by the *Mekigar*. The cord was made of his hair, and he rubbed it over his gums for a time. The blood thence resulting was believed to be from the patient, and the remedy seemed to give relief. For inflammatory affections of the lungs or bowels, the *Mekigar* laid the patient out and commenced to shampoo him, breathing and sucking over the affected part, and apparently extracting pieces of stone, bone, glass, as the cause, and as in other cases, often gave relief.

In one case in this tribe the *Mekigar* made use of a long slender reed, one end of which he placed on the spot in which the pain was, while he held the other in his mouth. After sucking some time he produced a piece of glass as the cause of the pain.

In such cases as these, if the patient was not benefited by the procedure, the *Mekigar* had the patient carried out of the camp, while his friends swept the ground after him with

[1] J. W. Boultbee. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay. [3] J. Bulmer.

boughs, to drive away the evil influence which had caused the disease. This evil influence, which may be called evil magic, was attributed to an invisible supernatural being called *Bori*.

A severe headache was sometimes treated by digging out a circular piece of sward, and the patient laying his head in the hole, the sod was replaced over his head, on which the *Mekigar* sat, or even stood for a time, to squeeze out the pain. Even under this practice the patient sometimes declared himself relieved.[1]

In the Wurunjerri tribe, when a man believed himself to be under some evil spell, or suspected that harm was impending to him, and if, as was likely, he felt ill, he had recourse to the *Wirrarap*. My Wurunjerri informant, speaking of this, said, "The *Wirrarap*, looking at him, might say, 'Yes, the fire is up so high,' pointing to his waist. 'It is well that you came to me, the next time they burn it, it might be up to your neck, and then you would be done for.'" The next time the wind blew towards the north, the *Wirrarap* would go through the air to the place where the man was burning something belonging to that poor fellow, and where that *Yaruk* (magic) was, pull up the spear-thrower, with which the spell was being worked, and bring it home. Giving the *Yaruk* to the sick man, he would say something like this, "You go and put this in a running stream to wash all the *Yaruk* out of it, and I will go up and put this *Murriwun* (spear-thrower) in some water up there." The reference to the wind blowing northwards is because, in this case, the offending medicine-man belonged to some tribe in that direction, for the Wurunjerri believed that the tribes on the Murray frontage, called by them *Meymet*, were of all others the most inclined to evil magic. The "going up" by the Kulin *Wirrarap* refers to the belief that such men could travel invisibly through space; by this means ascending through the sky to the *Tharangalk-bek* beyond it.

By the Ngarigo the medicine-man is called *Murrimalundra*, or *Budjan-belan*, but the former was specially a

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay.

doctor who extracted the evil substances which a *Murri-malundra* had placed in the sick man. These were specially white stones called *Thaga-kurha*, and black stones called *Thaga-kuribong*.[1]

The Yuin medicine-men are the *Gommeras*, but there are here, as in many other tribes, specialists who practise the art of extracting evil substances, and are called *Nuga-munga*, the nearest translation of which that I can give is "doctor-he-is." One of them sucked the place on a man where there was a pain, and spat out a mouthful of blood, by which the patient felt much relieved. He also, in other cases, alleviated pain by warming his hands at the fire and placing them on the affected part. Some of these men dissipate the evil influence by blowing the place with short puffs.

One of the Yuin explained to me what his people did if they thought that they were the victims of evil magic. He said, "If you thought that some one had put *Joïa* on you, the only way would be to go to a *Gommera* and ask him to watch for the man when out hunting, so as to be able to throw a *Joïa* at him. This would be done by the friendly medicine-man climbing up a big tree and "spitting" a *Joïa* at him as he passed under it. Such was the remedy one of my Yuin friends proposed to apply to a man whom he thought to have designs upon himself. It was thought that one of the very great *Gommeras* could get *Daramulun* to slay his enemies for him.

Collins, in speaking of the natives of Port Jackson,[2] mentions a matter which is worth quoting here. He says, "During the time that Booroong, a native girl, lived at Sydney, she paid occasional visits to the lower part of the harbour. From one of these she returned extremely ill. On being questioned as to the cause, she said that the women of Cam-mer-ray had made water in a path which they knew that she was to pass, and it had made her ill. Not recovering, though bled by a surgeon, she underwent an extraordinary and superstitious operation. She was seated on the ground with one of the lines worn by the men passed

[1] *Kurha*, "white," and *Kuribong*, "black." [2] *Op. cit.* p. 382.

round her head once, taking care to fix the knot in the centre of her forehead; the remainder of the line was taken by another girl, who sat at a small distance from her, and with the end of it fretted her lips until they bled very copiously; Booroong imagining all the time that the blood came from her own head, and passed along the line until it ran into the girl's mouth. This operation they term *Be-anny*, and it is the peculiar province of the women."

The Geawe-gal believed in the mysterious power of the *Koradji*, but it is hard to say what special means of using it they ascribed to him as exercising it in his own tribe. If one of them wasted away, his ailment was almost always imputed to the evil influence of some *Koradji* of another tribe. Their own *Koradji* would, after resort to seclusion or mystery, pronounce from what quarter the malign influence had come, and then the whole tribe was committed to feud or revenge. The *Koradji* was supposed in some undefined way to have preternatural knowledge of, or power of communication with, supernatural influence.[1]

In the tribe about Dungog the *Koradji* were supposed to be possessed of supernatural powers, and also to be capable of curing people of all ills, and of causing disasters to others. Sickness they believed to be caused by the incantations and magic of the *Koradjis* of some hostile tribe.[2]

At Port Stephens the *Koradji* treated a sick person by winding round him a cord of opossum fur, and then round the body of some female relative or friend, who held the end of it in her hands, and passed the cord to and fro between her lips, until the blood dropped into a bowl, over which she held her head. It was believed that the evil magic which caused the disease passed up the cord into the body of the operator, and thence with the blood into the bowl.[3]

The tribes which extended inland from Port Stephens believed in the curative powers of the *Koradjis*, or *Gradjis*, as they were also called, to suck out evil magic projected into others by the medicine-men of other tribes, in the form of pieces of stone or charcoal. In one case a man was under the belief that when passing a grave, the ghost of a man

[1] G. W. Rusden. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay. [3] W. Scott.

buried there had magically thrown a pebble into him, and the *Koradji*, after sucking the place, produced a small pebble as the cause of the mischief. In another case, this same *Koradji* extracted the pain from a boy's foot which had been burned, in the form of a piece of charcoal.[1]

Among the Kamilaroi, who lived to the north of the last-named tribe, the *Koradji* was the medicine-man and doctor, and practised the same methods of sucking the part in pain as before described. But I have learned that these *Koradjis* also applied herbs as remedies, and treated snake-bite by sucking and then rinsing out their mouths with water. They also used the "earth bath" as a cure for colds, which was effective, unless the patient were weak and died. In this treatment a hole was dug in moist earth, and the sick man or woman placed in it erect, and surrounded with earth to the waist. The patient was kept therein for four or five hours, and draughts of water were supplied, for this treatment causes great thirst, and the body sweats profusely. Usually the patient shouts with pain when in the earth bath.[2] About fifteen miles from Yanga station, near Balranald, is a limestone cave at Talla Lake. A number of blacks of the Wathi-wathi tribe were here put in the ground alive and buried, all but their heads, as a cure for some disease, and great numbers died.[3]

The sucking practice is also found in the Yualaroi and Bigambul tribes, the medicine-men in the former strengthening their magical practice by a plentiful application of saliva.[4]

The Turrbal medicine-man cured wounds by filling his mouth with water, then sucking the wound and spitting the blood and water over the face of the wounded man. Some sicknesses were attributed to the evil magic of the medicine-men of other tribes, even as far distant as one hundred miles, who had, as they said, "caught" the person suffering, and cut him to pieces internally with a sharp stone. To extract this, the doctor filled his mouth with water and sucked the place in pain until he could squirt out of his mouth blood and water, he finally produced a sharp stone, ostensibly

[1] J. W. Boydell.
[2] Dr. M'Kinlay.
[3] Captain Garside.
[4] R. Crowthers.

through a cord tied to the patient, and up which it was sucked, as the Turrbal believed, into his mouth, and thence produced as the cause. For consumption, a rope made of opossum fur was tied round the patient's body; a woman seated herself three or four feet from him with a pot of water between her legs and the end of the hair rope in her hands. She dipped this end in the water and rubbed her lips and gums with it until they bled. The patient believed that the blood came from his body, and is said to have been relieved by the procedure.[1]

The Chepara believe in an evil being called *Wulle*, who was believed to influence, or to aid, the medicine-men in killing people. If a man died in spite of the medicine-man, they said it was *Wulle* who killed him. The medicine-man is called *Ya-gul-kubba*, and turns the patient about, presses his body all over, pinches him, and also anoints his body with saliva, all the time muttering incantations in a low tone of voice, finally producing some object, usually a piece of stone.[2]

In the Kaiabara tribe a black with a headache would have a rope or cord tied tightly round the head, and be bled with a shell or flint, the head being beaten with a small stick to cause the blood to flow freely. A pain in the back would be cured by another man standing on the back of the patient. Certain herbs, bruised and soaked in water, are used as medicine, also the gum from the Blood-wood tree dissolved in water. An aching tooth is pulled out with a string if a back one; if an incisor, it is knocked out with a stone, a stick being used as a chisel. They dress sores with mud, or down from a duck or hawk.

The medicine-men, in addition to the usual magical practices which have been described, also administered gum dissolved in water.[3]

In the Dalebura tribe it was common to find people with a circular scar round the leg just below the knee and above the calf, showing that the person had been bitten on the leg by a venomous snake. The operation was thus described by an eye-witness: "A woman, bitten by a snake, called to her husband, who upon seeing the reptile got a

[1] Tom Petrie. [2] J. Gibson. [3] Jocelyn Brooke.

cord and tied it above the knee, twitching it tighter with a stick. He then picked up a quartz pebble, cracked it in two, and with the sharp edge cut a circle right round the leg, severing the skin. Blood oozed out, and though the woman became drowsy and ill, she eventually recovered. The blackfellow was asked if he would cut the arm in the same way if the bite were on the wrist, and his answer was: 'Baal, me stupid fellow, too much blood run away!' The blacks have a thorough knowledge of what snakes are venomous and what harmless, but in either case when hunting always smash the head to a pulp before hanging the body round the neck to carry it."[1]

The medicine-men *Bubiberi* of the Dalebura tribe professed to call down rain, and also to cure disease. They professed to be safe from harm, excepting from death. They have been seen to crunch up hot coals taken from fires of Gidyea wood, to show their immunity from fire.[2]

The curative powers of the medicine-men were in some cases of a much higher order than those which I have recorded. The following account of the practice of a celebrated *Bangal* of the Jupagalk tribe is an instance of this, and was given to me by one of the men who were present, and I record it as nearly as possible in his own words. "A blackfellow was very ill, and at dusk the *Bangal* came to see him. At dark he went off for a time. By and by we saw a light afar off, and as it seemed to be above the tree-tops to the eastward, it looked at first like a star. Then it went round to the west, and kept coming nearer and nearer. At last we saw the *Bangal* walking along the ground carrying a piece of burning rag in his hand. His legs were covered with something like feathers, which could be seen by the firelight, and the people said that they were *Bangal's* feathers. He sat down by the poor fellow, saying that he had been over to the Avoca River, where he found a man who had the rag tied on a yam-stick roasting it before a fire. He then rubbed the place where the man was sick, and sucked out some pieces of stone and glass. The man then soon got better."

[1] R. Christison. [2] *Ibid.*

I also heard of one of these higher branches of the medicine-men's art in the Wurunjerri tribe. Soon after the white men came to Melbourne, a blackfellow living near where Heidelberg now is, was nearly dead. His friends sent for Doro-bauk,[1] who lived to the west of Mount Macedon. When he arrived, he found the man just breathing ever so slightly, and his *Murup* (spirit, ghost) had gone away from him, and nothing remained in him but a little wind. Doro-bauk went after the *Murup*, and after some time returned with it under his 'possum rug. He said that he had been just in time to catch it round the middle, before it got near to the *Karalk*.[2] The dead man was just breathing a little wind when Doro-bauk laid himself on him and put the *Murup* back into him. After a time the man came back to life.

These were the practitioners of the higher magic, and were credited with powers of which the case of Doro-bauk is a striking instance. But there were others who practised in other directions, and in a lesser degree. Such was a man of the Brataua clan of the Kurnai tribe, who dreamed several times that he had become a lace-lizard, and, as such, had assisted at a corrobboree of those reptiles. Thus it was that he acquired power over them, and he had a tame lace-lizard about four feet in length in his camp, while his wife and children lived in another close by. As he put it, his *Bataluk* (lace-lizard) and himself were like the same person, as he was a *Bataluk* also. The lizard accompanied him wherever he went, sitting on his shoulders or partly on his head, and people believed that it warned him of danger, assisted him in tracking his enemies, or young couples who had eloped, and in fact was his friend and protector. As might have been expected, people also believed that he could send his familiar lizard at night into their camps to injure them while they slept. In consequence of the comradeship with lace-lizards he acquired the name of *Bunjil-bataluk*.

A medicine-man belonging to the Dairgo clan of the

[1] *Doro*, a certain kind of grub, and *Bauk*, "high up."

[2] *Karalk* is the bright colour of sunset, and is said to be caused by spirits of the dead going in and out of *Ngamat*, which is the receptacle of the sun just beyond the edge of the earth.

Kurnai had a tame *Thurung* (brown snake) which he fed on frogs. People were very much afraid of him, because they believed he sent it out at night to hurt others.

I remember that many years back there was an old woman of the Biduelli tribe who was much feared because she had a tame native cat which she carried about with her, and which was believed to injure people during sleep at her wish.

One of the most curious practices of the lesser magic which has come under my notice was that of the *Bunjil-yenjin* of the Kurnai, which I have not met with elsewhere. I have spoken of them at length in another part of this work, and need not again refer to the particulars.

As part of the magical practices of the native tribes, the use of charms is not to be overlooked. As an instance which came under my notice I give a charm to drive away pains, which Tulaba learned from his deceased father in a dream. One evening when I was at the *Jeraeil* ceremonies I heard a most extraordinary song proceeding from his camp. I found that he was driving away pains which were troubling his old wife, and he told me that he was singing a most powerful song which his father Bruthen-munji had taught him while he slept. The words are as follows, an extraordinary emphasis being laid on the last word :—

Minyan	*bulunma*	*naranke.*
Show	belly	moon to.

The medicine-men were everywhere credited with the power of flying through the air—perhaps "being conveyed" would be a better term—either to distant places, or to visit the "sky-land," where dwelt, according to a widespread belief, their allies the ghosts and supernatural beings, such as *Daramulun*, from whom, in some tribes, their magical powers were supposed to be derived. If not conveying themselves by art of magic, they were supposed to climb up by means of a cord, which they threw up, or which was let down to them from above ; or, as the Theddora medicine-men were said to do, they blew up a thread like a spider's web out of their mouths and climbed up thereby. The Kurnai *Birraark* was conveyed by friendly *Mrarts* or ghosts on the *Marrang-*

rang; a Ta-tathi *Bangal* was carried aloft by the ghost of a woman, whose powers he invoked by chewing a piece of skin which he had cut from her stomach after death, and cured in the smoke of his camp fire.

A peculiar feature in the Kurnai magic is that the functions of the *Birraark* are separated from those of the medicine-man (*Mulla-mulung*). The former combined the functions of the seer, the spirit-medium, and the bard, for he foretold future events, he brought the ghosts to the camp of his people at night, and he composed the songs and dances which enlivened their social meetings. He was a harmless being, who devoted himself to performances which very strikingly resembled those of the civilised "mediums." A man was supposed to become a *Birraark* by being initiated by *Mrarts* or ghosts, when they met him hunting in the bush; but, that they might have power over him, he must at the time be wearing a *Gumbart*, that is, one of those bone pegs which the Australian aborigine wears thrust through the septum of his nose. By this they held him and conveyed him through the clouds. Some say that he was conveyed hanging to a *Marrangrang*, which was described as being either like a rope or else something on which the *Birraark* can sit. But whatever it was like, the *Mrarts* went first and the *Birraark* last. It is said that, when they reached the sky, the leading *Mrart* gave a signal, and some one inside opened a hole and looked out. This, it is said, was a *Gweraeil-mrart*, in fact a Headman of ghost-land, as a Kurnai man remarked to me when speaking of this matter, "like a *Gweraeil-kurnai*." As the *Birraark* climbs through the hole last, the *Mrarts* put a rug over his head, all but a place through which he can see the people there, the women beating their rugs, and the men dancing. Looking on, he learns new songs and dances (*Gunyeru*), which he afterwards teaches to the Kurnai. But he must not on any account laugh. One *Birraark* was away from his camp for a time, and on returning he told his people that when aloft with the *Mrarts* he could not help laughing, because two *Mrarts* caught hold of him by the sides and tickled him. As a penalty they kept him with them

for some time, after which his tribes-people called him *Brewin.*

A *Birraark* might not eat any part of a kangaroo that had blood on it, nor carry home a kangaroo that he had killed. Others did this for him, and gave him some part of it free from blood. Nor might he kill any man. If he did any of these things, the *Mrarts* would never again take him up aloft.

Having been thus introduced to the land of ghosts, he could return there at will, calling on the *Mrarts* to carry him on the *Marrangrang*, or as I have heard it said, to take him along the *Wau-unga-nurt*, the path or track to the sky, along which the *Yambo* (spirit) travels after death.

One of the best remembered of the *Birraarks* was a man of the Brabralung clan named Mundauin. It is related of him that he became a *Birraark* by dreaming three times that he was a kangaroo, and as such participating in a kangaroo *Gunyeru*, or dancing corrobboree. He said that after dreaming of the kangaroos, he began to hear the *Mrarts* drumming and singing up aloft, and that finally one night they came and carried him away. A man who was in the camp on the occasion of one of his manifestations said as follows :—

"In the night his wife shouted out, 'He is gone up.' Then we heard him whistling up in the air, first on one side of us and then on the other, and afterwards sounds as of people jumping down on the ground. After a time all was quiet. In the morning we found him lying on the ground, near the camp where the *Mrarts* had left him. There was a big log lying across his back, and when we woke him and took the log off, he began to sing about the *Mrarts*, and all he had seen up there."

In another account of a *séance* by Mundauin, the same account was given of his departure in the night. Then his voice was heard shouting to them, and then noises of people in the tree-tops, and then of them jumping down on to the ground. The *Mrarts* answered questions put to them, as to the movements of the Brajerak and the *Lohan* (white men), and whether the former were pursuing them. Finally,

the ghosts said, "We must now go home (*Mellagan*), or the west wind might blow us into the sea." In the morning the *Birraark* was found lying on the ground outside the camp, and round him were the footprints of the *Mrarts*.

A third account of one of these *séances* I give in the words of my informant. "I was once at Yunthur at the Lakes, and the *Dinna-birraark*[1] Brewin was there with his wife. In the night she woke up, and shouted out that he was gone up to the *Mrarts*. We all got ready, and soon some one shouted out, 'Where are you?' He replied, 'Here I am, I am coming down.' He said that he had heard the *Mrarts* having a great *Gunyeru* and making a great noise, and he had gone up to them. Then the *Mrarts* came down with him, and conversed with us as to where the other mobs of the Kurnai were, and whether any Brajerak were coming after us. When the *Mrarts* went away, we found Brewin lying, as if asleep, where we had heard them speaking to us. The *Mrarts* talked in very curious voices."

Another case was when, on a certain night, the people were in their camps, and strict silence was maintained by the direction of the *Birraark*. The fires were let go down, and then the *Birraark* uttered a loud coo-ee at intervals. At length a shrill whistle was heard, then the shrill whistlings of the *Mrarts*, first on one side and then on the other. Shortly after the sound as of persons jumping down to the ground, in succession. This was the *Mrarts*, and a voice was then heard in the gloom, asking in a strange muffled tone, "What is wanted?" Questions were asked by the *Birraark*, and replies given. At the termination of the *séance*, the voice said, "We are going." Finally, after all was over, the *Birraark* was found in the top of an almost inaccessible tree, apparently asleep, where he said the *Mrarts* had left him when they went away. At this *séance* the questions related to the movements of absent friends, and of their enemies the Brajerak.

Besides learning news about absent friends and possible enemies from the ghosts, the *Birraarks* were material benefactors to their tribesmen, as, for instance, when the *Mrarts*

[1] *Dinna-birraark* is the old *Birraark*—that being his name.

informed them of a whale stranded on the shore, for it was in such cases thought that the whales were killed by the *Mrarts* and sent ashore for the Kurnai.

At such times messengers were sent out, and the people collected to feast on the food sent them. No doubt the *Birraark* was at such times not forgotten.

The last *Birraark* was killed in the troubles which occurred in the early years of settlement in Gippsland. My information has therefore been derived from the old people, and such of the younger who were brought up in the primitive conditions of the tribe, and who saw the changes consequent upon the inroad of the white men into their country, and who still remembered the old beliefs and customs.

As the *Birraark* brought new songs and dances, he was the master of the ceremonies in the *Gunyeru*, and chose the place at which it was to be held. I remember how one of the Kurnai who was a noted dancer spoke with enthusiasm of the *Gunyerus* of the old times at which a *Birraark* officiated. He said, "When the *Birraark* comes to the place, he has a *Kunnin*[1] in each hand, which he beats together. All the men and women then say, 'Hallo! we shall have some fun. We must dance; we must make our legs light.' Each woman gets her rug to drum upon—a lot of blacks dancing."

When the whites first came into Gippsland in 1842 the following were the *Birraarks*, of whom there was one in each clan. They were all called *Dinna-birraark*, the prefix implying age, and according to the old men, my informants, they were located as follows:—

(1) *Bunjil-brindjat*[2] at Lake Tyers, that is, he was of the Wurnungati division of the Krauatungalung clan.

(2) Mundauin at Bruthen-munji, that is, of the Bruthen division of the Brabralung clan.

[1] *Kunnin* is a pointed stick about 18 inches to 2 feet in length, which is used as a missile weapon by the men. The name is also applied to the digging-stick used by the women, which is their special weapon. It is about 7 to 8 feet in length, flattened on one side and pointed at one end. It is made of *Barlan*, the Melileuca ericifolia.

[2] *Brindjat* is a fish, the Flathead.

(3) Batti-batti at Dairgo, that is, of the Dairgo division of the Brabralung clan.

(4) Takit-berak in the district round what is now called Rosedale, that is, of the Bunjil-kraura division of the Brayakaulung clan.

(5) Brewin of the Ngarawut division of the Tatungalung clan.

(6) Bunjil-narran at Boney Point, on the Lower Avon River, that is of the Bunjil-nullung division of the Brayakaulung clan.

(7) Bunjil-bamarang at the Inlet from Lake Victoria called Newlands Backwater, of the Dairgo division of the Brabralung clan.

(8) There was also at least one *Birraark* belonging to the Bratualung clan, but whose name I was unable to ascertain.

Men like the *Birraarks* were also found in the tribes of the Wotjo nation. I take the following from the Mukjarawaint tribe. The medicine-man in question was the maternal grandfather of my informant. He was of great repute in the tribe because of his power of communication with *Nung-yim* or ghosts, that is with the spirits of deceased tribesmen. He occasionally disappeared from the camp, saying on his return that he had been up to the *Nung-yim*, and he brought back with him an account of their deceased relations and friends. My informant remembered one moonlight night in particular, when his grandfather went from the camp, and disappeared from sight. After a time the sound as of some one jumping down on to the ground was heard, and the medicine-man walked into the camp, and told of his meeting with the *Nung-yim*, and what they had said to him. But this man was not merely a medium, he also practised the curative branch of the medicine-man's art, extracting from those afflicted with pain, quartz, broken glass, or a tooth, in the manner I have described. Having extracted such substances, he rubbed them with red ochre, and placed them in his bag where he kept his magical things.

In this tribe there was also a female seer, who went up aloft, being supported, as it was believed, by ghosts, from whom she gleaned information as to the dead.

Rain-makers

Rain-makers and weather-changers are important persons in most parts of Australia, but especially in those parts of the continent which are subject to frequently recurring periods of drought.

In the Dieri country the whole tribe joins under the direction of the medicine-man in "making rain." The sky is supposed to be a vast plain inhabited by wild savage tribes, between whom and the inhabitants of the earth there is no connection. But the legends tell of former inhabitants of the earth, especially the *Mura-muras*, who live up there, some in constellations, others in hideous forms, such as snakes with feet. The *Kunkis* sometimes relate their wanderings in that country in the form of crows, snakes, and other creatures, perhaps the result of nightmare. The clouds are supposed to be bodies in which rain is made by the rain-making *Mura-muras*, influenced by the ceremonies of the Dieri. The clouds are called *Thallara-paulka*, or the body or substance of rain.[1]

In time of severe drought Mr. Gason has witnessed the Dieri calling upon the rain-making *Mura-muras* to give them power to make a heavy rainfall, crying out in loud voices the impoverished state of the country, and the half-starved condition of the tribe, in consequence of the difficulty in procuring food in sufficient quantity to preserve life.

During such a drought, to which the Dieri country is much subject, the rain-making ceremonies are considered of much consequence. Mr. Gason witnessed them many times, and gave the following account of them.

When the great council has determined that such a ceremony is to be held, women, accompanied by their *Pirraurus*, are sent off to the various subdivisions of the tribe, to summon the people to attend at some appointed place. When the tribe is gathered together, they dig a hole about two feet deep, twelve long, and from eight to ten feet wide. Over this they build a hut of logs with the interstices filled in with slighter logs, the building being conical

[1] S. Gason.

in form and covered with boughs. This hut is only sufficiently large to contain the old men, the younger ones being seated at the entrance or outside. This being completed, the women are called together to look at the hut, which they approach from the rear, and then separating, some go one way and some the other round the building, until they reach the entrance, each one looking inside, but without speaking. They then return to their camp, about five hundred yards distant.

Two *Kunkis*, who are supposed to have received an inspiration from the rain-making *Mura-muras*, are selected to have their arms lanced. These are tightly bound near the shoulders to prevent a too profuse effusion of blood. This being done, all the old men huddle together in the hut, and the principal *Kunki* of the tribe bleeds each of the men inside the arm below the elbow with a sharp piece of flint. The blood is made to flow on the men sitting round, during which the two *Kunkis* throw handfuls of down into the air, some of which becomes attached to the blood on the men, while some still floats about. The blood is to symbolise the rain, and the down the clouds. Two large stones are placed in the centre of the hut, representing gathering clouds presaging rain. The women are now called to visit the hut again, and after having looked in and seen its inmates, they return to their camp.

The main part of the rain-making ceremony being now concluded, the men who were bled carry away the two stones and place them as high as possible in the branches of the largest tree about. In the meantime the other men gather gypsum, pound it fine, and throw it into a water-hole. The *Mura-mura* is supposed to see this, and thereupon to cause the clouds to appear in the sky. Should no clouds appear as soon as expected, the explanation given is that the *Mura-mura* is angry with them; and should there be no rain for weeks or months after the rain-making ceremony, they suppose that some other tribe has stopped their power.

After the ceremony, the hut is thrown down by the men, old and young butting at it with their heads. The heavier logs which withstand this are pulled down by all dragging

at the bottom end. The piercing the hut with their heads symbolises the piercing of the clouds, and the fall of the hut symbolises that of the rain.

In the rainy seasons which are too wet, the Dieri also supplicate the *Mura-muras* to restrain the rain, and Mr. Gason has seen the old men in a complete state of frenzy, believing that their ceremonies had caused the *Mura-muras* to send too much of it.

The prepuce, which is carefully kept from the *Kurawali* ceremony, is also believed to have great power of producing rain. The great council has always several of them for use when required. They are kept carefully concealed, wrapped up in feathers, with the fat of the wild dog and the carpet-snake. Mr. Gason has seen such a parcel unwrapped, while the men watched with cat-like vigilance that no woman should be near, although they knew that no woman was nearer than half-a-mile. They implored him not to reveal the contents of the parcel to a woman.

After the ceremonial opening of the parcel, and the exhibition of the prepuce, it is buried, its virtue being exhausted.

If no rain follows, the explanation is that some neighbouring tribe has influenced the *Mura-mura* not to grant it to them. During the time of partial drought the Dieri do not feel anxiety if they have a prepuce, believing that with its aid they can cause rain to come before long.[1]

The principal rain-making *Mura-muras*, according to the Lake Hope Dieri, are the two *Daras* (*Dara-ulu*), and the two *Pampos* (*Pampo-ulu*), as to whose rain-making powers there are legends, which will be found in the Appendix.

It is universally believed by the tribes of the Karamundi nation, of the Darling River, that rain can be brought down by the following ceremony. A vein in the arm of one of the men is opened and the blood allowed to drop into a piece of hollow bark until there is a little pool. Into this is put a quantity of gypsum, ground fine, and stirred until it has the consistency of a thick paste. A number of hairs are pulled out of the man's beard and mixed up with this

[1] S. Gason.

paste, which is then placed between two pieces of bark and put under the surface of the water in some river or lagoon, and kept there by means of pointed stakes driven into the ground. When the mixture is all dissolved away, the blackfellows say that a great cloud will come, bringing rain. From the time that this ceremony takes place until the rain comes, the men are tabooed from their wives, or the charm will be spoiled, and the old men say that if this prohibition were properly respected, rain would come every time that it is done. In a time of drought, when rain is badly wanted, the whole tribe meets and performs this ceremony.[1]

Among the Kurnai there were rain-makers, and also those who caused rain and storms to cease. The former were to be found in each clan, and the methods used for producing rain by the *Bunjil-willung*, or rain-men, were to fill the mouth with water and then squirt it in the direction appropriate to the particular clan, and each one sang his especial rain-song.[2] The Brayaka squirted water, and sang, towards the south-west (*Krauun*); the Brayaka and Tatungalung did this in the same direction; the Brabralung and the Krauatungalung squirted water towards the direction of the south-east, the east winds (*Belling*) being from their rainy quarter. From these several directions the rain came in Gippsland; and when, for instance, a south-westerly rain came to the Brabralung they said that it was the Brayaka who sent it, and so on with the others. These rain-makers could also bring thunder, and it was said of them, as of the other medicine-men, that they obtained their songs in dreams. I have before spoken of one of the Brayaka Headmen who was credited with the power of calling up the furious west winds, whence he derived his name of *Bunjil-kraura*. His song by which he stopped the gales which prevented his tribes-people from climbing the tall trees in the western forest, ran thus—

"*Kutbuna-wang Kraura,*"

[1] J. W. Boultbee.

[2] *Willung* is rain. The Kurnai say that the frogs when croaking in chorus in the swamps are "singing for rain," and that the big sonorous bull-frogs are the *Bunjil-willung*.

from *Kutbun* to bear or carry, *Wang* a bond, or something tied, and *Kraura*, the west wind. I did not hear the song by which he caused the western gales to arise, but I have no doubt that it was of the same character. When these gales came, he was propitiated by presents to send them away.[1]

Another instance of the practice of rain-making in Victorian tribes is that of the Wotjobaluk. There the rain-maker was not necessarily a medicine-man or a doctor; in fact, so far as I know, few of them were. The office of rain-maker and medicine-man were distinct. To produce rain he took a bunch of his own hair which he carried about with him for the purpose. Soaking it in water, he then sucked the water out and squirted it to the westward. Or he twirled it round his head, so that the water passed out like rain. In this somewhat arid district the office was much thought of, and an instance came under my notice in which the rain-maker scored a success from a white man, in a severe time of drought. He and others of his tribe were camped at Morton's plains, and on his boasting of his power to produce rain, the then owner of the station said to him: "I will give you a bag of flour, some tea, and half a bullock, if you will fill my tank before to-morrow night." The tank was a large excavation just finished. This was early in the morning, and the rain-maker set to work at once, saying, "All right, me make him plenty rain come." The next day there was a tremendous thunderstorm, the rain fell over all the run and the tank was filled. Then the rain-maker went to the owner of the run saying, "You see, plenty rain come." It was to the honour of the white man that he made him happy with the gifts which he had promised him.

In the tribe at Port Stephens the medicine-men used to drive away the rain by throwing fire-sticks into the air, and at the same time puffing and shouting.[2]

In the Turrbal tribe when a rainbow was seen at the river, the medicine-man went to the place to "cut the rainbow off where its stem held it down to the river bottom." There was only one part of the Brisbane River where this

[1] M. E. B. Howitt, MS. [2] Robt. Dawson, *op. cit.*

was done, and each medicine-man had his own part of the river where he could do this when a rainbow placed itself in a favourable position. Whenever rain squalls came it was thought that the medicine-men (*Kundri*) had sent them. And to clear away storms the *Kundri* threw up fire-sticks into the air.[1]

In the Wakelbura tribe there were men who professed to bring or send away rain. This was by magical practices, just as the same men professed to destroy their enemies by magic. In performing these functions the medicine-man must only use things of the same class as himself. As I have before stated, in that tribe everything is thought to belong to one or the other of the classes Malera and Wuthera.[2]

The Buntamurra believed that their "doctors" could cause rain to fall and cure diseases, death being caused by an evil spirit choking the person.

In the Kuinmurbura tribe there are also men who profess to make rain. There is usually one in each totem, but there were three or four in the *Bau* totem. The power is apparently hereditary, for although a young man will not profess to use the power, he will do so, and the older he gets the more powerful he becomes. In one case the power descended to a daughter, there being no son. The rain-maker is called *Kalli* (water), but has neither power nor authority as a member of the tribe.[3]

Charms to influence Food-Supply

The Dieri have certain ceremonies which are performed for the purpose of increasing the food-supply. Such is the Minkani ceremony described in the legends of the Anti-etya and the Ngardu-etya given in the Appendix.

The Wiimbaio were afraid of blood falling into lakes or rivers, lest great storms and other disasters should result, not the least of which would be the destruction of fish.[4]

There is a spot at Lake Victoria, in the Narrinyeri

[1] Tom Petrie.
[2] J. C. Muirhead.
[3] W. H. Flowers.
[4] Dr. M'Kinlay.

country, where when the water is, at long intervals, exceptionally low, it causes a tree-stump to become visible. This is in the charge of a family, and it is the duty of one of the men to anoint it with grease and red ochre. The reason for this is that they believe that if it is not done the lake would dry up and the supply of fish be lessened. This duty is hereditary from father to son.

Near Dandenong there is a rock on which the Ngarukwillam clansmen of the Wurunjerri tribe used to place leafy boughs when going out hunting kangaroos, to ensure a good catch.

A tribe at White Cliffs, Frazer's Island, on the coast of Queensland, held a ceremony for the purpose of ensuring plentiful supplies of fish and honey, in which both men and women took part, swinging bull-roarers.

Omens and Warnings

Omens and warnings are in some measure connected with magic, and may therefore follow the lesser magic. I have before mentioned the belief that kangaroos can give a warning of coming danger. A young man of the Yuin tribe who had served me as a messenger about initiation matters, had a bag of what he said were powerful charms (*Joïa*) which had been given to him by a *Gommera*, his relative, and which, by the way, on inspection I found to have among them the round part of a decanter-stopper. When I asked him in what manner they would serve him, he gave me the following explanation:—"If I were going along and I saw an old-man kangaroo hopping towards me, and looking at me, I should know that he was giving me warning that enemies were about. I should get my spear ready, and I should hold my *Joïa* bag in my hand, so that if a man were to throw something at me, I should be safe." The throwing of a *Joïa* is, in other words, the projection by some medicine-man of a magical substance, such as a quartz crystal, invisibly at the intended victim. When he said that he should get his spear ready, this was merely a figure of speech, for the Yuin have long ago abandoned the spear for

the gun. But it was curious to note how the old saying recurred in this connection.

In this case the young man had the kangaroo for his totem, having inherited it from his father, descent being in this tribe in the male line.

The Kurnai also believe in kangaroo warnings, and for one to dream that a number of old-man kangaroos are sitting round his camp, is to receive a serious warning of danger.

Instances have been made known to me which show that there is a magical influence peculiar to the persons of one class, which is injurious to those of the other. But this evil personal influence attaches not to the men alone. There is the same between men on one side and women on the other. In the Wurunjerri tribe, when it happened that *Bunjil* and *Waang* men were camped at the same fire, each one had his own stick to stir it, and to cook his food on it with. A man would not touch any other man's stick, especially if he were of the other class name, lest his fingers should swell. If this happened, he had to go to the *Wirra-rap*, who would draw out the piece of wood from his hand.

The Narrang-ga believed that if a person killed a snake and gazed too long upon it, it would magically enter his body and make him ill.[1]

If a Kamilaroi black saw a whirlwind, he rushed to a tree and held on, remembering that "blackfellows have been carried up by them and have never come back."[2] And a Gringai when on a journey, and it seemed that night would overtake him, placed a stone in the fork of a tree, and felt sure that he would finish his journey by daylight, as they have a dread of travelling in the dark.[3]

Among the Turrbal[4] the chirping of insects foretold the coming of blacks, while if a Wakelbura man dreamed of seeing a kangaroo, he would expect a person of the Banbe sub-class to arrive next day, and so on with the other totems.

Another Wakelbura superstition relates to eggs that have been laid on the ground. Although they would take and

[1] T. M. Sutton.
[2] C. Naseby.
[3] Dr. M'Kinlay.
[4] Tom Petrie.

eat other food placed on the ground some 50 yards from the camp, none of the men would touch eggs left in the same position.

During initiation a Wakelbura youth was not allowed to drink water out of a water-hole unless through a kangaroo bone. Before drinking he must make sure that no woman has been near to or drunk of the water.

One of the Wakelbura was observed to take the tongue out of a certain grey-and-white lizard called Bungah, and give to his little son, a child of about thirteen months old, and gave as a reason for doing so that after eating the tongue his child would soon be able to talk.[1]

In the Unghi tribe a man would not drink out of a place where a woman drank. Certain holes were dug at the water, small circular holes for the men and oval holes for the women. Each sex kept to its own drinking-place.[2]

In the tribes about Maryborough (Q.) a woman must not on any account step over anything belonging to a man. For instance, if a man were making a fishing-line and left it on the ground, and a woman stepped across it, he would throw it away.[3]

This reminds one of the prohibition at the initiation ceremonies—for instance, the Kurnai *Jeraeil*—as to the novices having anything to do with a woman during their probation. They are specially warned against touching a woman, or letting a woman touch them, or receiving anything from one. Even the shadow of one falling on him would be evil magic. The intention of this is evidently to keep the novices apart from the women.

The practice of magic, or the belief in the harmful magic of others, pervades the daily life of the aborigines. Either it is the baleful influence of a stranger or, as I have just shown, of a man of the other class, or of one of the other sex, or as I shall now show, of some tract of country acting injuriously on strangers.

[1] J. C. Muirhead. [2] A. L. P. Cameron.
[3] Harry E. Aldridge.

The "Bad Country"

Such a tract of country is that lying along the coast between the La Trobe River and the Yarra River, and extending to the sources of those rivers. It therefore includes two tribes, the Kurnai and the Bunurong, and the knowledge of it extended from the latter to the tribes at least as far as Kilmore. In Gippsland it was called *Wea-wuk* or the "Bad Country," the Kulin tribes called it *Marine-bek* or the "Excellent Country." It was by this name that it was known to the Wurunjerri and the Jajaurung.

That part of the tract referred to, which is in Gippsland, belonged to the Brayaka and the Brataua clans. If a stranger, that is a man of one of the other Kurnai clans, came into it as a visitor, it was necessary that he should have some one to look after him. During his first visit, before he became, so to say, acclimatised, he did nothing for himself as to food, drinking-water, or lodging. He was painted with a band of white pipe-clay across the face below the eyes, and had to learn the Nulit language before going further. If his guardian went away from the camp, he deputed some one to take his place. He slept on a thick layer of leaves so that he should not touch the ground; he was fed with flesh-meat from the point of a burnt stick, and when he drank, it was water contained in a hollow piece of bark and stirred with a burnt stick.

The knowledge of the *Marine-bek* extended as far at least as the Bangerang and Wotjo. A Jajaurung gave the following account of the ceremonies connected with a visit to it. The visitor draws water out of a small hole made in the ground by his entertainers, and which they made muddy by stirring round with a stick. He was only allowed to take three mouthfuls at a time, each of which he must let slowly trickle down his throat. If he did otherwise, his throat would close up. He was fed with small pieces of roasted flesh put into his mouth on a pointed stick and removed by his teeth, not his lips.

The Making of Medicine-Men

In the Tongaranka tribe the office of medicine-man passed from a man to his son. The eldest son was the successor to his father, but only practised the office at the death of the latter.

Among the Wiimbaio one man, being a *Mekigar*, could initiate another and make him a *Mekigar* in the following manner. They procured the body of a man, usually by digging one up. The bones were pounded up and chewed. One of my correspondents[1] saw one of these men being initiated in the office of *Mekigar*. He was plastered with human excrement, and carried about with him the humerus of a disinterred body wrapped round with twigs, and he kept gnawing it. These men are, at such times, brought to a state of frenzy, their eyes are bloodshot, and they behave like maniacs.

In the Mukjarawaint branch of the Wotjo nation the medicine-man was trained for the office. For instance, if it became known that a boy could see his mother's ghost (*Nungim*) sitting by her grave, a medicine-man would take him for the purpose of making him a *Lanyingel*, or medicine-man. Part of the process of making a boy a *Lanyingel* was to smoke him with the leaves of the native cherry (*Exocarpus cupressiformis*) and anoint him with red ochre and grease. These were public acts, but my native informants did not know what the real training was.

The Wotjobaluk believed that a man became a *Bangal* by being met by a supernatural being called by them *Ngatya*, who is said to live in hollows in the ground, in the mallee scrubs. They think that the *Ngatya* opens the man's side and inserts in it such things as quartz crystals, by which he obtains his power. From that time on he can, as they say, "pull things out of himself and others," such as quartz, wood, charcoal, etc., and also out of his arms something like feathers, which are considered to have healing properties. In the case quoted elsewhere, these feathers are spoken of in

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay.

connection with a medicine-man of the Jupagalk tribe, which belongs to the Wotjo nation.

In the Jajaurung tribe the office of doctor is alleged to be obtained by the individual visiting the world of the spirits while in a trance of two or three days' duration, and there receiving the necessary initiation.[1]

The Wurunjerri believed that their medicine-men became such by being carried by the ghosts through a hole in the sky to *Bunjil*, from whom they received their magical powers.

The Theddora, Wolgal, and Ngarigo believed that *Daramulun* was the source of the magical powers of their medicine-men.

Among the Narrang-ga the *Gurildra* or medicine-men were said to be able to communicate with departed spirits, and to receive from them the power of inflicting evil magic on others by songs. It is also said that a *Gurildra* could not remove the evil magic which he had inflicted ; but that it could only be removed by another *Gurildra*.[2]

The Yuin thought that a boy could be trained to be a *Gommera*. The *Gommera* Waddiman said of himself that he was taken as a boy by a great *Gommera*, who taught him to be one, and that he obtained his power from *Daramulun*.

Collins says of the Port Jackson tribe that the general idea was that a man became a *Car-rah-di* by sleeping at the grave of a deceased person. "During that awful sleep the spirit of the deceased would visit him, seize him by the throat, and opening him, take out his bowels, which he replaced, and the wound closed up."[3]

The Wiradjuri medicine-men professed to go up to *Baiame* for their powers. But they also trained their sons to follow in their steps. The account which follows was given to me by a Wiradjuri of the *Murri* sub-class and the Kangaroo totem, and is an excellent instance of the beliefs held as to such matters. The narrative was given voluntarily during a conversation I had with him about the *Burbung*

[1] "Some particulars of the general characteristics of the tribes in the central part of Victoria," W. E. Stanbridge, *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1861, p. 300. [2] Julius Kuhn. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 383.

ceremonies of his tribe. He had been careful not to betray anything unlawfully, until he found from my answers to his questions that I was indeed one of the initiated. He then, as I have always found to be the case under such circumstances, became communicative and gave me a full account of the Wiradjuri *Burbung*, and from previous knowledge I was able to check his statements and found that he was quite accurate. He then, when we were talking of the magical exhibitions by the medicine-men at the ceremonies, said, "I will tell you how my old father began to make a blackfellow doctor of me."

My impression of his account is that it was *bona fide*, and from my experience I should say that it would be an unheard-of thing for a man to falsify, when speaking of matters relating to such sacred subjects as the initiation ceremonies, to one of the initiated. I mention this because I have not been able to check his statements.

I give his account, so far as possible, in his own words, and leave it to my readers to form their own opinion of its value.

"My father is *Yibai-dthulin*.[1] When I was a small boy he took me into the bush to train me to be a *Wulla-mullung*. He placed two large quartz crystals[2] against my breast, and they vanished into me. I do not know how they went, but I felt them going through me like warmth. This was to make me clever and able to bring things up. He also gave me some things like quartz crystals in water. They looked like ice and the water tasted sweet. After that I used to see things that my mother could not see. When out with her I would say "What is out there like men walking?" She used to say, "Child, there is nothing." These were the *Jir* (ghosts) which I began to see.

"When I was about ten years old, I was taken to the *Burbung* and saw what the old men could bring out of themselves; and when my tooth was out the old men chased me with the *wallungs* in their mouths, shouting '*Ngai, Ngai*,' and moving their hands towards me. I went into

[1] *Dthulin* is a lizard, and I think the lace-lizard.

[2] Called *wallung*. This word may be spoken anywhere or by any one, but its equivalents, *gunabillung* and *ugulin*, may not be uttered before uninitiated persons.

the bush for a time, and while there my old father came out to me. He said, 'Come here to me'; and he then showed me a piece of quartz crystal in his hand, and when I looked at it he went down into the ground and I saw him come up all covered with red dust. It made me very frightened. He then said, 'Come to me,' and I went to him, and he said, 'Try and bring up a *Wallung*.' I did try, and brought one up. He then said, 'Come with me to this place.' I saw him standing by a hole in the ground, leading to a grave. I went inside and saw a dead man, who rubbed me all over to make me clever, and who gave me some *Wallung*. When we came out, my father pointed to a *Gunr* (tiger-snake) saying 'That is your *budjan*; it is mine also.'[1] There was a string tied to the tail of the snake, and extending to us. It was one of those strings which the doctors bring up out of themselves, rolled up together.

"He took hold of it, saying, 'Let us follow him.' The tiger-snake went through several tree trunks, and let us through. Then we came to a great Currajong tree,[2] and went through it, and after that to a tree with a great swelling round its roots. It is in such places that *Daramulun* lives. Here the *Gunr* went down into the ground, and we followed him, and came up inside the tree, which was hollow. There I saw a lot of little *Daramuluns*, the sons of *Baiame*. After we came out again the snake took us into a great hole in the ground in which were a number of snakes, which rubbed themselves against me, but did not hurt me, being my *Budjan*. They did this to make me a clever man, and to make me a *Wulla-mullung*. My father then said to me, 'We will go up to *Baiame's* camp. He got astride of a *Mauir* (thread) and put me on another, and we held by each other's arms. At the end of the thread was *Wombu*, the bird of *Baiame*. We went through the clouds, and on the other side was the sky. We went through the place where the Doctors go through, and it kept opening and shutting very quickly. My father said that, if it touched a Doctor when he was going through, it would hurt his spirit, and when he returned home he would

[1] *Budjan* is totem. This is his secret personal totem. His totem of kangaroo is not so. It is derived from his mother. [2] *Brachychiton populneum*.

sicken and die. On the other side we saw *Baiame* sitting in his camp. He was a very great old man with a long beard. He sat with his legs under him and from his shoulders extended two great quartz crystals to the sky above him. There were also numbers of the boys of *Baiame* and of his people, who are birds and beasts.

"After this time, and while I was in the bush, I began to bring things up, but I became very ill and cannot do anything since."

There are some few things to notice in connection with this man's statement which I shall for convenience refer to later on in this chapter.

The belief of the Kurnai is that the *Mulla-mullung* obtains his power in dreams. The ancestral ghosts either visited the sleeper, and communicated to him harmful or protective chants and knowledge, or they completed his education elsewhere. One of the old Kurnai explained it in this way:—He is shown the things which kill people, such as *Groggin* (quartz crystals) and *Bulk;* and songs are taught him, for there is a song for everything the *Mulla-mullung* uses. For instance, suppose some man has got *Groggin* inside him, or bottle (that is, a piece of glass) in his arm, the *Mulla-mullung* straightens it out, and rubs it downwards, and then sings his song, and sucks the place, and brings the *Groggin* out, or the bottle, or whatever it is.

Tankli, the son of Bataluk the Lace-Lizard, gave me an account of how he became a *Mulla-mullung*, which is as follows:—

"When I was a big boy about getting whiskers I was at Alberton camped with my people. Bunjil-gworan was there and other old men. I had some dreams about my father, and I dreamed three times about the same thing. The first and the second time, he came with his brother and a lot of other old men, and dressed me up with lyre-bird's feathers round my head. The second time they were all rubbed over with *Naial* (red ochre), and had *Bridda-briddas* on.[1] The third time they tied a cord made of whale's

[1] A *Bridda-bridda* is a kind of kilt which the men wore in front and behind hanging from the cord which was wound round the waist as a belt.

sinews round my neck and waist, and swung me by it and carried me through the air over the sea at Corner Inlet, and set me down at *Yiruk*.[1] It was at the front of a big rock like the front of a house. I noticed that there was something like an opening in the rock. My father tied something over my eyes and led me inside. I knew this because I heard the rocks make a sound as of knocking behind me. Then he uncovered my eyes, and I found that I was in a place as bright as day, and all the old men were round about. My father showed me a lot of shining bright things, like glass, on the walls, and told me to take some. I took one and held it tight in my hand. When we went out again my father taught me how to make these things go into my legs, and how I could pull them out again. He also taught me how to throw them at people. After that, he and the other old men carried me back to the camp, and put me on the top of a big tree. He said, 'Shout out loud and tell them that you are come back.' I did this, and I heard the people in the camp waking up, and the women beginning to beat their rugs for me to come down, because now I was a *Mulla-mullung*. Then I woke up and found that I was lying along the limb of a tree. The old men came out with fire-sticks, and when they reached the tree, I was down, and standing by it with the thing my father had given me in my hand. It was like glass, and we call it *Kiin*.[2] I told the old men all about it, and they said that I was a doctor. From that time I could pull things out of people, and I could throw the *Kiin* like light in the evening at people, saying to it *Blappan* (go!). I have caught several in that way. After some years I took to drinking, and then I lost my *Kiin* and all my power, and have never been able to do anything since. I used to keep it in a bag made of the skin of a ring-tail opossum, in a hole of a tree. One night I dreamed that I was sleeping in the camp, and my wife threw some *Kruk*[3] at me, and after that my *Kiin* went out of my bag, I do not know where. I have slept under the tree

[1] Wilson's Promontory.

[2] *Kiin* is a word of the *Nulit* language which was spoken by the Brataua clan to which Tankli belongs.

[3] *Kruk* is menstrual blood.

where I left it, thinking that my power might come back, but I have never found the *Kiin*, and I never dream any more about it."

The general belief as to the powers of the medicine-man are much the same in all the tribes herein spoken of. He is everywhere believed to have received his dreaded power from some supernatural source, or being, such as *Baiame*, *Daramulun*, or *Bunjil*, or the ancestral ghosts.

In all cases he is credited with being able to see men in their incorporeal state, either temporarily as a wraith, or permanently separated from their body as a ghost, which is invisible to other eyes. He can ascend to ghost-land beyond the sky, or can transport himself, or be transported by the ghosts, from one spot of earth to another at will, much after the manner of the Buddhist Arhat. The powers thus conferred on him he can use to injure or to destroy men, or to preserve them from the secret attacks of other medicine-men. He can, it is also thought, assume animal forms and control the elements.

In these beliefs there is a striking resemblance to those which have been recorded concerning wizards, sorcerers, and witches in other parts of the earth, as well as to the beliefs of savages the world over, nor can it be said that they have altogether died out even in the most civilised peoples.

Some of the practices described are found all over the Australian continent, locally if not generally. For instance, the use of human fat, and the belief in the magical properties of the quartz crystal. But as to the latter the use of the crystal globe is still with us also, and may have been handed down from the distant times when our ancestors were savages. I have found it somewhat difficult to explain satisfactorily the taking of human fat; but after considering all my evidence, it has seemed that it may have been the outcome of two beliefs which are generally held by the blackfellows. One is as to the nature of dreams, and the other as to the position which, in their estimation, fat holds in the human economy. When the blackfellow sleeps by his camp fire and has dreams, he explains them by saying that while his body lies motionless, his spirit goes

out of him on its wanderings. I have fully gone into this matter in the chapter on "Beliefs," and need now only say that his view of the reality of dreams enables him to reach, by a natural stage of reasoning, the conception of the individual apart from the body. The second belief is that a man's fat and his strength and vitality are connected. Health, strength, and vitality run together, and therefore the wasting of the body, and disease, are the result of the absence of fat, perhaps followed by death. This belief that a man's vitality and his fat have some connection seems to be shown by the widespread practice of eating the fat of the dead and of those slain. By eating a man's fat, and thus making it part of himself, the blackfellow thinks that he also acquires the strength of the deceased. So also they think that human fat brings success in hunting, causes spears, which are anointed with it, to fly true, or the club to strike irresistible blows.

It is a common belief that when two things are associated together, any magical power possessed by the one will be communicated to the other.

The possession of human fat is therefore much desired by these aborigines, especially those who feel age or disease, or who wish to be successful in magical arts. But it is not only the human fat which is thus utilised. The desire to use those portions of the human body in which they believe the vital strength resides leads them to use not only fat, but also another source of strength, which may be inferred when it is stated that it is practised by tribes who subincise. The tribes to which I refer are the Kurnandaburi, and, as described to me by the late Mr. C. M. King, formerly the Police Magistrate at Milperinka, in New South Wales, in the Wilya tribe.

The most difficult matter with which I have had to deal in this inquiry has been to determine how far the medicine-men believe in their own powers. All explanations concerning them must be given either by themselves or by their tribes-people; and when they are given by the former, one has to distinguish between those explanations which are truthful and those which are not, and which have been

made with the intention of blinding the tribe. Herein the great difficulty lies. The class of blackfellow doctors was almost extinct in the tribes of which I had a personal knowledge; and in the tribes which were in their quite wild state there was little or no opportunity of an acquaintance with the medicine-men. In those tribes with which I had friendly relations, the medicine-men were of the second generation, that is, it was their predecessors who had practised their arts in the wild state of the tribe. The real old *Gommeras* of the Coast Murring became extinct when the before-mentioned "Waddiman" died. The *Wirrarap* of the Wurunjerri, and the *Bangal* of the Wotjobaluk, disappeared about the time of the early gold-diggings in Victoria. But I think that the amount of evidence which I have been able to rescue from oblivion will enable a fair estimate to be made of the powers claimed by the medicine-men, and their influence on the tribal life to be judged.

As to the two men Murri-kangaroo and Tankli, the case is somewhat different, and they represent a class which was larger in the tribes formerly. Granting all that can be said as to the intentional fraud of the medicine-men, and admitting that many of them are mere cheats and frauds, there remain some who really have belief in their own powers as well as in those of other men. I feel strongly assured that both the Wiradjuri and the Kurnai man believed that the events which he related were real, and that he had actually experienced them. As to Tankli, it seems that his case was one of nervous exaltation, combined with somnambulism, and that upon the "subjective realities" in that state he built up a structure of deceit in the practice of his curative art. That he also believed in the reality of the dream which caused him to lose his *Kiin* and his magical powers seems most probable, when one considers that he voluntarily relinquished the practice of an art which brought him great consideration.

The case of Murri-kangaroo seems to point to the practice of some form of hypnotic suggestion among the old class of medicine-men. The youth, at the time of initiation, is in a peculiar and an abnormal mental state. He is fed

full of magical ceremonies and beliefs. He has undergone fearful and impressive ceremonies, and is in a condition which would be peculiarly fitted for the practice of hypnotism.

One can understand that a youth who has passed through such an experience could never doubt the reality of the magic powers of others, even when he is conscious that he himself has no such power.

Songs and Song-makers

The songs and dances of the Australian aborigines are usually spoken of by our own people as "corrobborees," and this word is also frequently applied to any of their social gatherings. This application is, however, not correct, for the songs, the songs with dances, and the assemblies for social or other purposes have each its own distinctive name. The word "corrobboree" was probably derived from some tribal dialect in the early settled districts of New South Wales, and has been carried by the settlers all over Australia. It may be now considered as being engrafted on the English language.

The word "corrobboree" probably meant originally both the song and the dance which accompanied it, which is the meaning of the word *Gunyeru* in the Kurnai tongue.

The songs are very numerous, and of varied character, and are connected with almost every part of the social life, for there is little of Australian savage life, either in peace or war, which is not in some measure connected with song. Some songs are only used as dance-music, some are descriptive of events which have struck the composer, some are comic or pathetic. There is also an extensive class of songs connected with magic, and of these many are what may be called "incantations"—words of power, chanted in the belief that supernatural influence is, not asked, but compelled, by them, an influence for evil, or for warding off evil.

There are also songs which are only heard at the initiation ceremonies, and which are therefore not known to the uninitiated, or to women. To English ears, unaccustomed

to the simple and somewhat monotonous airs to which the words are set, there seems but little melody in the chants. But with custom they grow upon one, until at length one feels in some measure the effect which they produce upon an aboriginal audience in so powerful a manner. There is a wild and pathetic music in some of the songs which I have heard chanted by a number of voices together. Such was the song of *Ngalalbal*, as I heard it at the Murring *Kuringal*, and the song of the bat, in which at early dawn the whole of the men joined one by one in chorus, the words describing the bats "flitting about in the dim light which shows between the upper boughs of the trees."

The makers of Australian songs, or of the combined songs and dances, are the poets, or bards, of the tribe, and are held in great esteem. Their names are known in the neighbouring tribes, and their songs are carried from tribe to tribe, until the very meaning of the words is lost, as well as the original source of the song. It is hard to say how far and how long such a song may travel in the course of time over the Australian continent.

A good example of such far-travelled songs is the following, of which I have heard two versions. One runs as follows :—

Malla-malle taria-rara uananga
Ngumberanga ye-yandaba

I heard it first sung by one of the Narrinyeri in 1861, and afterwards Mr. G. W. Rusden sang it for me from memory, having heard it in the Geawe-gal tribe many years before. In neither case was the meaning of the words known.

The second version I heard sung at the Murring *Kuringal* in 1880 by Yibai-malian, who said that it came to his tribe, the Wolgal, many years before, having been, he believed, originally brought from the Richmond River in New South Wales. The air to which it was sung was the same as I had before heard, but the words differed from those of the first version given, being :—

Mulla-mulle	*kuruitba*	*tarria-rara*
Platypus	large rock	bend of river
Guiltura	*nanga*	*ebermeranga*

FIG. 22.—PREPARATION FOR THE MOLONGO DANCE.

He said that the words spoke of a platypus sitting on a rock in the river, but he could not explain the second line.

Whether his explanation is correct I am unable to say, but he spoke with certainty and apparent candour.

With some songs there are pantomimic gestures or rhythmical movements, which are passed on from performer to performer, as the song is carried from tribe to tribe.

Within the last few years a corrobboree dance was brought to the Dieri by a party of men from that part of Queensland which is north-easterly from the Dieri country. It is the Molongo dance mentioned by Dr. Roth.

Another instance is a song that was accompanied by a carved stick painted red, which was held by the chief singer. This travelled down the Murray from some unknown source. The Rev. John Bulmer tells me that he saw this performance in the Wiimbaio tribe. Such a song, accompanied by a red stick, was brought into Gippsland from the Melbourne side, and may have even been the above-mentioned one on its return.

In the tribes with which I have acquaintance I find it to be a common belief that the songs, using that word in its widest meaning, as including all kinds of aboriginal poetry, are obtained by the bards from the spirits of the deceased, usually of their kindred, during sleep in dreams. Thus, as I have before said, the *Birraark* professed to receive his poetic inspirations from the *Mrarts*, as well as the accompanying dances, which he was supposed to have seen first in ghost-land.

In the Narrang-ga tribe there are men who profess to learn songs and dances from departed spirits. These men are called *Gurildras*.[1]

In the Yuin tribe some men received their songs in dreams, others when waking. Of the latter was Umbara, the Murring bard, who composed his songs when in his boat, tossing on the waves. Some of these Murring song-makers compose social songs, others make songs for the initiations, but many of all kinds have been handed down

[1] J. Kühn.

FIG 23.—MOLONGO DANCE NEAR LAKE EYRE.

from time immemorial, or have been brought from an unknown distance.

According to the tribes near Maryborough (Queensland), it is *Birral* who inspires the makers of corrobboree songs.[1]

The medicine-men who made songs in the Turrbal tribe either obtained them when they went underground, or when they went up in the air. But there were other men who made songs under ordinary circumstances in their camps.[2] The former class of men had clearly the attributes of the medicine-men, perhaps of the *Birraark*.

I found an interesting example of the "inspired song" in the Wurunjerri tribe. According to Berak, it was composed by Wenberi, the henchman of the *Ngurungaeta* (Headman) Bebejan, Berak's father, to lament the death of his brother by evil magic, near Geelong. This is a good instance of that class of song, and also of the belief of the composer, that he was inspired by something more than mortal when composing it. In this case it is *Bunjil* himself who "rushes down" into the breast of the singer.

Once when I asked for the origin of a song, it was said that the person who sang it "got it from his grandfather, who got it from his parents, who got it from the old people, who got it from *Bunjil*."

I am under very great obligations to the Rev. Dr Torrance for most kindly writing down the music of this, and two other songs, from the lips of the singer Berak, and for his most valuable remarks on them and on the singer's musical powers, which follow :—

"Being the result of but a single interview with a native bard, the particulars here noted are of necessity imperfect and superficial. Such as they are, however, it is hoped that they may prove of some little historic value, and lead to further inquiry into a subject which cannot fail to be one of interest to the anthropological student.

"Generally speaking, the rude attempt at melody exhibited by those untaught natives may be described as a kind of nasal monotone or chant, usually preceded by a downward progression somewhat resembling the 'intonation'

[1] H. E. Aldridge. [2] Tom Petrie.

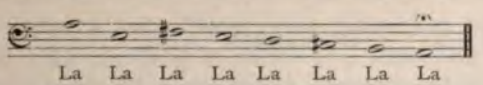
in Gregorian music. The songs are marked throughout by sudden, frequent, and ever-varying inflections of voice, in compass rarely exceeding the distance of a third, and minor intervals predominating.

"Much of the character of the music depends upon the rhythm, which, while very strongly marked, is also most irregular, changing suddenly, and alternating frequently between double and triple; the changes, moreover, being sometimes introduced by a slackening of the time, and a curious sliding of one sound into another, not unlike the slow tuning of a violin string.

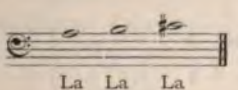
"In the corrobboree the rhythmic measures are emphasised by clapping of hands and stamping of feet. When one singer or set of singers is exhausted, others in turn take up and continue the chant till the wild dance is concluded.

"The native bard alluded to above, from whom the illustrations were obtained, is an intelligent representative of his race. His voice is a baritone of average compass and not unpleasing quality. His ear is also fairly quick and accurate, though occasionally he would pause long as if trying to recall the test sounds before repeating them; and his patience, good temper, and evident pleasure at seeing his songs committed to paper were very remarkable.

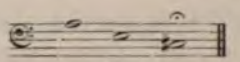
"In order to obtain the compass of this aboriginal's voice, and his power of retaining and expressing some distinct musical idea, a simple solfeggio passage was sung to him. After a brief silence, and without attempting to repeat the given sounds, he began slowly and deliberately, and with much emphasis on each note, the following impromptu—



"As an ear test, he then repeated accurately, pausing first as before—



an effort which the bard voluntarily supplemented by—

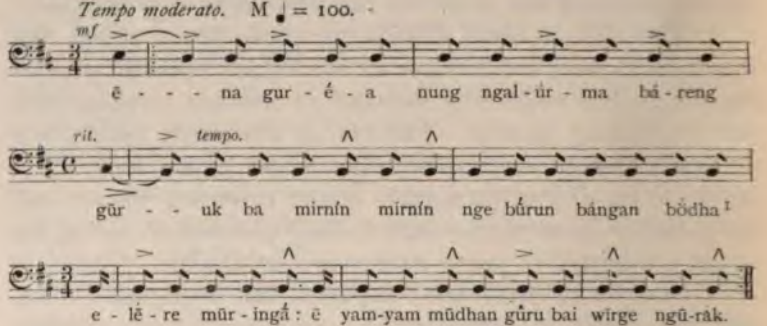


evidently much pleased with his performance, and the applause of his auditors.

"The appended native songs, jotted down as nearly as possible in modern notation, will help to illustrate the foregoing observations. The bard was in each case allowed to choose his own starting note, and generally pitched on or about D in the bass.

KURBURU'S SONG.

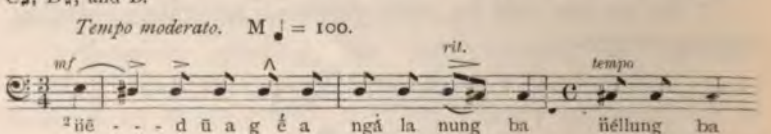
Sounded as if in the key of B minor.

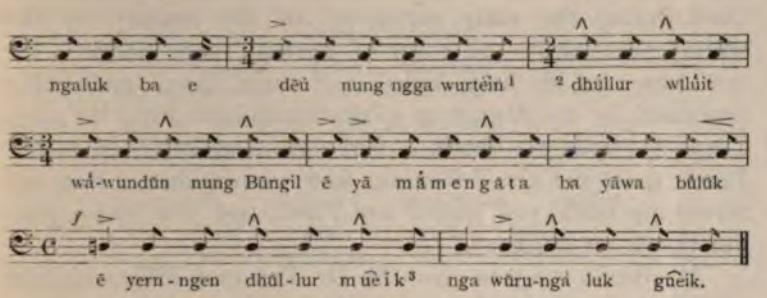

Tempo moderato. M ♩ = 100.
mf
ē - - - na gur - é - a nung ngal - ŭr - ma bá - reng
rit.
tempo.
gûr - - uk ba mirnín mirnín nge bŭrun bángan bödha[1]
e - lĕ - re mūr - ingă : ē yam-yam mūdhan gŭru bai wirge ngū-rāk.

"The above was repeated several times, without break or pause, omitting the 'intonation' at each repetition, and ending abruptly at the double bar.

WENBERI'S SONG.

No particular key suggested. Pitched first on D♯ then changed abruptly to C♯, D♮, and B.

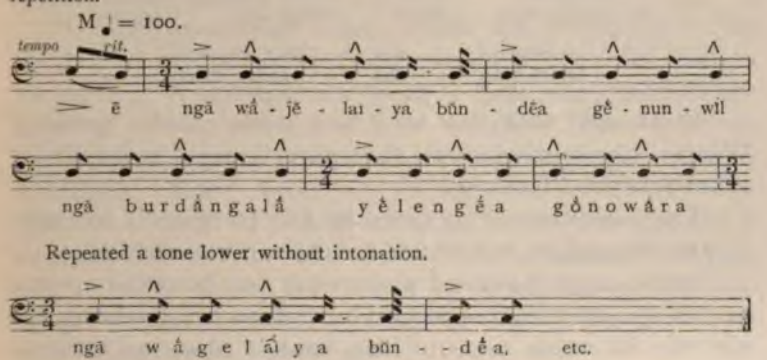


[1] German ö; dh = sound of "th" in "this." [2] ñ = ny.

ngaluk ba e dēŭ nung ngga wurtĕin[1] [2] dhŭllur wĭlŭit
wă-wundūn nung Būngil ē yā mămengāta ba yāwa bŭlŭk
ē yern-ngen dhŭl-lur mûeĭk[3] nga wŭru-ngă luk gûeik.

"This song was repeated on B, a third lower, and sung through to the same sound.

CORROBBOREE SONG.

Sung on D, with nasal 'intonation' preceding, and no change of note till repetition.



Repeated a tone lower without intonation.

In the repetition the initial 'e' is omitted.

"This drone or chant is repeated *ad lib.* as long as the ceremony lasts, a tone lower each time, and accompanied throughout with clapping of hands and stamping of feet."

Kurburu's song serves as an example of those which are connected with the supernatural, and it brings into view a curious belief, which is found in so many Australian legends and tales, of a supernatural relation of men and beasts. It was composed and sung by a bard called Kurburu, who

[1] The "t" in "wurtĕin" apparently inserted or omitted at pleasure. (*N.B.*—eĭ = "ai" in "rain.")

[2] dh = sound of "th" in "this."

[3] Mueik = mweik. So also *gueik*.

lived during the early settlement of the country by the whites near where the town of Berwick now stands. He was supposed to have killed a "native bear," and being possessed by its *Murup* or spirit, thenceforth sang its song. I was not able to obtain a verbatim translation of it, but Berak gave me the following free translation: "You cut across my track, you spilled my blood, and you broke your tomahawk on my head."

Wenberi's song, as given by Dr. Torrance, differs slightly from it as I wrote it down from Berak's dictation some time before, which with its translation runs as follows:—

Nge	*tuigar*	*ngala*	*ngibenba*	*ngaluga*
We	go	all	the bones to	all of them
diudirunding		*nga*	*Dullur*	*wiluit*
shining white in		this	Dullur	country
waweindung		*Bunjil*	*mamen-ngata*	*yennin*
the rushing noise		Bunjil	father ours	singing
thulurm-eik		*nga*	*wur-galuk-eik.*	
breast mine		this	inside mine.	

Berak said that this song was made on the death of Wenberi's brother, who died through evil magic in the *Dullur* country beyond Geelong.

The corrobboree song given by Dr. Torrance is one used by the Wurunjerri, but of which I have no translation.

Other poets composed under what may be called natural, as distinguished from supernatural, influence. Umbara told me that his words came to him, "not in sleep as to some men, but when tossing about on the waves in his boat with the waters jumping up round him." This man was a fisherman, and owned a good Sydney-built boat, which he managed with the aid of his wife. In the olden times these "sea-coast men" (Katungal) used to go out a mile or more from the coast in their bark canoes to spear fish.

As an example of his songs, I give one he composed when going down the coast in his boat to the *Kuringal* ceremonies, which are described in chap. ix.

He sang this song in the evening at the camp, beating time with two short sticks, while an appreciative and admiring audience stood round.

UMBARA'S SONG.

Galagala	*binya*	*bunninga*	*ngali*
Capsizing	me	striking	me
winbelow	*jena*	*ngarauan*	*udja*
the wind blows	hard	the sea	long stretched
kandubai	*buninga*	*melinthi*	*buninga*
between	striking	hard hitting	striking
ngali	*mulari*	*binja*	*buninga.*
me	dashing up	me	striking.

There is a curious instance in Umbara's song of the manner in which English words may become engrafted on the native language. *Winbelow* is really "the wind blows." This song may be freely but yet not incorrectly translated much as Umbara himself explained it to me, "Between the furious wind and the dashing waves of the long-stretched sea I was nearly upset."

I have mentioned songs which are accompanied by rhythmical gestures or by pantomime, which greatly adds to the effect. A favourite one which I have seen describes the hunting of an opossum, and its extraction from a hollow log by the hunter, who is the principal singer, and his assistants. Every action of finding the animal—the ineffectual attempt to poke it out of its retreat, the smoking it out with fire, and the killing of it by the hunters as it runs out—is rendered, not only by the words of the song, but also by the concerted actions and movements of the performers in their pantomimic dancing.

A very favourite song of this description has travelled in late years from the Murring to the Kurnai. It was composed by Mragula, who, it may be mentioned, was a song-maker in his tribe, the Wolgal, describing his attempt to cross the Snowy River in a leaky canoe during flood. The pantomimic action which accompanies this song is much fuller than the words, and is a graphic picture of the pushing off in the canoe, the paddling into the stream, the gaining of the leak, and after an ineffectual attempt to bale the water out by hand, a hurried return to shore. Then the hole being carefully stopped with adhesive mud, the performers again put off and paddle across. The words are in the

Wolgal language, and therefore quite unintelligible to the Kurnai.

MRAGULA'S SONG.

Burraburai	*baiajanu*	*kumber-neino*	*wurgaiama*
Quickly	talking	to his mate	looking about.

ngillingua	*burbundu-malagua*	*nunna*
now	paddling	this side.

Many other songs could be given, but these will suffice

FIG. 24.—A KURNAI BARK CANOE.

to show their character. Nor is it necessary for me to do more than point out that the comic songs all relate, so far as I know, to some passing event. A favourite song of this kind with the Murring is about "going to Melbourne in the steamer," and I have heard the Kurnai sing one inviting a friend to come to a "cool shady place with a bottle." I regret that I have not been able to pay more attention to this branch of my subject, namely, the songs of the Australian aborigines. There is something to be learned from them as to their mental condition and their intellectual

status. The songs also in some cases throw light on their beliefs and their customs. No doubt there are, amongst their songs, some which are coarse and indecent, as among those of more civilised peoples. But they can be disregarded, unless they have some bearing on beliefs or customs. As it is, white men know little of the blackfellow's songs, which to most people are unmeaning barbarous chants, and to the missionaries who have some knowledge of them they savour of heathendom, and must therefore be altogether pushed into oblivion and be forgotten. Thus before long all these songs, old and new, will be lost.

CHAPTER VIII

BELIEFS AND BURIAL PRACTICES

The universe—A flat earth—A solid sky, resting on the horizon—The heavenly bodies—The rainbow, *Aurora* and other phenomena—The human spirit; ghosts—The spirits of the dead go to the land beyond the sky—The white man as a ghost—Instances of this belief—Burial practices; death believed to be due invariably to evil magic—Modes of burial—Totemic burials of the Wotjobaluk—The Kurnai *Bret*—Legendary beings—The Dieri *Mura-muras*—The Wotjobaluk *Bram-bram-gals*—The legends of *Lohan*—Kurnai legends—The *Muk-kurnai*—The tribal All-father.

THE UNIVERSE

THERE seems to be a universal belief among the Australian aborigines that the earth is a flat surface, surmounted by the solid vault of the sky. The legend of the Yuri-ulu tells how, after the holding of the *Wilyaru* ceremony they went on their wanderings, and finally beyond the mountains passed through what may be briefly termed a "hard darkness" into another country, whence looking back, they recognised what they had passed through as the edge of the sky. The Kapiri legend shows that the earth is supposed to be bordered by water; the *Mura-mura* Madaputa-tupuru, and the *Mankara Waka* and *Pirna* having both reached it in their wanderings.

The Wolgal belief is that there is water all round the flat earth. They know of the sea round the coast for a great distance, and heard of it from the more distant blacks, even before the white men came.

The sky is a something, on the other side of which is another country like this, with trees and rivers. It is there that *Thuramulung* lives with the *Bulabong*, the ghosts.

A Wotjobaluk legend runs that at first the sky rested on the earth and prevented the sun from moving, until the magpie (*goruk*) propped it up with a long stick, so that the sun could move, and since then "she" moves round the earth. The Wurunjerri also believe that the earth is flat, as do the Jajaurung, and also that it was in darkness until the sun was made by *Pupper-imbul*, who was one of the race which inhabited the earth at that time, and whom they called the *Murrumbung-uttias* (old spirits).[1] They both believed too that the sky was propped up by poles where it rested on the mountains in the north-east. Before the "white men came to Melbourne" a message was passed from tribe to tribe, until it reached the Wurunjerri, that the props were becoming rotten, and that unless tomahawks were at once sent up to cut new ones, the sky would fall and burst, and all the people would be drowned.[2] This same belief is mentioned by Buckley, but in a different form, namely, that the earth was supported by props, which were in charge of a man who lived at the end of the earth.[3]

A similar message reached the Wiimbaio, having been passed from tribe to tribe down the River Murray. It was to the effect that the props were becoming rotten, and that unless some tomahawks were sent at once the sky would fall and kill every one.[4]

The sun is seemingly everywhere thought to be a woman. The Dieri have several legends bearing on this subject. One is that a *Mura-mura* at a place called Palunkurana[5] had sexual intercourse with a young Dieri woman, who became the mother of *Dietyi*, the sun; and in consequence of this shame, sank into the earth at a place called Killa-wilpa-nina,[6] about eight miles from the place before mentioned.[7] Another legend is that the sun sets in a hole about twenty-five miles from Killalpanina, towards Lake Eyre, called by the Dieri *Dityi-minka*, or the "Hole of the sun." Then it travels underground to the east, where it rises in the morning. It

[1] Stanbridge, *op. cit.* p. 301.
[2] Berak.
[3] Morgan, *op. cit.*
[4] J. Shaw.
[5] S. Gason.
[6] *Killa*, "vagina," *wilpa*, "hole."
[7] O. Siebert.

is said that the sun at one time lived in the former hole, but found its way to the other, and continued to follow that course.[1] Another legend is that at that place a *Mura-mura* became the sun, and went up into the sky.[2]

The Wiimbaio said that at one time the sun never moved, and that Nurelli, being tired of an eternal day, ordered it to go down to the west, by the following song :[3] —

Yukowarri	*yarara-yahama*	*wendilye*
Sun	wood-yours	burn
Yuntho-yunthoma	*wendilye*	*tul-tul.*
entrail	burn	away away.

The Wotjobaluk say that the sun was a woman who, when she went to dig for yams, left her little son in the west. Wandering round the edge of the earth, she came back over the other side. When she died she continued to do this.

The Wurunjerri also think that the sun is a woman, "the sister of every one," who goes round by the sea every night and returns next morning by the other side.

At first there was no moon, so that the Dieri old men held a council, and a *Mura-mura* gave them the moon ; and in order that they might know when to hold their ceremonies, he gave them a new moon at certain intervals.[4] Another legend, however, tells how the *Mura-mura* Nganto-Warrina climbed up a tree to collect grubs. His sons, who had a grudge against him, caused it to grow up to the sky, where he is now the moon.[5] According to the Wiimbaio, the moon did not die periodically, as it does now, until Nurelli ordered it to do so by the following song :—

Puka-malimba	*pina*	*paithanba*	*pina*	*bulga-bulgara.*
Die you	bone	whitened	bones	dust-dust-to.[6]

The Kulin account is that the moon was once a man who lived on the earth. He wished to give the old Kulin a drink of water, so that, when they died, they could after a time return to life again ; but the Bronze-wing pigeon would not agree to this, which made the moon very angry.[7]

In one of the Wotjo legends it is said that at the time

[1] O. Siebert. [2] *Idem.* [3] J. Bulmer. [4] S. Gason.
[5] M. E. B. Howitt, *op. cit.* No. 4. [6] J. Bulmer.
[7] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends and Folklore.* MS.

when all animals were men and women, some died, and the moon used to say, "You up-again," and they came to life again. There was at that time an old man who said, "Let them remain dead." Then none ever came to life again, except the moon, which still continued to do so.[1]

A Kurnai legend about Brewin is as follows. "Long time ago the moon (*Narran*) was a young man. He went out hunting, and found an emu on the other side of a creek. When he wanted to cross over on a log, Brewin twisted it round so that Narran fell into the water. Each time he tried to walk over, Brewin made him fall in." The emu is what we call the Southern Cross.

The Wiradjuri account is that long ago a piece of kangaroo was given to a boy to eat, and he threw a piece of the bone up to the sky, where it stuck fast. This is the moon, who is now a man who walks round by the south in the daytime.

The stars are many of them named, or perhaps it is that the more prominent ones are. Some are grouped together in the constellations, among which are the sons of *Bunjil*. These have been already referred to.

The Turrbal believed that a falling star was a *Kundri* (medicine-man) flying through the air and dropping his fire-stick to kill some one, and was sure if a sick man was in the camp he would die. Mr. Petrie relates that once he was in a camp when a woman was sick and a meteorite was seen. Her friends at once began to mourn and cut themselves for her.

The Wiimbaio thought that the stars were once great men. The planet Mars is *Bilyara*, the eagle; and another star is *Kilpara*, the crow.[2]

The Pleiades are, according to the Wotjobaluk, some women named Murkunyan-gurk,[3] and the following account explains to some extent who they are. When they were on the earth, Boamberik[4] was always running after without

[1] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends and Folklore*. MS. [2] J. Bulmer.

[3] *Murka*, "egg," *gurk*, the feminine postfix. I do not know, but I suspect that this name may refer to the legend just mentioned, and that the eggs referred to are ants' eggs which they dug up.

[4] The native cat, *Dasyurus*; *boam*, "tail," and *berik*, "stinking."

overtaking them. Now he is up in the sky, still chasing them, and still behind. I have not been able to identify the star Boamberik, but as it must be one not far from the Pleiades, it seems not unlikely that it may be Aldebaran. According to the Wurunjerri, the Pleiades are a group of young women, the Karat-goruk,[1] about whom there is a legend which recounts that they were digging up ants' eggs with their yam-sticks, at the ends of which they had coals of fire, which Waang, the crow, stole from them by a stratagem.[2] They were ultimately swept up into the sky, when Bellin-Bellin, the musk-crow, let the whirlwind out of his bag, at the command of *Bunjil*, and remained there as the Pleiades, still carrying fire on the ends of their yam-sticks.[3] Thomas speaks of the Pleiades as Karakarook, who was the daughter of *Bunjil*. When he made two men, his son *Binbeal* caused two women to come out of the water as wives for them, and Karakarook gave each of them a *kunnan* (woman's stick).[4]

The *Aurora* signified with the Wotjobaluk that, at some great distance, a number of blacks were being slaughtered, and that the *Aurora* colour is the blood rising up to the sky. When the *Aurora* was seen by the Kurnai, all in the camp swung the *Brett* (dead hand) towards the alarming portent, shouting such words as "Send it away; do not let it burn us up." The *Aurora* is, according to one of their legends, *Mungan's* fire.

The Ngarigo had much the same idea of the *Aurora* as the Wotjo. They said that it was like blood, and told that a number of blacks had died somewhere. When a meteorite was seen to fall, they watched it, and listened for the explosion. It was believed that this betokened that the blacks at the place towards which its path was directed were gathering together for war. Their neighbours, the Wolgal, thought that the *Aurora* showed that the blacks a long way off were fighting, and that a number of them had been killed.

[1] *Karat*, "group"; *goruk*, feminine postfix.
[2] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends and Folklore*. MS.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] W. Thomas, *Letters of Victorian Pioneers*.

According to the Wotjobaluk, the rainbow causes a person's fingers to become crooked or contracted if he points to it with a straight finger. This would prevent him from using his hand for making the markings with which the 'possum rugs are ornamented. Therefore, when pointing to a rainbow, the fingers must be turned over each other, the second over the first, the third over the second, and the little finger over the third, by which the evil is avoided.[1]

The Bunya-Bunya people in Queensland are also very much afraid of the rainbow, which they call *Thugine* (large serpent). Once, they say, a camp of blacks was close to the beach, and all went out to hunt and fish, leaving only two boys in camp with strict orders not to go to the beach, or leave the camp till the elders returned. The boys played about for a time in the camp, and then getting tired of it, went down to the beach where the *Thugine* came out of the sea, and being always on the watch for unprotected children, caught the two boys and turned them into two rocks that now stand between Double Island Point and Inskip Point, and have deep water close up to them. "Here you see," the old men used to say, "the result of not paying attention to what you are told by your elders."[2]

The Yuin believe that the thunder is the voice of *Daramulun*. The Gringai had a great dread of thunder, and believed it to be the demonstration of the anger of some supernatural being, rebuking them for some impropriety. As is shown later on, this being is *Coen*.[3]

According to the Tongaranka, thunder is the song of a corrobboree held by the big old men in the sky, who are making rain; and at Frazer's Island it was the thunder that smashed up the trees.

The Dieri called the Milky Way *Kadri-pariwilpa*, or the River of the Sky.[4] The same is the case with the tribes on the Herbert River in North-east Queensland. They call the Milky Way *Kooling*, which is the road along which the ghosts of dead blackfellows find their way to the sky.[5]

[1] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends*, etc. MS. [2] Harry E. Aldridge.
[3] Robt. Dawson, *op. cit.* [4] O. Siebert. [5] J. Gaggin.

The Wiradjuri called the Milky Way *Gular*, by which name they also call the Lachlan River. The Corona Australis is *Kukuburra*, the Laughing Jackass; and a small star in Argus is the *Bidjerigang*, the Shell Parakeet.

The seasons are reckoned by the Bigambul[1] according to the time of the year in which the trees blossom. For instance, *Yerra* is the name of a tree which blossoms in September, hence that time is called *Yerrabinda*. The Apple-tree[2] flowers about Christmas-time, which is *Nigabinda*. The Ironbark tree flowers about the end of January, which they call *Wo-binda*.[3] They also call this time, which is in the height of summer, *Tinna-koge-alba*, that is to say, the time when the ground burns the feet.

Connected with the Kulin belief in a flat earth of limited extent, there was another. They thought that when the sun disappeared in the west it went into a place called *Ngamat*, which has been described to me as like a hole out of which a large tree has been burned by a bush-fire.

A legend in one of the tribes near Maryborough (Queensland) also tells of a hole into which the sun retired at night. It says that when Birral had placed the blackfellows on the primitive earth, "which was like a great sandbank," they asked him where they should get warmth in the day and fire in the night. He said that if they went in a certain direction they would find the sun, and by knocking a piece off it they could get fire. Going far in that direction, they found that the sun came out of a hole in the morning and went into another in the evening. Then rushing after the sun, they knocked a piece off, and thus obtained fire.[4]

Beyond the sky there is another country, which may be called the sky-land. This belief is indicated in one of the Dieri legends, which tells how Arawotya, "who lives in the sky," let down a long hair cord, and by it pulled up

[1] J. Lalor.

[2] In Mr. Maiden's work, *The Useful Native Trees of Australia*, London and Sydney, 1898, I find that "Angophoras are called Apple-trees in the colonies, from a fancied resemblance to those trees."

[3] The following trees are noted as being called Ironbark in New South Wales and Queensland: Eucalyptus leucoxylon; E. siderophloia, Benth.; E. largiflorens; E. melanophloia.—J. H. Maiden, *op. cit.*

[4] H. E. Aldridge.

to himself the Mura-mura Ankuritcha and all those who were with him.[1] Another legend of the Dieri and Tirari accounts for the fossil remains found at Lake Eyre, and called by them Kadimarkara, as having been creatures which, in the old times of the Mura-muras, climbed down from the sky to the earth by the huge Eucalyptus trees on which it rested, and which grew on the western side of Lake Eyre.[2] The Wotjobaluk had a legend of a pine-tree,[3] which extended up through the sky (*Wurra-wurra*) to the place beyond which is the abode of *Mamen-gorak*.[4] The people of that time ascended by this tree to gather manna, which implies that trees grew there like the Eucalypt, which in the Wotjobaluk country shed the so-called manna. The Wurunjerri also had a sky country, which they called *Tharangalk-bek*,[5] the gum-tree country. It was described to me as a land where there were trees. The tribal legends also tell of it as the place to which Bunjil ascended with all his people in a whirlwind. By the Kurnai this place is called *Blinte-da-nurk*, or (freely translated) "bright sky of the cloud," also *Bring a-nurt*, or "bone of the cloud." The Ngarigo called the sky *Kulumbi*, and said that on the other side of it there is another country with trees and rivers. This belief was also that of the Theddora and Wolgal.

When one comes to consider it, one should not feel surprised that the Australian savage thinks that the earth is a flat limited surface, and the sky a hard vault over it. I have been struck by this appearance myself when in the vast extents of the open treeless country in the interior of Australia, especially on clear starlight nights. To the savage the area of his tribal country is so vast as compared to the individual, that the idea of anything other than a flat earth could not suggest itself to him. We ourselves are so accustomed to speak of the sun "rising" and "setting," that we almost mentally disregard the fact of the earth's rotation, nor does our position as to the earth itself appear other

[1] O. Siebert. See Appendix, p. 793.
[2] *Idem*. See Appendix, p. 800.
[3] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends*, etc. MS.
[4] *Mamen*, "father"; *gorak*, "ours."
[5] *Tharangalk* is the Eucalyptus viminalis, the Manna gum-tree.

than that of being always perpendicular to it, with a permanent sky over our heads. Thus we, in so far, perpetuate a savage belief; and more than this, there are even now persons who, otherwise sane, believe the earth to be a flat plane. It seems that such pseudo-beliefs are an inheritance to us from our savage ancestors, and from which we are not able to free ourselves.

The beliefs as to the stars, which I have noted, and the manner in which they are named, seem to throw some light on the origin of the names, and even of the legends of the constellations of the northern hemisphere.

The Human Spirit, Ghosts, Etc.

The Dieri tribe think that the spirit of a dead person can visit a sleeper. He reports such a dream to the medicine-man, who, if he considers it to be indeed a vision, directs that food be left at the grave and a fire lighted at it.[1] The Narrang-ga likewise think that the human spirit can leave the body in sleep, and communicate with the spirits of others, or of the dead. These spirits wander for a time as ghosts in the bush, and can consume food, and warm themselves at fires left lighted.[2]

The Dieri also believe that when any one dies his spirit goes up to the *Piriwilpa*, that is the sky, but also that it can roam about the earth.[3] The Narrinyeri thought that the spirits of the dead went up to the sky, *Wai-irre-warra*;[4] and the Buandik, who lived next to them, along the coast eastward, believed that there were two spirits in mankind, which they called *Bo-ong*. At death one went west, down into the sea, and would return a white man;[5] the other went into cloudland. They said that the *Bo-ong* would go up there, where everything is to be found better than on the earth. A fat kangaroo is said to be like the kangaroos of the clouds.[6] All the tribes which formed the Wotjo nation believed that a man's spirit, *Gulkan-gulkan*, can leave the body during

[1] S. Gason. [2] T. M. Sutton. [3] O. Siebert.
[4] Rev. G. Taplin, *The Narrinyeri*, p. 15.
[5] This is evidently an addition to the original belief, added since the advent of the white man. [6] Mrs. James Smith, *op. cit.*

life; for instance, when it goes to see the body of some one who has fallen victim to its evil magic; but after death it could visit its friends in sleep to protect them. An instance of this belief is that of a Mukjarawaint man, who told me that his father came to him in a dream, and said that he must look out for himself, else he would be killed. This saved him, because he afterwards came to the place which he had seen in the dream, and turned back to where his friends lived, so that his enemies, who might have been waiting for him, did not catch him. Among the Jupagalk a person in great pain would call on some dead friend to come and help him, that is to visit him in a dream and teach him some song to avert the evil magic affecting him. The Wurunjerri had the same belief, that each person has in him a spirit, which they call *Murup*, and which, after death, becomes a ghost. The *Murup* could leave the body during sleep, and the exact time is fixed as being when the sleeper snored.[1] But the *Murup* might be sent out of the sleeper by means of evil magic; for instance, when a man hunting incautiously went to sleep in the open, at a distance from his camp, and thus fell a victim to some medicine-man. This belief in the temporary departure of the *Murup* during sleep still survives in the last of the Wurunjerri, after almost a lifetime with the white man and his ideas.

Berak explained this belief to me as follows: "When I sleep and snore, my Murup goes away, sometimes to the Tharangalk-bek, but it cannot get in, and it comes back. It can talk with some other Murups, for instance, with my father and others who are dead."

The following account which I wrote down many years ago, when he told me of it, is a good instance of the feelings which underlie the belief. His only child, a young lad, was ill, and Berak and his particular friend having taken him to the hospital, returned to where they were living. He said, "We had been crying about him all the evening after we returned," and then my friend went to sleep. When he woke up he said, "I saw that poor fellow, he was here, and he said to me, 'Stand there!' Two strings were hanging

[1] *Yamun*, "sleep"; *Yamun-urra*, "snoring."

down, and he said, 'We will go up there, do not be afraid, we shall not fall down.' I climbed after him, and we came to a hole where some people were looking down at us. Your boy went through and said to me, 'I am only waiting here for you and my father, tell him that I will wait till he comes.' One of the girls said, 'How is my mother?' I said, 'Why! it is our Meena.' Then I went through and saw a lot of people there."

This not only brings out the belief in the power of the individual to leave his body during sleep, but also the idea of the sky country, to which the *Murup* goes after death. The ascent by a cord and the entrance, through a hole, into the sky country where the ghosts live, is in accord with the common belief in the powers of the medicine-man.

Returning to Berak and his belief in the ability of his *Murup* to leave his body in sleep and wander abroad, I give another instance which connects the old and the new conditions. In 1880 Berak told me that, when asleep, he went up Badger Creek, one of the tributaries of the Yarra River, and there saw a quartz reef full of gold; but although he had searched the place since then when awake, his *Murup* had never been able to take him to the spot. So firmly is the idea fixed in his mind, that in the latter end of the year 1900 I heard of his still searching for this spot.[1]

The same belief is held by the Kurnai. The human spirit is by them called *Yambo*, and it can leave the body during sleep. As one of the Brabra Kurnai said to me, "He can go up to the sky and see his father and mother." This was also brought out clearly by another man, whom I asked whether he really thought that his *Yambo* could "go out" when he was asleep. He said, "It must be so, for when I sleep I go to distant places, I see distant people, I even see and speak with those who are dead."

The Ngarigo called dreams *gung-ung-mura-nung-ya*, and believed that in them they could see ghosts. The Yuin Gommeras could get songs in dreams, or information about approaching enemies, and a relative of a dead man could see in a dream who had killed him. The Wiimbaio had the

[1] J. Shaw.

same belief, and said, when they dreamed such a thing, they had been to some other country and a person had told them.

Tulaba, whom I have elsewhere mentioned, said that his "other father,"[1] Bruthen-munji came to him during sleep and taught him songs (charms) against sickness and other evils. One charm which he thus learned, and which I have heard him sing to cure pains in the chest, is as follows:—

Tundunga Brewinda nunduunga ugaringa mri-murriwunda
Tundung by *Brewin*—I believe—hooked by— eye of spear-thrower.

The belief is that *Brewin* has filled the sufferer's chest with the frayed fibres of the stringy-bark tree, called *Tundung*, by means of the hooked end of his spear-thrower. This hooked end is called the eye, *Mri*.

The wife of Tulaba believed before her death that she had gone up to the *Nurt* (sky) in sleep, but returned because she could not get through.[2] At death the *Yambo* leaves the body and follows the *Wauung*, that is the path to the sky. I have heard this spoken of as the *Marrangrang*, along which the *Mrarts* (the ghosts) lead or carry the medicine-men to the sky. The *Yambo* is believed to be able to communicate with people when asleep, and, as a *Mrart*, to initiate men into its secret rites in sky-land. *Mrarts* are therefore not merely incorporeal ghosts, for they can be heard jumping down with the *Birraarks* from trees on to the ground. They are also able to carry off people in bags.

The Theddora believed in another land beyond the sky, and that there were other blackfellows therein. Their neighbours the Ngarigo also thought that the spirit of a dead person (*Bulabong*) went up to the sky, where it was met by *Daramulun*, who, as one of the old Ngarigo men said, takes care of it. The Chepara belief is that a male ancestor visits a sleeper, and imparts to him charms to avert evil magic. An old man of this tribe said with much feeling, that he saw distinctly in sleep his little daughter, who had died a short time before, standing near him, on the night after her death, and he said that once when sick he felt that she was near him, and that then he slept well and recovered.[3]

[1] That is, the brother of his father.
[2] J. Bulmer. [3] J. Gibson.

These beliefs in the existence of the human spirit after death are scattered over a great extent of the eastern half of the continent, and it is not unreasonable to conclude that they are held by the intervening tribes. It is now possible to advance another stage, and to adduce other facts which will go to show that the further beliefs arising out of these are a logical sequence from them. Collins in his account of the beliefs of the Port Jackson tribes, states that some thought that, after death, they went either on or beyond the great water, but by far the greater number signified that they went to the clouds.[1]

The Kulin say that the *Murup* goes either direct to *Ngamat*, or lingers about the place familiar to it in life, and it can also revisit the earth from the sky. The account of the *Murup* which was caught at the edge of the earth, on its way to *Ngamat*, by the medicine-man, who conveyed it back to its deserted body, is a case in point as to the first alternative. As to the second, the spirit was believed to wander about, to stand at the grave near the body, to warm itself at fires left burning in the bush, perhaps by men who had been hunting, and often to eat the scraps of food they left. The *Murup* ascended to the sky by the *Karalk*, that is, the bright rays of the setting sun, which is the path to the *Tharangalk-bek*, and the *Karalk* was said by some to be made by the *Murups* when in *Ngamat*. The Wotjo also thought that the ghost remained for some time at the grave, and they also called the sunset rays *Guralk*, which is evidently the same as *Karalk*. This suggests that the *Karalk* may have been the way of the *Gulkan-gulkan* to the *Wurra-wurra* (sky). With the Kurnai the *Yambo* was supposed to pass away as a *Yambo* or shadow, or as a *Mrart* or ghost, to a place beyond the clouds; but it did not necessarily remain there, for male and female *Mrarts* are believed to wander about the country which they inhabited during life. As I have elsewhere said, the term *Mrart* includes not only deceased relatives but also strangers, of their own tribe or of other tribes, and then they were certainly enemies to be dreaded. I was told by a Tatungalung man of the Kurnai tribe, that when

[1] Collins, *op. cit.* p. 354.

a boy sleeping in the camp of his parents, he was awoke by the outcries of his father, and starting up, found him partly out of the camp, on his back kicking, while his mother held him by the shoulders. His father said that while lying by the fire a *Mrart* came up with a bag, and tried to pull him out of the camp by the foot. He then cried out and his wife caught hold of him, and the *Mrart* vanished. In this account an evil *Mrart* represents the nightmare of our own people. Another instance is that of a ghost which, though not related to the sleeper, was not inimical to him. Tulaba, when mustering wild cattle for a settler near the Mitchell River in Gippsland, dreamed one night that two *Mrarts* were standing by his fire, and were about to speak to him, or he to them, I forget which. When he awoke they had vanished, but on looking at the spot where they had stood, he saw a *bulk* (magic-stone), which he kept, and valued much, for its magical powers. Tankowillin and Turlburn, were once walking past a fenced-in garden, when they were much alarmed by seeing what seemed to be a fiery eye watching them between two of the palings. Believing that a *Mrart* was there in hiding on the watch for them, they were afraid and ran off to their camp.

The Kamilaroi believe that the spirit of a man when he dies goes to the dark patch in the Magellan clouds, which they call Maianba, meaning endless water or river.[1]

The Wiradjuri believed that the ghost (*Jir*) still haunted the place where it had lived, and took up its abode in some large tree. It might be seen sitting at the grave, by those who possessed the faculty of seeing such things, that is medicine-men, or by a boy who, having the power, would in time grow up to be one of them. A ghost which took up its abode at a grave was believed to be able to injure strangers who incautiously came near to it. By the Gringai also it was thought that the ghost haunted the grave for a time. The Bigambul belief was that people after death went to and fro, the shadows of what they were in life, and these ghosts they called *Matu*.[2]

It is evident from these facts that there is a universal

[1] Cyrus E. Doyle. [2] James Lalor.

belief in the existence of the human spirit after death, as a ghost, which is able to communicate with the living when they sleep. It finds its way to the sky-country, where it lives in a land like the earth, only more fertile, better watered, and plentifully supplied with game.

The *Murup*, *Yambo*, *Bulabong*, or by whatever name it is known, represents during life the self-consciousness of the individual. Its apparent ability to leave the body during sleep naturally leads to the further belief that death is merely the permanent disability to return to the body, produced by the evil magic of some enemy. Thus it seems that the belief has arisen that the individual continues to exist after death, although usually invisible to the living.

This feeling gives rise to the reluctance to speak of the dead, which seems to be universal among the tribes dealt with here, and especially to do so by name. This applies equally to the living as to the dead, since a knowledge of the personal name would enable an enemy, as they put it, to "catch" its owner by evil magic. But the reluctance to name the dead arises, it seems, out of a fear of the anger of the deceased.

The following is a good illustration of this feeling. One of the Kurnai was spoken to about a man who was dead, and in doing so his name was used. The man addressed looking round uneasily, said, "Do not do that; he might hear you and kill me."[1]

This feeling exists in the tribes known to me. A few instances will serve as examples. The Jajaurung, of the Upper Loddon River, called the human spirit or ghost *Ku-it-gil*. Stanbridge mentions this in referring to their reluctance to name the dead. It was supposed that doing so excited the malignity of the spirit of the departed, which hovered upon the earth for a time, and ultimately went towards the setting sun.[2] One of the Jajaurung told me that the *Kuitgil* is the same name as the *Murup* of the Wurunjerri. Among the Geawe-gal the name of a deceased

[1] A. M'Lean.

[2] W. E. Stanbridge, *Trans. Ethnological Society of London*, vol. i. New Series, 1861, p. 286.

person was never mentioned after his death, and when a white man has carelessly or recklessly spoken of a dead man by name, the blacks there have been seen to hang their heads sorrowfully, while one of them would remonstrate, if he had any respect for the speaker, otherwise they would endeavour to turn the conversation. All implements, indeed every piece of inanimate property he had possessed, were interred with his body.[1] In the tribes about Maryborough (Queensland) the name of a dead man must not be mentioned, and any one doing so would be told, "Do not say that." My informant's brother narrowly escaped being killed by a friend of the dead man throwing a spear at him, which went through his clothes.[2]

These beliefs are similar, or identical, with beliefs which are world wide; and, bearing in mind the long isolation of the Australians in this continent, two alternative explanations suggest themselves. The ancestors of the Australians may have brought them from the primitive home of the race, or their descendants may have evolved them independently of any outside source. Yet it might be that both sources have contributed to the present state of belief. For the mental constitution of all races of man, is the same in kind, though differing in degree; and where two savage races are in about the same low level of culture and under the same physical conditions, the results are likely to be the same, although they may be separated by great distances from each other.

Thus with the Australians, their dreams could only represent the universe as it seemed to them, and, as the Kurnai man said of himself, they would see in sleep, distant people, even those who were dead. If we admit their inability to see the difference between real events of waking hours and the unreal ones of dreams, then it is easily seen how the beliefs, which I have noted in this and the previous chapter, may have been developed. Yet, on the other hand, it must be remembered that however low in culture the Australian ancestors may have been, as low as, or even lower than, the extinct Tasmanians, they must have had

[1] G. W. Rusden. [2] H. E. Aldridge.

mental qualities which would more than suffice to provide the assumed starting-point. How far back in man's mental evolution this may be I am not prepared to suggest.

The White Man as a Ghost

The beliefs spoken of are at the root of another, namely, that white men are members of the tribe, returned in the flesh from death. The best known and perhaps the most important instance is that of William Buckley, a convict who escaped in the year 1803 from the settlement attempted by Colonel Collins, within Port Phillip Bay, where Sorrento is now. After wandering round the shore of the Bay, he was found by some of the Wudthaurung tribe, carrying a piece of a broken spear, which had been placed on the grave of one Murrangurk,[1] by his kindred, according to the tribal custom. Thus he was identified with that man; and, as one returned from the dead, received his name and was adopted by his relations.

A version of the finding of Buckley, slightly different from that given by himself, is found in Dawson's work,[2] taken from statements of a black woman who was alleged to be Buckley's widow. It is as follows:—"When they asked him a number of questions, all of which were suggested by the idea that he was one of themselves returned from the dead, he gave the same reply to all." That is, he "replied by a prolonged grunt and an inclination of the head, signifying 'Yes.'" This I can very well understand, for with the Kurnai, the word *Ngaar* uttered in a deep grunting manner with an inclination of the head at the same time would be "yes."

It is evident that Buckley was believed to be the *Murup* of Murrangurk, come back from *Ngamat*, or the *Tharangalk-bek*. In Morgan's account of Buckley's life and adventures there is mention of an occurrence at the burial of a man who had been speared at a great tribal meeting: "All

[1] According to Berak, who knows the dialect of the Wudthaurung, *Murrangurk* is probably *Murrung-ai-galko*, or "tomahawk-handle," *Galk* being "wood," or "handle," and *Murran*, "stone-axe."

[2] James Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 110.

things being completed for the disposal of the body," one word was uttered, "*animadiate*," which means, "He is gone to be made a white man."[1] In another place it is again said that "*amadiate*" means a white man.[2] It is evident that this must have occurred after the blacks had obtained some knowledge of white men, other than Buckley. Yet they must have been prepared for the pale tint of the skin of the white men by what they must have seen when they burned the body of a dead tribesman, or roasted the flesh of a slain enemy. The burning of the dead seems to have been a common practice, and the change in colour which takes place when the epidermis with its colouring-pigment is removed must have been observed. Indeed one of the Jajaurung, in speaking to me of the practice of roasting and eating the skin of the sides and of the thighs of people killed by the tribes of the Wotjo nation, said, "All of the people beyond St. Arnaud did this." His people called it *Amidiat*, that is, light-coloured, or white. Parker remarks[3] that the very term applied to white men indicates the belief that they were their deceased progenitors, returning to their former haunts. He gives *Amydeet* (Jajaurung), *Amerjig* (Witowurung), as specimens of the designation applied to the white race, and the same term designates the state of the spirit when the body is dead.[4]

Although the burning of the body was not much practised by the Wurunjerri, Berak remembered two cases of it. One was of a man who died where Kew is now, the other was to the westward of Geelong, and thus in the country where Buckley lived. This was, as Berak put it, "before white men came to Melbourne." Buckley says that a woman was burned, who had been killed in a combat between the tribe he lived with and another they had visited. They made a large fire, and having thrown her body upon it, they heaped on more wood, so that it was burned to ashes. This done, they raked the embers of the fire together, and stuck the stick she used to dig roots with upright at the head.[5]

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 25, 84.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 25, 84.
[3] Parker, Lecture delivered in Melbourne, etc., 1854, p. 25.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Morgan, *op. cit.*

Dawson also speaks of the burning of the dead. If there is no time to dig a grave, they burn the body with all the effects except stone axes. When a married woman dies, her husband burns her body, and when old people become infirm and unable to accompany the tribe in its wanderings, it is lawful and customary to kill them. The victim is strangled with a grass rope, and when cold is burned in a large fire kindled in the neighbourhood.[1]

It is not surprising that the Kurnai, when they saw white men first, thought them to be *Mrarts*, ghosts. Such was the idea of one of the Brabralung when he saw a white man for the first time. He ran away, believing it to be a ghost, partly, as he said, from its strange appearance, and partly because it "was so very pale." Here we have again the idea that the white man must be a ghost because of his pale tint, and I may remark that the Kurnai probably derived this belief from their practice of roasting and eating portions of the skin of slain enemies.

Before the white man had entered Gippsland vague rumours telling of them had passed from tribe to tribe to the Kurnai. Messengers (*Lewin*) had brought news of them, with the exaggeration natural to rumour. The strange sight of ships sailing past their shores had been a wonder to them, and the white man when he arrived was recognised as a *Mrart*, or as Löan, and the white woman as Löantuka, the wife of Löan. When Tulaba described to me how the Kurnai first saw the white men when he was a boy, and cried out to each other, "*Löan! Löan!*" I observed that he looked down, and moved his eyes from side to side, as if to avoid a blow. On inquiry I found that the belief was that the white man possessed a supernatural power of the eye, to flash death to the beholder, or to draw together the banks of a river, and to pass over it. This power was called *Ngurrung-mri*, or "sinew eye," and I think that I have also heard it called *Mlang-mri*, meaning "lightning eye." Therefore when white men were near, the Kurnai would make off, crying to each other, "Don't look! don't look! he will kill you." In this we may see a dis-

[1] J. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 62.

torted account of taking aim and discharging a firearm, and of making rude bridges, by the early explorers.

Among the Wolgal the white man was called *Mamugan;* by the Ngarigo *Mugan.* The Yuin called both the dead man and the white man *Mumu-gang.* The Kamilaroi called a white man *Wunda,* that is, ghost, and believed him to be a black come to life again. The late Mr. Naseby, who lived fifty years in the Kamilaroi country, had the marks of cupping on his back, and they could not be persuaded that he was not a *Murri*[1] come back, the marks on his back being his *Mombari,* or family marks. As far back as 1795, when a man-of-war on its voyage to Port Jackson was anchored at Port Stephens, four men were found who had run away from Parramatta, and reached that place in a boat. The natives had received them as "the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared to firmly believe that his father had come back as one or other of the white men, and he took them to the place where the body had been burned."[2] The Kaiabara also thought that the white men were blacks returned after death.[3] The old men of the tribes about Maryborough said when they first saw white men, "That is all right, they are the *Muthara* (ghosts) come back from the island"; and they recognised such men as their relatives, gave them names and a family, and were quite ready to do anything for them.[4] About Moreton Bay *Makoron* and *Mudhere* signify ghost, and each of these words is applied to white men.[5] In the tribes about Mackay in Queensland a man's spirit is called *Meeglo,* and the whites when first seen were supposed to be the spirits of their forefathers embodied.[6] So the Namoi and Barwan blacks also call the white man *Wunda.*[7]

As a final instance of the recognition of a white man as one of a tribe returned to it, I may give my own case. When on the Cooper's Creek waters in 1862, searching for

[1] That is "man," one of the Kamilaroi tribe.
[2] Collins, *op. cit.* p. 303.
[3] Jocelyn Brooke.
[4] H. E. Aldridge.
[5] Tom Petrie.
[6] G. H. Bridgman.
[7] R. Crowthers.

the explorers Burke and Wills, I was frequently saluted by blacks when within hearing distance with the words *Pirri-wirri-kutchi*, which may be rendered as "wandering ghost." Even now the word *Kutchi* is used by the Dieri for any of the strange paraphernalia of the whites, for instance, even a dray and team of bullocks has been so called.[1] Afterwards, on my second expedition, a group of the Yantruwunta, whom I met on their wanderings as far south as the Grey Range, identified me with one of their deceased tribesmen called Mungalli, "lizard." He was of that totem, and I was necessarily the same. It was through their speaking of me by that name that I found what their idea was, a circumstance which was of much use to me later on.

The clouds of dust raised on the plains of Central Australia are ascribed to *Kutchi* by the Dieri; and if one of these dust whirlwinds passes through the midst of a camp there is great consternation, as they fear that some great calamity will follow.

A young strong man of the Yendakarangu section of the Urabunna tribe, who lived at Strangway's Springs, chased a whirlwind for many miles, trying to kill *Kutchi* with boomerangs. He returned after some hours much exhausted, and said he had had a fight with *Kutchi* and had killed him; but, he added in the broken English spoken by the blacks, that "*Kutchi* growl along a me; by and by me tumble down." He pined away from day to day, and always insisted that his case was hopeless, as *Kutchi* had growled. In this sense "growling" means quarrelling, or using violent language.[2]

Burial Practices

Such beliefs as those mentioned in the last section explain much in the burial customs which would otherwise seem to be without meaning.

When one of the Dieri is dying his relatives separate into two groups. These are first, the *Ngaperi*, *Ngata-mura*, *Noa*, with those *Kami* and *Kadi* who are more nearly related to him. The second group consists of the *Ngandri*,

[1] O. Siebert. [2] Frank James.

Ngatani, *Kaka*, *Tidnara*, *Buyulu*, *Neyi*, *Kaku*, and *Ngatata*, to whom may be added the *Kami* and *Kadi*, if not too distantly related to the dying man. This second group is called *Kanayawora*, or *Palkule-kamaneli*.

While those of the first group sit down close to the dying person, and even after the decease throw themselves on the body, those of the other group remain at some distance from him or from the body, and anxiously guard themselves from seeing his face. The reason for this custom is, according to some, lest they should become possessed by a great longing for the deceased, while others say that the spirit of the deceased might so draw them to itself that they also might die.

It is the duty of the men who are *Kanayawora* to the deceased, that is, of the second group, to dig the grave; but if there is none of that relation there, then a *Ngaperi-waka*[1] digs it, so that he may be useful to the dead. For this service a woman is given to him for a wife, and if he have one already, he receives a second. As a sign of mourning the *Kanayawora*, and also the *Kami* and *Kadi*, if not of too remote "tribal" relation, paint themselves with Karku,[2] mixed with Tuna.[3] The *Ngaperi*, *Ngata-mura*, and *Noa*, together with the closer related *Kami* and *Kadi*, paint themselves with Tuna only.

Leaving out the distantly related *Kami* and *Kadi*, the rule may be laid down that after the death of a male or female Kararu the people of that class are painted red, but the Matteri people require white. The reverse is the case on the death of a Matteri person.

Those painted with Tuna, especially a *Tippa-malku* or a *Pirrauru*, retain their white colouring until the leaves of the bushes used in the burial are dried up, or, as the practice of the others is, till the footprints of the deceased cannot be seen any more about the grave. When the *Neyi* or *Kaka* of the deceased are satisfied that there are no footprints, they collect a sufficient amount of red ochre, and, coming secretly into the camp without the others noticing it, rub the faces of

[1] Father's brother, or male *Pirrauru*.
[2] *Karku* is "red ochre." [3] *Tuna* is "gypsum."

the *Kami* with it. This application of red ochre remains for a short time and is then rubbed off; and if the deceased was a woman, her husband is permitted to seek another wife, always supposing that he has a sister, own or tribal, to exchange for her.

If the deceased was a person of influence, food is placed for many days at the grave, and in winter months a fire is lighted so that the ghost may warm himself at it. Should the food at the grave not be touched, it is supposed that the deceased is not hungry.[1]

The corpse, having the big toes tied together and enveloped in a rug or net, is carried to the grave on the heads of three or four men, and there placed on its back for a few minutes. These men kneel near the grave, and some others then place the corpse on their heads. One of the old men, usually the nearest relative, now takes two light rods (*Kuya*), each about three feet long, and holds one in each hand, standing about three yards from the corpse. Then, beating the rods together, he questions the corpse as to who was the cause of his death, that is, by magic. The men sitting round act as interpreters for the deceased, and, according as opinion prevails, the name of some native of another tribe is given.

When the old man stops beating the rods, the men and women commence to cry, and the body is removed from the heads of the bearers and is lowered into the grave.[2] Conclusions are drawn as to the locality in which the person who has caused the death lives from the direction in which the body falls from the heads of the two men who hold it. The body is laid on a plant called *Kuya-marra*,[3] and is covered with it. *Kuya* is the Yaurorka and Yantruwunta word for fish (in Dieri, *Paru*), and means "new," so that *Kuya-marra* means new fish.[4] An old man, who is in the relation of *Kami* to the deceased, steps into the grave and cuts off all the fat adhering to the face, thighs, arms, and stomach, and passes it round to be swallowed by the relations. The order in which they partake of the fat is as

[1] O. Siebert.
[2] S. Gason.
[3] *Eremophila longifolia.*
[4] O. Siebert.

follows: The mother eats of her children, and the children of their mother; a man eats of his sister's husband, and of his brother's wife; mother's brothers, mother's sisters, sister's children, mother's parents, or daughter's children are also eaten of; but the father does not eat of his children, nor the children of their sire.[1] The relations eat of the fat in order that they may be no longer sad. All those who eat of the deceased are decked with the *Kuya-marra* plant.[2]

Even in cases where a man has killed one of another tribe, he will carefully preserve the fat for the purpose of protecting himself against a blood-feud. When the kindred of the dead man call him to account for the death, he gives them the fat to eat, and it has the effect that they become pacified, and even feel grateful to him for it, so that they need no longer feel sad or weep.[3]

When the grave is filled in, a large stack of wood is placed on it, and this practice seems to be universal in the country of the Barcoo and Diamantina deltas, where I observed some striking instances of it. The most striking case was to the south of Sturt's Stony Desert, in the country of the Ngurawola tribe; and I was told that the group of several graves, each with a great pile of wood on it, contained men who had been killed in an attack by blacks of a neighbouring tribe.

Invariably after a death the Dieri shift their camp, and never after speak of, or refer to, the deceased person.[4]

The Blanch-water section of that tribe fear the spirits of the dead, and take precautions to prevent the body from rising. They tie the toes together, and thumbs behind the back, sweep a clear space round the grave at dusk each evening, and inspect it to look for tracks early each morning for a month after death. Should tracks be found, the body is removed and reburied, as they think that the deceased is not satisfied with his first grave.[5]

While the Dieri, Yaurorka, Yantruwunta, and Marula eat only the fat of the dead, other tribes eat the flesh also. Such are the Tangara, who carry the remains of the

[1] S. Gason. [2] O. Siebert. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] S. Gason. [5] Frank James.

deceased in a bag (*Billi*), and whenever they feel sorrow for the dead they eat of the flesh until nothing but the bones remain. These are preserved until a flood occurs, when they are pounded up and cast into the waters as "fish-seed" (*Kuyi-paua*).[1]

The Yerkla-mining never bury their dead or dispose of them in any way. When death approaches, the person is left alone, as comfortably as possible near a fire, and the tribe leave the neighbourhood, not to return for a considerable time. They seem to have a great fear of a dead body, though they treat the sick and wounded with much kindness, their medicine-men curing ailments by the usual aboriginal methods of rubbing and sucking, producing various foreign substances that they say have caused the pain, and have been put into the body by the *Muparn* (magic) of some enemy, who, though living at a distance, can inflict injury by *Gaiji-angun*, the invisible spear-throwing by which *Muparn* is conveyed. The only two causes of death which the Mining recognise are by *Muparn* and the spear, and the great aim of their lives would appear to be to avoid both. A death is always avenged by the next of kin, whose feelings are appeased by making the attack, even if the supposed offender be only wounded.[2]

The Kukata bury their dead immediately, and place in the grave spears and other weapons, and on it a drinking vessel for the deceased to drink out of if thirsty. A digging-stick is also placed on the grave to keep evil spirits away.[3]

When one of the Narrang-ga tribe dies, the corpse is carried about on a kind of bier for several weeks. The bier is made of sticks fastened together like the steering-wheel of a ship, and is carried, each holding one of the protruding stick ends. The body is buried with the knees doubled up, so as to be close to the face. Two men get into the grave, and the body being lowered to them, they hastily fix it in its place and then come out. The grave being quickly filled in, they light a fire at it and leave the place. If the deceased is one of the *Kurnadjara* division, his spirit is supposed to

[1] O. Siebert. [2] W. Williams. [3] F. Gaskell.

go a long way to the north, and so with the men of each of the local divisions, each to its own direction.[1]

The tribes in the district about Adelaide, Gawler, and Gumeracha buried the dead in a straight position, wrapped up in wallaby rug, and packed comfortably with leaves and tender boughs. They dug a hole about three feet deep, deposited the body, and covered it up, first with earth and sand, then, if convenient, with stones. At the head of the grave a crescent of earth or stone was erected.[2]

In the Tongaranka tribe, when a death occurs, the immediate relations smear themselves with *Kopai* (gypsum), hence the name *Kopai-nongo* is used for a widow. The body is buried in a sitting posture, and all implements are buried with it. Before the grave is filled in, the nearest male relation present stands over the grave and receives several blows with the edge of a boomerang, the blood being allowed to flow on the corpse. The grave is then filled in, and logs are piled on it to keep the dogs away. The loud wailing which is raised at a death is repeated every day for a whole moon. The place chosen for a grave is on a sand-hill, where it is easy to dig,[3] and on the top of the grave a hole is made like a nest, and in it are placed ten or twelve white egg-shaped stones made of ground gypsum moistened with water, shaped like eggs and allowed to dry. A cone-shaped roof of branches is raised above this nest, big enough to hold two people.

When one of the now practically extinct Wiimbaio tribe died, his face was covered with the corner of his skin rug, because no one would look at the face of a dead person. The body was laid out at length, rolled in his rug, and corded tightly. The relations used to lie with their heads on the body, and even stretched at length on the corpse. Old Headmen, or men of note, or fathers of strong families, were buried in what may be called their cemeteries. These were on sand-hills where the pines grow, and thither their dead were carried with great lamentations and mourning. A six-foot hole was dug in the sand, and the body, being wrapped up in a rug or blanket and made comfortable with twigs

[1] T. M. Sutton. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay. [3] J. W. Boultbee.

and bark, was deposited and covered up with sand. A pile of wood about two feet in height was raised over the grave, and on this was deposited a pile of rushes or soft grass, tapering at the top, and secured by old netting or string. A space of about ten yards was carefully swept every morning. The fires were kept perpetually burning for a month, one to the right and one to the left of the grave, to enable the deceased to warm himself. The spirit was believed to walk about near the grave at night if he were not comfortable, but if his tracks were not visible in the morning, his friends thought that he was happy. His immediate relations cut off their hair and applied to their heads a paste of gypsum about two inches thick, and which became detached in about a month by the growth of the hair, and was then placed on the grave. If a man died when his friends were absent, all the men, when they returned, stood out and held their heads down to receive, each of them, a blow with a club. In such cases men have been killed.[1]

One of Headmen of the Wathi-wathi was buried in the following manner, wailing being kept up for several days at the grave, which was within a cleared and fenced space about one hundred yards long by about fifteen wide. The fence was made of logs filled in with brush about three feet high. The inside of the enclosure was cleared of everything and made quite smooth. The grave itself was completely covered over with sheets of bark, like a hut with a ridge pole in the centre.[2]

When a man of the Wotjobaluk died, he was corded up with his knees drawn up to the chest and his arms crossed. Under these, on his naked breast, was placed his spear-thrower (*Garik*). He was then rolled up in his opossum rug. An oblong grave was dug, about four feet in depth. A sheet of bark was placed on the bottom, and on this leaves, covered with strands of opossum pelt pulled asunder, so as to make a soft bed for the "poor fellow." Another lot of leaves and pelt was then laid on the corpse, over it bark, and the earth, being returned, was trodden tight. Logs were placed on the grave to prevent dogs interfering with it. A

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay. [2] Captain Garside.

fire was then lighted at the grave for the ghost (*Gulkan-gulkan*) to warm itself at, and then the relatives returned to their camps. On the following day they went back to the grave and carefully cleared an oval space, some thirty paces in its longer diameter, with internal parallel ridges of soil, and within these the grave. The kindred went away from the place for three or four months, and when they returned, visited the grave to see that all was right. They thought that small fires could be seen at the grave by night at times, and these "corpse-candles" were believed to be fires lighted by the ghost.

In the Mukjarawaint tribe, when a man died he was left lying in his camp (*Lur*) for two or three days. Then he was tied up tightly with his knees drawn up, his elbows fastened to his sides, and his hands to his shoulders. His relatives cried over him and cut themselves with tomahawks and other sharp instruments for about a week. Then he was put into a hollow tree, or on a stage, built on the pollarded branches of a "Bull-oak"[1] tree. After camping at this tree for a time, say about a month or so, they leave it for a time; and if on returning the body was found to be dry, the head and arms were cut off and carried by his wife, and eventually buried with her. His father, own or tribal, made magic of the fibula bones of the legs.

The people of the Wotjo nation buried the dead with the head in a certain direction, which is determined by his class and totem. The several directions are all fixed with reference to the rising sun. Two of my informants, who were old men, spent about two hours in laying out the mortuary directions on the ground with sticks, and I constructed the following plan from compass bearing of the directions.

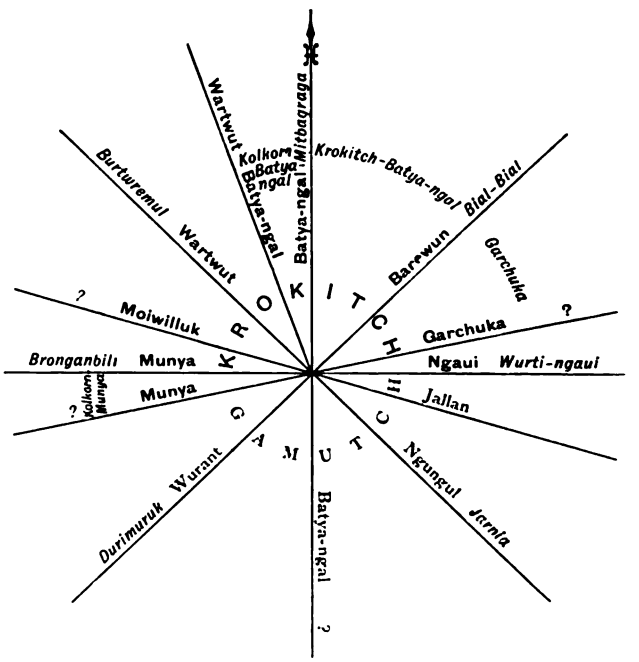
The diagram is probably not altogether correct, for the same reason given as to the list of totems, that my informants knew the mortuary totems of their own class and of some others, but had not so complete a knowledge of those with whom they had little to do. The information is, however, quite sufficient to show clearly the principles on

[1] *Casuarina cambagei*, Baker.

which these burial arrangements were made. It confirms the statement made to me that *Ngaui* and *Garchuka* "went together," and that there were *Batya-ngal* in each class. It shows that *Munya* and *Krokitch-batya-ngal* were each divided into two branches. As far as I could learn, *Gamutch-jallan* had no mortuary totem.

The spaces between the directions have names, which I have written down as far as I could obtain them. The

DIAGRAM XXX



word *Kolkorn* means wholly, or altogether, so that *Kolkorn-batya-ngal* means "altogether pelican," as *Kolkorn-munya* means "altogether yam." But I could not ascertain why both the space-names Krokitch-batya-ngal and Garchuka are applied to Barewun. I may add that the whole universe, including mankind, was apparently divided between the classes. Therefore the list of sub-totems might be extended indefinitely. It appears that a man speaks of some as

being "nearer to him" than others. I am unable to ascertain the precise meaning of this expression. When pressed upon this question, a black would say, "Oh, that is what our fathers told us."

The information which I have given about the class organisation of the Wotjobaluk applies also to the Mukjarawaint and the Jupagalk, but although I know that the classes *Gamutch* and *Krokitch* extend over a much wider range, I am unable to give a detailed account of the several systems.

The Gournditch-mara used to make fires at the graves, in order that the spirits of their departed friends might warm themselves, and they also put food there so that they could eat if they were hungry.[1]

When a Jupagalk man died, all the men went out of the camp at dusk and watched carefully to see the *gulkan-gulkan* of the man who killed him, that is, by magic, peeping about in the bush about the camp. Then, knowing who it was, they formed a *jolung-ulung*, literally a "sneaking party," and go quietly and kill him. If they could, they hit him on the back of the neck with club (*dolone-gunne*) and took his fat.

To make the account of the burial customs of the Victorian tribes more complete, I again quote from Dawson's work.

When a person of common rank dies, the body is immediately bound, with the knees upon the chest, and tied up with an acacia bark cord in an opossum rug. Next day it is put between two sheets of bark, as in a coffin, and buried in a grave about two feet deep, with the head towards the rising sun. All the weapons, ornaments, and property of the deceased are buried with him. Stone axes are excepted, as being too valuable to be thus disposed of, and are inherited by the next of kin. If there is no time to dig a grave, the body is placed on a bier, and removed by two men to a distance of a mile or two. Then the relatives prepare a funeral pyre, on which the body is laid, with the head to the east. All the effects belonging to the

[1] J. H. Stähle.

deceased are laid beside the body, with the exception of stone axes. Two male relatives set fire to the pyre and remain to attend to it till the body is consumed. Next morning, if any bones remain, they are completely pulverised and scattered about. When a married woman dies and her body is burned, the husband puts her pounded calcined bones into a little opossum skin bag, which he carries in front of his chest until he marries again, or until the bag is worn out, when it is burned.

Immediately after the death of a chief, the bones of the lower part of the leg and the forearm are extracted, cleaned with a flint knife, and placed in a basket; the body is tied with a bark cord, with the knees to the face, and wrapped in an opossum rug. It is then laid in a *wuurn* (hut) filled with smoke, and constantly watched by friends with green boughs to keep the flies away.

When all the mourners, with their faces and heads covered with white clay, have arrived, the body is laid on a bier formed of saplings and branches, and is placed on a stage in the fork of a tree, high enough from the ground to be out of the reach of the wild dogs. Every one then departs to his own home. The adult relatives and friends of the deceased visit the spot every few days and weep in silence. At the expiry of one moon the relatives and the members of his own and the neighbouring tribes come to burn the remains. The body is removed from the tree. Each chief, assisted by two of his men, helps to carry it and to place it on the funeral pyre, while the relatives of the deceased sit in a semicircle to windward of the pyre, and each tribe by itself behind them. The fire is lighted and kept together by several men of the tribe, who remain till the body is consumed, and till the ashes are sufficiently cool to allow the fragments of the small bones to be gathered. These are then pounded up with a piece of wood and put into the small bag prepared for them. The widow of the deceased chief, by first marriage, wears the bag of calcined bones suspended from her neck, and she also gets the lower bones of the right arm, which she cleans and wraps in an opossum skin. These relics she carries for two years, and

keeps them under cover with great care. In the tribes referred to by Mr. Dawson, the custom of eating the bodies

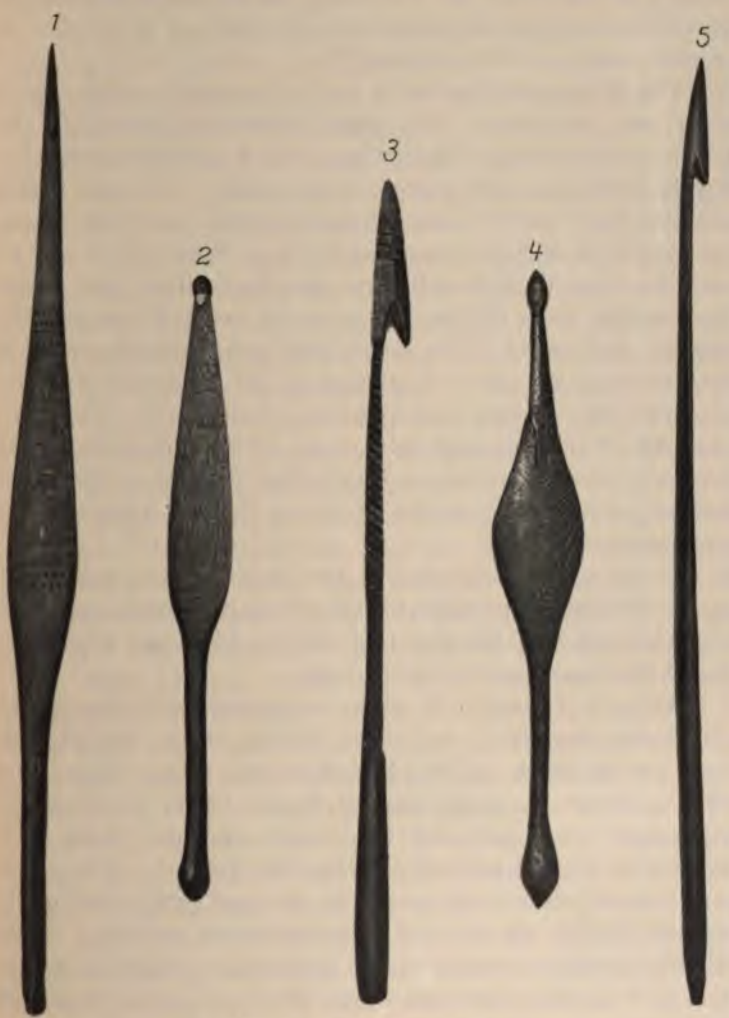


FIG. 25.—SPEAR-THROWERS.

of relatives of either sex is practised. This is, however, only done in cases where the person has been killed by violence. The body is divided between the adult relatives, and the

flesh of every part is roasted and eaten, excepting the vitals and the intestines, which are burned with the bones. The aborigines said that the body was eaten, with no desire to gratify or appease the appetite, but only as a symbol of respect and regret for the dead.[1]

The Wurunjerri buried a man's personal property, such as it was, with him. His spear-thrower was stuck in the ground at the head of the grave. At a woman's grave her digging-stick was also placed at the head. It is said that if the deceased was a violent man, who did injury to others, no weapon would be placed with him. When there was no medicine-man there to tell them who had killed him, it was the practice when digging the grave to sweep it clean at the bottom and search for a small hole going downwards. A slender stick put down it showed by its slant the direction in which they had to search for the malefactor. The male kindred of the deceased then went in that direction, until they met some man whom they killed to avenge the dead, and might leave the corpse on a log for his friends to see and take warning by.

In the case of *Murrangurk*, for whom Buckley was taken by the Wudthaurung tribe, his spear was planted on his grave, and the fact that Buckley had this in his hand when they found him was proof of his identity.

Richard Howitt[2] in 1840 remarked that the Yarra, Goulburn, Barrabool, and Port Phillip blacks buried their dead, while those of Mt. Macedon, the King, Ovens, and Murray Rivers generally burned them. After the flesh was consumed they gathered the bones and put them in a hollow of a tree some height from the ground. The grave was a small mound of earth, circular and gently and nicely rounded at the top, the soil bare and patted smooth. About five feet from the centre of the grave was a slight elevation, and in it at short intervals were driven stakes, five feet high and twenty in number.

Among the Jajaurung, persons of mature life, specially old men and medicine-men, were buried with much ceremony.

[1] Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 63-67.
[2] *Impressions of Australia*, 1845.

With the body were interred the weapons and other articles belonging to the deceased, and for a time a small fire was made at the foot of the grave.[1]

Among the Kurnai, when a man died, his relatives rolled him up in a 'possum rug and enclosed it in a sheet of bark, cording it tightly. A hut was built over it, and in this the mourning relatives collected. The corpse was placed in the centre, and as many of the relatives as could find room lay with their heads on it. There they lay lamenting their loss, saying, for instance, "Why did you leave us?" Now and then their grief would be intensified by some one, for instance, the wife, uttering an ear-piercing wail "*Penning-i-torn*" (my spouse is dead), or a mother would say "*Lit-i-torn*" (my child is dead). All the others would then join in with the proper term of relationship, and they would cut and gash themselves with sharp stones and tomahawks until their heads and bodies streamed with blood. The bitter wailing and weeping continued all night, only the more distant relations rousing themselves to eat until the following day. After this had continued for several days the mourners unloosed the body to look at it, and thus renewed their grief. If by this time the hair had become loose, it was plucked off the whole body, and preserved by the father, mother, or sisters in small bags made of opossum skin. Then the body was once more rolled up, and was not again uncovered till it had so far decomposed that the survivors could anoint themselves with oil which had exuded from it. The Kurnai say that this was to make them remember the dead person. Sometimes they opened the body and removed the intestines to make it dry more rapidly. The body in its bark cerements was carried with the family in its wanderings, and was the special charge of the wife, or of some other near relative. Finally, the body having, perhaps after several years, become merely a bag of bones, was buried or put into a hollow tree. Sometimes the father or mother carried the lower jaw as a memento.

The most remarkable custom connected with the dead was that of the "*Bret*" or hand. Sometimes the Kurnai cut

[1] W. C. Stanbridge, *op. cit.* p. 229; also E. S. Parker, *op. cit.* p. 25.

off one hand of the corpse, or both hands, soon after death, which they wrapped in grass and dried. A string of twisted opossum fur was attached to it, so that it could be hung round the neck and worn in contact with the bare skin under the left arm. It was carried by the parent, child, brother, or sister. The belief of the Kurnai was that at the approach of an enemy the hand would push or pinch the wearer. Such a signal being experienced, the hand would be taken from the neck and suspended in front of the face, the string being held between the finger and thumb. The person would then say, "Which way are they coming?" If the hand remained at rest, the question would be again put, but now facing another way, and so on. The response being that the hand vibrated in some direction, and it was thence that the danger was coming. My informants have told me that the swinging of the *Bret* was sometimes so violent that the string broke. In one case which I heard of, the *Bret* did not respond to its wearer, who said to it, "*Munju! Munju! Wunman? Munju! tunamun nganju, brappanu mabanju*," that is, "There! There! Where? There! Speak me to (or) throw dingo-to." That is, he would throw it to the wild dogs.

FIG. 26.—THE *BRET* OR DEAD HAND.

The Theddora believed that the dead do not always remain in the grave, but come out at times. This accounts for their graves being dug like cylindrical pits with a side chamber, in which the corpse was placed, blocked in with pieces of wood. An account of a burial by some of the Theddora, which was reported to me, and which I verified by

further inquiry from another man who was present, is very characteristic of their beliefs.

This man said: "We were at the Snowy River, and one of the old men died. We dug a hole in the river bank, and as we were putting him into it we thought that he moved. We were all much frightened and all fell back except old *Nukong*, who stood forward and said, 'What are you doing that for? What are you trying to frighten us for?' We rammed up the hole with wood and stones and earth and went away."

One of the Ya-itma-thang tribe went to Gippsland with one of my correspondents in the early days of settlement. He died there, and was buried in his full dress—head-band, nose-peg, waist-belt, and apron, or, more properly, a kind of kilt of kangaroo skin strands.[1]

By the Ngarigo the body was tied up tightly, with the knees bent and the arms crossed. It was buried either simply rolled up naked, or in other cases dressed in full male ornament, with the belt and *Bridda-bridda* on, and painted with pipeclay. The weapons, implements, and *Bridda-bridda*, if the latter was not put on, were buried with the body, and as they said, the "*Bulabong* (spirit or ghost) went into the scrub." They had the same belief as the Kulin, that the ghost remained in the bush for a time killing game, making camps, and lighting fires—in fact, continuing its former mode of existence. But in this the *Bulabong* was better off than the *Mrarts*, or Kurnai ghosts, who were said to live on sow-thistles.

The Ngarigo practice was to cross a river after burying a body, to prevent the ghost following them. An instance of this came under my notice. A leading man of that tribe died at the Snowy River, and was buried there. The survivors, who had camped not far away, were much alarmed in the night by what they supposed to be the ghost of the deceased prowling about the camp—as one of the men said, "coming after his wife."

The Wolgal were very particular in burying everything belonging to a dead man with him; spears and nets were

[1] The kilt worn by the men.—J. Buntine.

included; even in one case a canoe was cut into pieces so that it could be put in the grave. Everything belonging to a dead person was put out of sight.

The Ngarigo tied a dead man up tightly, the hands placed open on either side of his face, and the knees drawn up to the head. The grave was sometimes made like a well with a side chamber. In other cases it was made by digging out a cavity in a bank, as was done in the case just quoted by the Theddora. In this tribe also everything belonging to the deceased was buried with him.

The practice of the Yuin tribes is that when a man dies his body is wrapped up in an opossum rug. His articles of dress or ornament are put with him, stuffed under his head, or wherever there is room. A sheet of bark is rolled round him and corded tight. His weapons are given to his friends. The medicine-man then climbs up a tree, at the foot of which the corpse has been placed, and the tree must be a large and branching one. The women and children remain at the camp. All the men present, whether related to the deceased or not, climb up the tree after the medicine-man. He, being up among the branches, shouts out "*Kai!*" that is, "Hallo!" and looks up into the air. Then all listen carefully for the voice of the *Tulugal*, that is, the spirit or ghost. At length there is heard a far-distant reply of "*Kai!*" If the voice of the *Tulugal* is clear and distinct, he has died of some sickness, but if it is dull and choking, then he has been "caught," that is, killed by some evil magic. Sometimes the *Tulugal* tries to get back to the body. If the medicine-man is not strong enough to send him away, it has been said to come rushing into the tree-top with a noise like a bird flying, and to push the medicine-man down the bole of the tree by the head, and then to get into the covering of bark surrounding the corpse, from which the medicine-man has much apparent difficulty in removing him.

The *Tulugal*, as I have said, is the ghost, from *Tulu*, "a hole," or "grave," and *gal*, the possessive postfix, "of," or "belonging to." The word, however, means not only the human ghost, but also is applied to beings who lived in trees, rocks, or caves in the mountains, and who were credited with stealing

and eating children. It was said that long ago the old men used to go into the mountains, which lie at the back of the Yuin country, where they thought *Tulugal* might be, and after making a noise like a child crying, they would watch for a *Tulugal* peeping out of its hole. Having found its abode, they made a fire and burned it.

The Yuin were always afraid that the dead man might come out of the grave and follow them.

The burial practice of the Port Jackson tribes is described by Collins in the year 1796. These tribes, it may be observed, belonged to the Katungal, and were thus kindred to the Yuin.

The young people were buried, but those who had passed the middle age were burned. A boy who died, apparently of fever, was buried in the following manner. The body was placed in a canoe cut to the proper length,[1] together with a spear, fishing-spear, and spear-thrower, and the cord which the dead man had worn round his waist. The canoe with the corpse was carried on the heads of two natives to the grave, the boy's father accompanying it, armed with his spear and throwing-stick. At the grave one man stretched himself in it on the grass with which it was strewn, first on his back and then on his right side. On laying the body in the grave great care was taken to so place it that the sun might look at it as it passed, the natives cutting down for that purpose every shrub that could at all obstruct the view. He was placed on his right side, with his head to the north-west. When the grave was covered in, several branches of shrubs were placed in a half-circle on the south side of the grave, extending from the head to the foot of it. Grass and boughs were likewise placed on the top of it, and crowned with a large log of wood. After strewing it with grass the placer laid himself full length on it for some minutes.

When the wife of Bennillong, who appears from the account to have been a Headman, died, her body was burned. A pile of wood having been prepared of about three feet in height and strewn with grass, the corpse was

[1] In one case at least this was done by the Krauatun Kurnai when they buried one of their tribe who had been killed in the seizure of the woman Bolgan.

borne to it, and placed with the head towards the north. A basket, with the fishing apparatus and other small furniture of the deceased, was put by her side, and her husband having placed some logs over the body, the pile was lighted by one of the party. On the following day the husband raked the ashes together with his spear, and with a piece of bark he raised a tumulus of earth, on which he placed the piece of bark, and a log was placed on each side of the mound.

In another case where a woman had died, her infant at the breast was placed alive in the grave with her, a large stone was thrown on it, and the other natives instantly filled in the grave with earth.[1]

In the Geawe-gal tribe all the implements, the property of a warrior, were interred with his body, and indeed every piece of inanimate property he possessed.[2]

In the Gringai country there were places where numbers of blacks were buried, at least since the year 1830, and it was probably a continuation of an old custom. The dead were carried many miles to be buried in this place.

When the grave, which was very neatly dug, was considered to be of sufficient depth, a man got in it and tried it by lying down at full length. The body, nicely tied up in bark, was carried to it by friends of the deceased. Before being lowered into the grave, the medicine-man, standing at the head, spoke to it to find out who caused its death, and received answers from another medicine-man at the foot of the grave. All the articles belonging to the deceased were buried with him, and every black present contributed something, all of which things were placed at the head of the deceased. Then the grave was filled in.[3]

The following was the practice in another part of this district, namely at Dungog, and it relates to a time somewhere about the year 1830. Venerable men, and men of distinction, were buried with much ceremony, but ordinary members and females were disposed of in a perfunctory manner. The body of a man belonging to a strong family, and with a good following, would be buried in the following manner. The body was doubled up, heels to hips and face

[1] Collins, *op. cit.* pp. 388, 393. [2] G. W. Rusden. [3] A. Hook.

to knees, and the arms folded. It was then wrapped up in sheets of Ti-tree bark secured by cords of string-bark fibre. A hole was dug in easy soil and in a well-shaded locality, about two feet deep and circular. The body was dropped in sideways, and after putting a stone hatchet and a club beside the body, the grave was filled in, and the ceremonies ended. The grief displayed at the funeral of a venerable and honoured man was unquestionably great and genuine. The lamentations at a grave, and the chopping of heads and burning of arms, was something not to be easily forgotten. The grief, though violent, was not of long duration, and by the time the wounds were healed the sorrow was ended.[1]

At Port Stephens the body was neatly folded in bark and was placed in the grave at flood-tide; never at ebb, lest the retiring water should bear the spirit of the deceased to some distant country. Before placing the corpse in the grave, two men held it on their shoulders, while a third, standing at the side, struck the body lightly with a green bough, at the same time calling out loudly the names of the acquaintances of the deceased and of others. The belief was that when the name of the person who had caused his death was spoken, the deceased would shake, and cause the bearers to do the same. The next thing would be to seek revenge.

In this tribe an old couple had an only daughter, of whom they were very fond. She died, and her parents built their hut over her grave close to the shore of the harbour, and lived there many months, crying for her every evening at sunset. They then removed their hut a few yards away and remained in it till the grass had completely covered the grave, when they left, and never again visited the place.

It seems probable that the Gringai natives belonged to the same tribe, at any rate the former held the same belief that if the dead were not buried at flood-tide, the ebb might carry away the spirit of the deceased. They also thought that the spirit lingered at the grave for a time.[2]

It is now necessary to revert in the description of burial customs to those of the inland tribes.

With the Wiradjuri, *Bulungal*, that is, "death," is the

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay. [2] W. Scott.

passing away of the *Jir*, "ghost" or "spirit." After death, the body is rolled tightly in a skin rug, and then placed in a grave about four feet deep. All the personal property, except perhaps some choice articles, are then laid on the corpse, and the grave filled with sticks and bark, covered over with earth and with large logs placed on it. The surrounding trees are marked, the grave is left, no one going near it and no one speaking of it. The name of the deceased is never mentioned, and if any one else has the same name he is obliged to drop it and assume another.[1]

There is a curious belief among the Wiradjuri that, when a man is near death he can see the shadow of the person who has caused his death by evil magic. Under such circumstances, he will say to those about him, "Get out of my way so that I may see who it is who has caught me." This same belief existed elsewhere, for instance in the Jupagalk tribe; and I remember a case in the Kurnai, when a man being almost at the point of death, his friend Tankowillin, who was attending to him, said again and again, "Can you see who it is?" and was greatly troubled when his friend died without being able to tell him.

Speaking of about the year 1830, it is said that among the southern Kamilaroi loud cries were raised on the occasion of a death in the camp. The relatives, and especially the women, cut their heads with tomahawks, and the blood was allowed to remain on them, while for mourning they smeared the head with pipe-clay. While the body was still warm, they brought nets and opossum rugs as wrappers for the corpse, spread them on the ground, and doubled the body into the form of a bale, with the knees and chin touching each other. Then they wrapped the bale in the nets and rugs and tied it tightly. A shallow hole was dug with yam-sticks, in which the body was placed, and being filled in with soil, was covered with logs and deadwood to keep the dingoes out.[2] In the northern districts of the Kamilaroi country the burial was sometimes in soft ground. If there was not any soft ground at hand, the body was placed in a hollow tree.

When an old infirm black had become too feeble to

[1] J. H. Gribble. [2] C. Naseby.

accompany the section of the tribe to which he belonged, he was left in charge of a man; or, if a woman, in charge of a woman, assisted by a youth whose duty it was to attend to and finally to bury their charge if death occurred.[1] A Headman might be buried in a *Bora* ground, under one of its marked trees, but to cheat the *Kruben* (an evil being), other trees were marked, and other graves dug, without any bodies in them. The Kruben is supposed to be a supernatural creature, living in hollow trees, or in water-holes. It is supposed to go about doing harm, especially by carrying off children. The *Murri* (*i.e.* Man, in the Kamilaroi tongue) say that it would steal up to the camp at night, and catch children, and tear them. This seems to be an analogous belief to that of the Coast Murring as to the *Tulugal*.

The Wollaroi placed the body of a man on a stage, and the mourners sat under it and rubbed the oil which exuded from the body on themselves, so that they might become strong. When the flesh left the bones, they were buried. A female was buried at once, and a child was placed in a tree.[2]

Among the Unghi the usual method of burial is the same as our own, but occasionally a blackfellow after death undergoes a very primitive system of embalming. A kind of platform is erected upon which the corpse is laid, having first been placed in a rude bark coffin. Beneath the platform a fire is lighted on which is thrown green boughs of a species of sandal-wood, and a dense smoke is kept up for perhaps a week or ten days, after which the tribe depart, taking the body with them, and visit the places the deceased frequented during life. Months are spent in this way, and the remains are finally deposited in a hollow tree.[3]

On the Maranoa the graves are nearly always boomerang-shaped, with the convex side towards the west. The body is tied up in a sheet of bark immediately after death, the toes being tied together, as are the hands also. Occasionally a vessel containing water is suspended near the grave lest the deceased should want a drink. Not infrequently, however, the body is dried and carried about for a long time—even,

[1] Cyrus E. Doyle. [2] R. Crowthers. [3] A. L. P. Cameron.

as in one case, for three years. Such a body is dried by being placed on a stage under which the women keep a slow fire constantly burning. The fat which exudes from it is collected in vessels and the young men rub it over their bodies to impart the good qualities of the deceased to themselves.

It is usually some young man who has died a violent death who is dried and carried about by his kindred. The reason assigned for the custom is that he has died before his time and would not rest in his grave. Such a body is tied up tightly at full length in a sheet of bark, which is painted or ornamented with emu feathers. When they are travelling two young men carry the body in the day and watch it at night, then two others the day following, and so on.[1]

In the Chepara tribe, when a man becomes ill, and believes that a man of another clan of the tribe has "caught" him—for instance, by giving him a 'possum rug made deadly by magic—he tells this to his friends before his death, and they take measures afterwards to avenge him. The medicine-man (*Bugerum*) in his dreams will see the culprit, and also the immediate cause of death, which had been in the gift, flying back to the river. When a man died he was tied up in the bark of the Ti-tree, the arms being crossed over the chest, the legs doubled up, and the knees close to the chin. The grave was dug about six feet deep with yam-sticks, in a lonely place, and where no tree could fall over it.

When about to bury the body, they stripped some bark and laid it at the bottom of the grave ; they placed grass on the bark and then the body. Split sticks were placed across the body and the earth filled in, with a mound on the top covered with grass. A fire was made at the grave by the father or other near relative. The body was carried to the grave tied to a pole on the shoulders of two men. If the deceased had been killed by violence or was believed to have been the victim of evil magic, an old man blew into his ears, and whispered the name of the suspected culprit. The bearers then ran for a short distance in the direction in which the suspected person lived. After the burial, a party was made up to go and kill him.

[1] R. C. Lethbridge.

When a man died, many of his things—rugs, tomahawks, spears, etc.—were buried, but some were given to his kindred, for instance, to his son, or brothers, own or tribal, and after a death the camp was moved to another place.

The mourning in this tribe was as follows. The relations of a dead person for several months after wore emu feathers, dyed red with a dye called *Quitye*, and said to be obtained from a soft stone found in the mountains at the sources of the Tweed River. The mother of the deceased had her nose and all her body painted with stripes of white pipe-clay, and wore red feathers over the whole of her head. A sister had also her head covered with red feathers, but was not painted white. After a few weeks the painting was changed to red, and then was worn by father, mother, and sisters for a long time.

After a death in a family, the name of that family was dropped for several months. That is to say, the members of it were addressed, the males as *Warkumbul*, and the females as *Waimungun*, which implies that one of their kindred has died, and avoids the mention of the name of the deceased.[1]

In the Bigambul tribe, on the occasion of a funeral, the body of a man was carried round the grave on the heads of two men, and was asked who was the cause of his death. On such occasions my correspondent has heard them say, when they thought the corpse moved, "Oh! he has heard it!"[2]

If a Kaiabara black dies, his tribes-people never mention his name, but call him *Wurponum* (the dead), and in order to explain to others who it is that is dead, they speak of his father, mother, brothers, etc. As a sign of mourning they put charcoal and fat under the eyes, and rub red ochre over the head and body. They do not bury a man of note at once, but dry the body before a fire and then carry it about for six months before burying it.[3]

The Turrbal attributed all deaths, other than by violence or in battle, to magic. When a man died, he was placed on a stage and a space was cleared under it. The medicine-

[1] James Gibson. [2] James Lalor. [3] Jocelyn Brooke.

man would on the following morning make a track on the ground with the side of his hand, and tell the people that tracks were there, and that he knew from them who had killed the man, naming some one of another tribe. Then their aim was to kill that man.

A corpse was rolled up in Ti-tree bark and placed in a fork of a tree, the feet being left bare. A fire was made under the body. A spear and club were left near it, that the spirit of the dead might have weapons wherewith to kill game for his sustenance in the future state. A yam-stick was placed in the ground at a woman's grave, so that she might go away at night and seek for roots.[1]

In the tribes within 30 miles of Maryborough (Queensland), when a man died, the body was either buried, burned, placed on a stage, or eaten. When the body was eaten, the bones were collected at once. When it was burned, the teeth were collected from the ashes. When it was buried, the bones were dug up after a time. There was no rule whether a deceased person should be buried, burned, or placed on a stage; but it was considered the greatest honour to eat your friends, if they had been killed at one of the ceremonial combats.

When the body was buried, or placed on a stage, one or more fires were lighted, not only to let the spirit of the deceased warm itself, when it got out of the grave, but also to keep away spirits of dead blacks of other tribes, or of bad men of their own tribe. It showed greater affection to light more fires than one, so as to give more warmth and greater security.

The bones, after being collected and carried about for a time, were put up in trees and left there.

When a man died, his intimate friends and relations would for a time, out of respect for him, taboo certain words or invent others, and a man might for instance say, "I will not speak his language any more, but will speak another language," and would for a time use one of the neighbouring dialects. The old men would also probably taboo certain animals, saying, "He ate that animal, we will not eat it

[1] Tom Petrie.

for a long time." This might last for a year, or even more.[1]

Among the Kuinmurbura, the custom was to make a hole about a foot deep for a grave, place the body in it and cover with sticks and logs. When the flesh had decayed away, the bones were collected in a bag, called by the whites a "dilly-bag," and placed in a hollow tree.

It was said by the Kuinmurbura that the natives of the Keppel Islands at the mouth of the Fitzroy River, called the Wapio-bura, that is, of or belonging to *Wapio*, an island, simply lay their dead on one particular place, on one of the islands, and never touch them again. This I have not been able to verify, and record it for what it may be worth.

Great fighting-men were placed, when dead, on a stage about six feet high, until the flesh decayed, and the young men would stand underneath and rub themselves with any juice which fell from it, in order to get the strength and fighting power of the dead man. When the bones were free from flesh, they were placed in a tree.[2]

The Wakelbura belief was that no strong black would die, unless some one had placed a spell on him. When a man died, the body was placed on a frame, lying on bark and covered with branches, all of which must be of a tree of the same class and sub-class as that to which the deceased belonged. For instance, if he were a Banbe man, then the wood, bark, and branches would be of the Broad-leaved Box-tree,[3] that tree being also of the Banbe sub-class. Men of the Malera class, which includes both Banbe and Kurgilla, would build the stage and cover the dead body. It must be remembered that in this tribe the two class names divide the whole universe between them. This being done, the women wailed, and cut themselves with stone knives, and at later times with broken glass. The old men, after the stage was made and the body placed on it, carefully loosened the ground under it so that it was reduced to dust, on which the slightest mark or print could be seen. They then made

[1] H. E. Aldridge. [2] W. H. Flowers.

[3] According to Mr. J. H. Maiden, in his work *The Useful Plants of Australia*, the Broad-leaved Box of Queensland is the *Eucalyptus acmenioides*.

a large fire close to the spot, and went back to the camp. The next morning a few armed blacks went to the spot, and surrounded the stage, while one going very gently on tiptoe, and kneeling down, examined the smoothed ground. If he saw nothing, he rose very cautiously, and looking round him uttered some half-stifled growls about the ghost of the dead. Then biting some grass and muttering some words to the ghost, he cast it on the fire, and after making this up, he and his companions returned to the camp. At sunset they would again visit the stage and examine the ground for marks, and this might be done for several days, until they found some mark or track on it. This they believed to have been made by the ghost of the dead man, and from the appearance of the mark or track they could tell whom it represents. For instance if the track were that of a dingo, and therefore Malera-banbe, they would soon make out who the Malera-banbe man was who had killed him. They say that a track made by a dingo could not deceive them, for it would be deeply impressed on the soil, while an impression made by the ghost would be like a shadow.

Having ascertained who had killed him, they take the body down from the stage, and breaking it up with a tomahawk, the pieces are enveloped with twigs, and enclosed within bark stripped from a sapling, and fastened by sewing opossum skin round it. The mother or sister of the deceased takes charge of it, and sometimes the remains are carried about for as long as eighteen months, until the matter has been settled by the offender being punished. Then the remains, bark covering and all, are put into some hollow tree in the country of the deceased. All the trees at the place are ring-barked where the remains are deposited, and boughs are placed in their forks. If there is no fork, they drive two stakes into the ground and heap up boughs between them.

There are exceptions to this rule, for where no large hollow tree can be found, the remains are buried in the ground, on some sandhill, the grave being filled with decayed wood, so that at any time they can remove them. Two stakes are driven into the ground at the head of the grave,

and filled in with boughs of a tree, or with bushes, of the proper class.

If two blacks were out in the bush, and one of them died, the other would, if the ground were too hard to dig a grave, cover him up with earth or mud. Then he would make a big fire, ring-bark the trees in a circle, and perhaps place one or two hot coals from the fire in the dead man's ears, before he went away. If the other blacks were at a distance, say a week's or a fortnight's journey, nothing further would be done, except that at a future time they would burn the remains at the place where they were buried. The ghost of the deceased was supposed to haunt the place where he died, and to revisit his old camping-places. They believed that if his relatives were near him when he died, he would follow them, if they did not make a fire and place bushes in the forks of the trees before leaving the place, and entering into their ears would kill them. By placing bushes in the forks of the trees they think that the ghost will be induced to camp in them, and go to warm himself at the fires. The trees are blazed in a circle in order that the ghost, if trying to follow them, will go round in a circle and thus return to the spot from which he started. The coals are placed in the dead man's ears to keep the ghost in the body till his relatives get a good start away from him. They also believed that when a man died at a distance from his home, his spirit would travel towards it, and his friends, if they were going in another direction, would lay him in the grave with his face towards home. If he died in the night, they would throw a firebrand in that direction as a guide for the spirit to follow.

A peculiar belief of theirs was that right-handed men went up to the sky, while left-handed men went down under the ground. When they saw white men for the first time, they thought that they were some of the left-handed men come back again.

While the remains are being carried about by the relatives, they are, when a dancing corrobboree is held, placed up against a tree, and with a red band tied round that part of the bark envelope where the head is, as if for the deceased to see the dances.

They cannot bear to hear the name of the dead mentioned, and to do so would cause violent quarrels and perhaps bloodshed.[1]

The Dalebura sometimes bury the dead, sometimes place the body on a stage of wood, and covered with Ti-tree bark, tied on with cord. Later on, the friends return, and, having danced round the stage, bury the bones. The widow or the mother takes some of the finger bones, which she carries in her bag, especially if the deceased was a great fighting-man, or had any special virtues.[2]

No one is believed by the tribes at the Herbert River to die from any cause but the magic of some one of a neighbouring tribe. A shallow grave is dug with pointed sticks close to water, and the father or brother of the deceased, if a man, or the husband if a woman, beat the body with a *Mera* or club, often so violently as to break the bones. Incisions are generally made in the stomach, on the shoulders, and in the lungs, and are filled with stones. After this, the body is placed in the grave, the knees drawn up to the chin, and laid on its side, or seated head erect. Weapons, ornaments, in fact everything which the deceased had used in life, are put with the body, the whole is covered up, and a hut is built on the top of the grave. A drinking-vessel is put inside the hut, and a path is made to the water for the spirit to use. The legs are generally broken to prevent the ghost from wandering at night. The beating is given in order to so frighten the spirit that it would be unlikely to haunt the camp, and the stones are put in the body to prevent it from going too far afield. Food and water are often put on the grave. After the burial the camp is shifted to a distance. The grave is visited and kept clean, often for years after. The spirits of the dead roam up and down for a time in the places they had frequented during life, but finally go to the Milky Way.[3]

These burial customs not only confirm the conclusions deducible from the previous evidence, but show that the deceased might follow his kindred corporeally and injure others. Hence it is that the body is tied up tightly in its

[1] J. C. Muirhead. [2] R. Christison. [3] John Gaggin.

cerements and placed in a grave, blocked in some cases with wood before being filled with earth. The common practice of placing logs on the grave is, I think, not so much to prevent the ghost from getting out, as to prevent the dingoes from disinterring the body. The breaking of the bones by the Herbert River tribes is a very clear example of the precautions taken to prevent the ghost from wandering, although it is an exceptionally severe means of doing so. The practice of burying implements, ornaments, or weapons with the dead is clear proof that they are supposed to continue their lives as ghosts in the sky-land much as they had done when in the body on earth.

BELIEFS IN SOME LEGENDARY BEINGS

A belief is common to all the tribes referred to, in the former existence of beings more or less human in appearance and attributes, while differing from the native race in other characteristics. Their existence, nature, and attributes are seen in the legendary tales which recount their actions.

These tales may be divided into three kinds, which roughly agree with the areas indicating the range respectively of the Lake Eyre tribes, those to the north of them, first discovered by Spencer and Gillen, and of the tribes to the south-east.

The legends of the Lake Eyre tribes are, however, not peculiar to them, but are held by those who have the same two-class system of social organisation, as far to the south as Spencer Gulf, and to the north of Lake Eyre approximately to latitude 25°.

These legends relate to the *Mura-muras*, who were the predecessors and prototypes of the blacks, who believe in their former and even their present existence. Their wanderings over Central Australia, the origin of the present native race and of the sacred ceremonies, are embodied in the legends and preserved by oral tradition.

As these legends, which have been carefully preserved by my fellow-worker, the Rev. Otto Siebert, are given fully in Chapter X. and the Appendix, all that I need do here is to

state their purport concisely so as to show clearly the nature of the *Mura-muras*, who are the chief actors in them.[1]

The *Mura-mura* Paralina when out hunting saw four unformed beings crouching together. He smoothed their bodies with his hands, stretched out their limbs, slit up their fingers and toes, formed a mouth, nose, and eyes, stuck ears on, and otherwise turned them into mankind.

Another legend says that in the beginning the earth opened in the middle of Lake Perigundi,[2] and thence the totem animals came forth, one after the other. They were quite unformed, without sense organs, and they lay on the sandhills, which then as now surrounded the lake, until being revived and strengthened by the warmth of the sun, they stood up as human beings and separated, some to the north-east, some to the east, and others to the south-west and south.

Another accounts for the dispersal of the totems. The *Mura-mura* Mandra-mankana, having been killed by the people for his misdeeds, was brought to life by a crow, which tapped with its bill on the logs which lay on his grave. He, waking up and seeing no one near, followed the footprints of the people who had gone fishing, and were then busy driving the fish with bushes into their nets. He, keeping himself concealed in the water, and opening his mouth, swallowed water, fish, and men. Some who escaped ran off in all directions; and, as they ran, he gave to each a *Murdu*, that is, a totem name. In this way it came about that the totems are scattered over the country, while some are more common in one part than in another.

The next stage shown by the legends is the origin of the rites and ceremonies of circumcision and subincision. They form a very interesting series, the three first of which are versions of the same as recorded by different tribes and related by them in their ceremonies. The first belongs to the Yaurorka, the eastern Dieri, and the Yantruwunta. It tells how two *Mura-mura* youths were hunting for game at Perigundi, when one of them became accidentally circum-

[1] Explanatory footnotes are given in the Appendix.
[2] A lake in the Dieri country.

cised, and saw that he had now become "a perfected man." Then his companion having also become circumcised, they performed that rite on their father with a stone knife (*Tula*), and set out on their wanderings, carrying it with them, and teaching people to use it instead of the fire-stick, which had caused the death of many youths.

The second belongs to the Ngameni and Karanguru, and relates the wanderings of two *Mura-mura* youths who, finding men about to use the fire-stick for circumcision, suddenly used their stone knife, and thus saved the boys from imminent death. Having instructed the men, who were astounded by what they saw, they wandered farther, when having become accidentally subincised, they became fully completed men.

Having conferred the use of the stone knife on mankind, they now introduced the practice of Dilpa, that is, subincision, and thus again, as the legend says, became "the benefactors of mankind."

The Dieri, who also know this legend, say that they still live, wandering far away in the north, invisible to men, but relieving the distress of others, carrying lost children to their camp, and caring for them till they are found by their friends.

The third legend belongs to the Urabunna, the Kuyani, and the southern tribes as far as Spencer Gulf. It says that two *Mura-mura* youths, coming from the north, travelled through the land, introducing the use of the stone knife for circumcision. After thus showing themselves in many places as life-givers, they turned back northwards, and at Lake Eyre one went to the west, and the other to the east and then to the north, taking everywhere the *Tula* and introducing its use. Thus they still wander, showing themselves at times as living and as life-givers.

Another legend of two *Mura-mura* youths, the Yuri-ulu, belongs to the Wonkanguru, and relates partly to the circumcision ceremony, and partly to their wanderings to the north-westward, where in the mountains they passed through the edge of the sky, which rested on the earth, into another country. There both of them died, according

to this legend; but returning to life, they called to their father, with the voice of thunder, that they had died in a strange land. The Yuri-ulu are the stars Castor and Pollux.

Other legends of these tribes relate to the wanderings of the *Mura-muras* over a large part of Australia north and south of Lake Eyre, either in connection with certain of their food ceremonies, or for other purposes, or to explain the origin of things which to the aborigines seem to require explanation.

The wanderings of the *Mura-mura* Makatakaba,[1] are told by a Wonkanguru legend. He was nearly blind, but recovered his sight by seeing a distant fire which his daughters had observed when out with their mother gathering seeds for food. Leaving them behind, he went forth on his wanderings, singing a song into which he wove all that he saw. At length he reached a great water, on the shores of which he gathered glowing coals from a fire which had sprung up by itself. Thence he wandered back southwards, still making his song, until he reached the Macumba country, where, being ridiculed by the people, he destroyed them by a fire which he lighted with the coals carried in his bag. Meanwhile his wife and daughters were carried away by a whirlwind, farther and farther to the north, until they were finally overwhelmed with sand. The account of his wanderings suggests that the great water which he met with was the Gulf of Carpentaria, which lies about 700 miles to the north-east of the Wonkanguru country.

One of the most remarkable of these legends is that of the Pirha-malkara. It is one of those about which songs are sung at the ceremonies of circumcision, and it relates to the wanderings of the Mankara-waka and the Mankara-pirna, two parties of young women, the younger and the elder.[2] The legend is divided into two parts: the first belongs to the Urabunna, Tirari, Dieri, and other tribes, and the second to the Wonkanguru.

[1] M. E. B. Howitt, *op. cit.*

[2] The *Mankara-pirna ya waka*, that is, the girls big and little, otherwise older and younger.

The legend recounts their adventures, and gives the reasons for the names they gave to the places at which they halted or camped. It traces them to a place on the east side of Lake Eyre round its southern end, and to some place on the north-east side apparently in the Wonkanguru country.

A second legend gives the wanderings of the young women to a place where they met a similar party of Wonkamala girls, who therefore must have come southwards, from about two hundred miles north of Lake Eyre.

The two parties having joined, they wandered still farther to the north, until they reached a vast sheet of water, with high waves. Following its shore, they came to a steep hill, at which some of them turned back. These came upon a number of men engaged on a *Wodampa* ceremony, who being enraged that the girls should have seen what was not lawful for them to see, strangled them all. Meanwhile the others, being stopped by the steep hill, which they could not pass, the eldest one struck it with her *Wona*, or staff, and as it opened, they danced through the opening, and came to a place where Ankuritcha, an ancient man, was sitting on the ground, twisting cord, in front of his camp. They seated themselves near him, and as he listened to them, with his ear turned to the sky, Arawotya, who lives there, let down a long hair cord, and drew them up to himself.

The Mankara-waka are the Pleiades, and Orion's Belt is the group of the Mankara-pirna. All that is known of Arawotya is that he once wandered over the earth, and that he made the deep springs of water which rise here and there in otherwise waterless districts of north-western Queensland.

As in the legend of the *Mura-mura* Makatakaba, it is not easy to say what the great sheet of water can be, unless it is the Gulf of Carpentaria, which is nearer to the Wonkamala country than that of the Wonkanguru. Northern tribes-people who came to the *Minkani* ceremonies would meet Dieri, and thus made known to them facts as to the geography of parts still farther to the north. At any rate, there is no sheet of water which would strike the Lake Eyre tribes as remarkable between their country and the sea.

Besides these legends, there are others which relate to

the ceremonies by which it is sought to produce a supply of food, animal and vegetable, on which the native tribes depend for their subsistence; and these legends relate how, for instance, the ceremonies for producing a crop of lizards and carpet-snakes originated.

One of the most interesting legends is that of the *Mura-mura* Minkani. It is a Yantruwunta legend, also held by the Yaurorka and Dieri. It tells how a *Mura-mura*, called Anti-etya, went away to a place now known as Farrar's Creek, where he lived in a cave in a sandhill, and became the *Mura-mura* Minkani. It says that while he burrowed deeper and deeper in the sandhill, presents were carried from him to Andrutampana, another *Mura-mura* in the north, on the understanding that after his death the sacred song of each should be combined. These songs are sung at the cave of the *Mura-mura* Minkani elsewhere described.

The other legends given in the Appendix show that the lives and customs of those mythical people were similar to, and indeed identical in most points with, those of the native tribes who believe in them.

As perhaps indicating a stage in culture, there is a Dieri legend, relating how the existing marriage rules, based on the totemic restrictions, were instituted, and with this it is necessary to consider what has been called the "*Murdu* legend" of Mr. S. Gason.[1] In the course of my inquiries as to the Dieri traditions, I became doubtful as to whether Mr. Gason's *Murdu* legend might be taken to actually give the belief in a "good spirit" called *Mura-mura* as held by the Dieri. I therefore requested Mr. Siebert to investigate this question, the result being the mass of legends which are now rescued from oblivion.

The following is Mr. Gason's legend, which was quoted by Dr. Lorimer Fison and myself in our work, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, in 1880:—

"After the creation brothers, sisters, and others of the nearest kin intermarried promiscuously, until the evil effects of the alliances becoming manifest, a council of the chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be

[1] *The Dieyeri Tribe*, p. 13. Cox, Adelaide, South Australia, 1874.

averted, the result of their deliberations being a petition to the *Mura-mura* (good spirit), in answer to which he ordered that the tribe should be divided into branches, and distinguished one from another by different names, after objects animate and inanimate, such as dogs, mice, emu, rain, iguana, and so forth; the members of any such branch not to intermarry, but with permission for one branch to mingle with another."

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Gason did not give his legend, as nearly as possible, in the words of his informants, rather than in the above anglicised version.

The other version which we have obtained is as follows: "The several families of *Murdus* married in themselves without shame. This occasioned great confusion, and sexual disorder became predominant. The *Pinnarus* (elders) observing this, came together to consider how these evils might be avoided. They agreed that the families should be divided, and that no member of a segment should marry within it. In accordance with this it was ordered that '*Yidni padi madu* (murdu) *wapanai kaualka kuraterila, yidni kaualka wapanai warugatti kuraterila*, etc.' That is, 'Thou grub totem, go to produce crow; thou crow totem, go to produce emu, etc.,' and so on for the other totems."

These two legends differ in a very material matter. That of Mr. Gason says that the *Murdus* were established for the purpose of regulating marriage, while that of Mr. Siebert says that the *Murdu* families existed, but that they married within themselves, and that the evils which were experienced therefrom were avoided by establishing what was, in fact, exogamy. By it marriage, which pre-existed, was regulated, and this was done by the *Pinnarus*, not by the order of a *Mura-mura*, but by their own will. If we accept this as having been done in the *Mura-mura* times, then both legends are, to a certain extent, reconciled, for the *Pinnarus* then were the *Mura-muras*.

It seems to me that this view not only falls into line with the general conclusions which may be drawn from all the legends given here regarding the beliefs of the Lake Eyre tribes, and the sequence of the several stages of their

social evolution, but also with conclusions which have been drawn by Spencer and Gillen from the analogous legends of the Arunta tribes.

It seems to me that these legends may be taken to be not merely mythical, but rather dim records of former events, such as the wanderings of the early Australians, dressed in a mythic garb, and handed down from generation to generation, from father to son, in the sacred ceremonies. After observing the reverence with which the blacks hear such legends, I can see plainly how true their feeling is when they say to a question, "Why do you do such or such a thing?" "Our fathers told us to do so."

The legends show what the *Mura-muras* are supposed to have been. At the present time they are said to inhabit trees, which are, therefore, sacred. It is the medicine-men alone who are able to see them, and from them they obtain their magical powers.

Some of these legends identify natural features of the country with the *Mura-muras*; for instance, the thermal springs near Lake Eyre with the *Mura-mura* Kakakudana, and certain petrifactions to the south-east of Lake Eyre where some *Mura-mura* women were turned into stone. Professor Baldwin Spencer has told me that the equivalents of the *Mura-muras* occur with the Urabunna, and the places are pointed out where they died and where their spirits still are. One of these places is shown in the accompanying illustration of a mass of rocks which are said to be the spot where some Pigeon ancestors went into the ground.

This evidently connects the *Mura-mura* beliefs of the Dieri with the *Alcheringa* beliefs of the Arunta. So far, however, I have not been able to find that the Dieri have the Arunta belief in the reincarnation of the ancestor, nor have I found any trace of it in the tribes of South-east Australia.

For comparison with the *Mura-mura* beliefs, I quote from Spencer and Gillen a few comprehensive passages descriptive of the beliefs of the tribes of which the Arunta are the representatives (type).[1]

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* pp. 73, 119, 120, 377, 378, 513.

The *Alcheringa* is the name applied to the far-distant past, with which the earliest traditions of the Arunta tribe deal, and in the *Alcheringa* lived ancestors who, in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals and plants the name of which they bear, that an *Alcheringa* man of, say, the kangaroo totem, may be sometimes spoken of either as man-kangaroo, or as a kangaroo-man.

Going back to this far-away time, we find ourselves in

FIG. 27.—PIGEON ROCK, URABUNNA TRIBE.
The rocks are supposed to be full of pigeon spirit individuals left behind by the ancestor o the pigeon totem group. The spirits are called *Mai-aurli* (or *Mura-mura*) by the Urabunna.

the midst of semi-human creatures endowed with powers not possessed by their living descendants, and inhabiting the country which is now inhabited by the tribe. The traditions recognise four more or less distant periods in the *Alcheringa*. During the first of these, men and women were created; in the second, the rite of circumcision by means of the stone knife, in place of the fire-stick, was introduced; in the third, the rite of *Arilta*, or subincision was brought in; and in the fourth, the present organisation and marriage system.

Every individual is supposed to be the reincarnation of

an Alcheringa being, or, in other words, one of the ancestors. Thus one of the most remarkable features in the beliefs of the Arunta is that of the existence of spirit-ancestors who become reincarnate by entering some woman, and are again born under their original totem names.

The Yerkla-mining believe in the existence of an evil-disposed being called *Burga*, who can harm them unseen. He is white in colour, and is always lurking about with intent to do harm, and may be met anywhere at night or after sunset.

One of my correspondents,[1] hearing that the oldest *Mobungbai* had, as the blacks express it in their "pidgin English," "fought the devil," went out to see the place in the Mallee scrub, on the top of the cliffs. He found a small open space where the ground was torn up, and tufts of grass torn up by the roots. The place looked as if fifty natives had been at battle, but the tracks and footprints were all evidently made by the same person. The *Mobungbai* who had fought was very ill and quite exhausted for some days afterwards. These men professed to learn from dreams when and where the other people are to hunt, travel, or visit, etc. They surround their lives with as much mystery as possible.

I take the beliefs of the native tribes of Victoria as representing those of the tribes of South-east Australia.

The Wotjobaluk account of the creation of man says that long ago Ngunung-ngunnut, the bat, who was a man, lived on the earth, and there were others like him, but there was no difference between the sexes. Feeling lonely, he wished for a wife, and he altered himself and one other, so that he was the man and the other was the woman. Then he made fire by rubbing a stick on a log of wood.

According to the Wurunjerri, it was Bunjil who made men of clay and imparted life to them, while his brother, Pallina, the bat, brought women up out of the water to be their wives.[2]

According to the Yuin, the eastern neighbours of the

[1] D. Elphinstone Roe.

[2] William Thomas, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, p. 65. Government Printer, Melbourne.

Kurnai, before there were men there were creatures somewhat like human beings, but without members. Muraurai, the Emu-wren, turned them into men and women by splitting their legs, separating the arms from the sides, and slitting up their fingers, and otherwise perfecting them.

A legend of the Wotjobaluk tells of the wanderings of the two Bram-bram-gal in search of Doan, the flying-squirrel, who had been killed and eaten by Wembulin, the so-called Tarantula. It tells of their adventures, and of the naming of the places where these occurred, until the younger of the brothers died. Then the elder shaped part of a tree in the form of a man, and by his magic caused it to become alive, and to call him elder brother. United once more, the two Bram-bram-gal travelled far to the west, where they lived in a cavern ; but no one knows where they then went to.[1]

The Wurunjerri legend of *Lohan* is, that when he was cooking eels at the Yarra River he observed a swan's feather carried by the south wind. Walking in that direction, he at length came to Westernport Bay, where the swans lived. There he remained till they migrated to the east, and he followed them. Coming to Corner Inlet, he made his home in the mountains of Wilson's Promontory, and watched over the welfare of the people who followed him.

Although the Kurnai had no legend of the migration of *Lohan*, they also believed that he lived in the mountains of Wilson's Promontory, with his wife *Lohan-tuka*. The Brataua clan, in whose country his home is, said that their old men had seen him from time to time marching over the mountains with his great jag-spear over his shoulder. They also believed that he watched over them, and that he caused their country to be deadly to strangers. It was therefore to him that they attributed the taboo which protected them against the visits of other tribes, from the eastern extremes of Gippsland to the lower Murray River.[2]

There is a legend that the first Kurnai man marched across the country from the north-west, bearing on his head a bark canoe in which was his wife *Tuk*, that is the Musk-duck, he being *Borun*, the Pelican.[3]

[1] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends and Folklore*, MS. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

The sacred legends of these tribes which are connected with the ceremonies of initiation attribute their institution to a great supernatural being, called among the Wurunjerri, *Bunjil*, and not to origins such as are attributed to them by the tribes of Central Australia. This is a very marked feature, which will be enlarged upon later.

A Kurnai tale tells how the supernatural being called Bullum-baukan stole the fire of the early Kurnai. Narugul, the Crow, and Ngarang, the Swamp-hawk, having recovered it, Bullum-baukan ascended to the sky by climbing up a cord made of the sinews of the red wallaby.[1]

Another legend shows the composite nature of the actors, other than Bunjil. Karwin, the Blue Heron, who had been fishing, met two young men, and having given them some of his fish, which they ate, they went to sleep by the fire. He then by his magic caused a log of wood to rise upon end, and fall on to the young men, and kill them. Then Bunjil for this, and also because he had not given food to his wife, fought with him and speared him through the thigh so that his legs shrivelled up and became very thin, and always hang down when he flies.[2]

This composite character of the actors in the legendary tales is shown by the Kurnai tales, of which the following is an example.

There was a great flood which covered the land, and drowned the people, excepting a man and two women. Bunjil Borun, the Pelican, came by in his canoe, and took the man across to the mainland, then one woman, leaving the better-looking one to the last. She, being frightened, swam over to the land, having placed a log rolled up in her rug by the fire as if she were there asleep. Bunjil Borun discovering this, when he returned, became very much enraged and began to paint himself ready for fighting with the man whose wife had played him this trick. While he was doing this another pelican came up, and seeing a queer-looking creature, half-black and half-white, struck at it with his beak and killed Bunjil Borun.[3]

Such tales as these might be multiplied indefinitely, from

[1] M. E. B. Howitt, *Legends and Folklore*, MS. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

the tribes of South-east Australia, but what I have given will show their character, and serve for a comparison with those from Central Australia. As to the actual character of these half-human, half-animal actors of the tales, something may be said, and perhaps the best example is that of the Kurnai.

With them certain animals, birds, and reptiles have each its own individual name, but all are known collectively as *Muk-jiak*, that is, "excellent flesh" (or meat); while other creatures used for food are merely *Jiak*. Now in all these tales, in which a bird-man or reptile-man or animal-man takes part, in a twofold character, it is a *Muk-kurnai*. This may be translated as "eminent man or men," the Kurnai of the legend being thus distinguished from the Kurnai of the present time. The whole term may be fairly interpreted as "eminent ancestors," for they were not only the predecessors of the tribe, but also in one sense the *Wehntwin*, that is, the Grandfathers. It may be added that there are not only *Muk-kurnai* but also *Muk-rukut* (*Rukut* being woman). The Kurnai say that the bird Leatherhead is appropriately placed among the *Muk-rukut*, because it is continually chattering. The *Muk-kurnai* and the *Muk-jiak* animals are therefore the same as the ancestors, and a suggestion naturally arises that these latter were also the totems.[1]

The *Mura-muras*, *Alcheringa* ancestors, and *Muk-kurnai* are all on somewhat the same level, while the tribal All-father as represented by *Mungan-ngaua* belongs to a distinctly higher level of mental development.

The three types of belief represented by the *Alcheringa* ancestors, the *Mura-muras*, and the *Muk-kurnai* have certain features in common. They recognise a primitive time before man existed, and when the earth was inhabited by beings, the prototypes of, but more powerful in magic, than the native tribes. Those beings, if they did not create man, at least perfected him from some unformed and scarcely human creatures. Although this appears when one looks at the subject broadly, there are yet differences which distinguish the several types of belief from each other. In the legendary

[1] Of course this does not include the sex totems.

tales of South-east Australia the actors are either of the composite human and animal natures, or entirely human, like *Bunjil* or *Baiame*. With the Lake Eyre tribes they are almost entirely human as *Mura-muras*, and only in rarer cases are they of the composite character, as in the legend of the *Mura-muras* who became emus, or the tale of Pirinti and Kapiri where they are almost completely animal. But the principal difference lies in this absence among the native tribes of Central Australia of a belief in a tribal All-father, which I shall consider in the following section.

THE TRIBAL ALL-FATHER

Altogether apart from the *Mura-muras*, *Alcheringa* ancestors, or the *Muk-kurnai* is the supernatural anthropomorphic being in whom the tribes of the south-east of Australia believe, under different names. In the chapter on the initiation ceremonies I describe the manner in which the sacred beliefs are imparted to the novices, and I shall now record what may be gathered therefrom, and also from statements recorded by various writers bearing on this belief.

In doing this I commence with the Narrinyeri, as the most western tribe in which I find the belief exists.

According to Taplin,[1] the Narrinyeri "call the Supreme Being by the names *Nurrundere* and *Martummere*. He is said to have made all things on the earth, and to have given to men the weapons of war and hunting, and to have instituted all the rites and ceremonies which are practised by the aborigines, whether connected with life or death. On inquiring why they adhere to any custom, the reply is *Nurrundere* commanded it. *Nurrundere* went to *Wyirra-warre*, taking his children with him."

Wyirra-warre is said to be the sky, and Taplin says: "The Narrinyeri always mention his name with reverence. I never heard them use it lightly or with levity." In speaking of a great kangaroo hunt at which 150 natives were present, he says: "On reaching the hunting-ground,

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 55.

a wallaby, which had been killed on the road thither, was produced, and a fire kindled by the women. Then the men standing round, struck up a sort of chant, at the same time stamping with their feet. The wallaby was put on the fire, and as the smoke from it ascended, the hunters, at a concerted signal, rushed towards it, lifting their weapons towards heaven. I afterwards learned that this ceremony was instituted by *Nurrundere*." [1]

This description exactly recalls to me the action of the men at the commencement of the *Bunan* ceremonies, when they point to the sky with their weapons or the boughs they hold, as indicating the great *Biamban*, whose name it is not lawful to mention excepting at the ceremonies, and when only initiated persons are present.

The Wiimbaio spoke of *Nurelli* with the greatest reverence. He was said to have made the whole country, with the rivers, trees, and animals. He gave to the blacks their laws, and finally ascended to the sky, where they pointed him out as one of the constellations.[2] He is said to have had two wives, to have carried two spears, and his place of ascension is pointed out as at Lake Victoria.[3]

In the tribes of South-west Victoria *Nurelli* is replaced by a being, who, according to Dawson,[4] is the good spirit *Pirnmeheeal*, who is a gigantic man, living above the clouds; and, as he is of a kindly disposition and harms no one, he is seldom mentioned, but always with respect.

The Wotjobaluk spoke of *Bunjil* as a great man, who was once on the earth, but is now in the sky. His wives were two sisters *Ganawarra* (Black Swan). A brother of *Bunjil* was *Djurt*, who is now a star near to him. I am in doubt as to which star is *Bunjil*, for the one pointed out to me was Fomalhaut, but elsewhere in Victoria among the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 55.

[2] The late Dr. M'Kinlay, who knew the Wiimbaio well, soon after their country was settled, informed me that the constellation was the Pleiades. This seems doubtful to me, as they are called by the Victorian tribes by some name indicating a group of women, for instance, *Karat-goruk*, from *Karat* a "group," and *goruk* the feminine postfix.

[3] On the north side of the river Murray, with which it is connected by the Rufus, and about 50 miles from Wentworth.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 49.

Kulin it is Altair. Yet Dawson, in speaking of the south-western tribes, gives among the stars "Fomalhaut, Bunjil."[1]

The Wotjobaluk also spoke of *Bunjil* as *Mami-ngorak*, that is, "our father," and said that he is in some place beyond the *Wurra-wurra*, or sky. This place is said to be also beyond the *Wurk-kerim*, or dark place, which the medicine-men told them "is like a mountain." My informants, who did not belong to the medicine-man calling, said further that the *Bangal* (medicine-men) told them that they were met at the *Wurk-kerim* by another being called *Gargomitch*, who leaving them there went to where *Mami-ngorak* is and brought back to them his answer to their inquiries.

I feel that it is well that I should guard myself against any misconception as to the real meaning of the expression "our father." Taking the Kurnai case as an example, the term used is *Mungan*, that being the relation of a man and of all his brothers to his child. It is a group relationship, and further it includes all those who were made *Jeraeil* at the same ceremonies. As to this, I was *Jeraeil* with the before-mentioned Tulaba, he being therefore my *Bramung*, or younger brother. Consequently I was also in the relation of *Mungan* to his son. It happened that I did not see the latter for some ten or fifteen years, and when we met, he came forward, with his eyes cast down toward the ground, and with his hand raised to his mouth, and said in a low tone, with great reverence, "Mungan! Mungan!" There was, however, more in this than a mere salutation to one of his kindred. As one of the leaders in the *Jeraeil*, at which he was present, I was, so to say, in the position of one of the *Gweraeil-kurnai*, or Great Men, whom, independently of any group relationship, he would have addressed as he did me, by saying with reverence "Mungan! Mungan!" that is, Father! Father!

Now this is precisely the position in which the tribes-people stand to *Bunjil*, *Daramulun*, *Baiame*, and *Mungan-*

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 100. In Mrs. James Smith's work, *The Buandik Tribe* (Adelaide, 1880), the vocabulary, p. 128, gives this, "Boongil—the planets observable." It is evident that she refers to *Bunjil* as one of the stars.

ngaua, who are all spoken of as "father"; while the last has no other name than "Father of all of us." It is necessary to guard carefully against such a feeling toward *Mungan-ngaua* as is embodied in our expression "Our Father in heaven." Mungan-ngaua is the Headman in the sky-country, the analogue of the Headman of the tribe on the earth.[1]

In the Wotjobaluk tribe, which had not any initiation ceremonies of the *Bora* type, the medicine-men evidently kept to themselves certain beliefs as to *Mami-ngorak*, just as the initiated men keep the beliefs as to *Mungan-ngaua*, *Daramulun*, or *Baiame* from the uninitiated.

All that I know of the beliefs of the Mukjarawaint is that *Bunjil* was once a man who was the father of all the people, and that he was good and did no harm to any one. I may mention here as in one sense belonging to this part of my subject, that one of the Mukjarawaint said that at one time there was a figure of *Bunjil* and his dog painted in a small cave behind a large rock in the Black Range near Stawell, but I have not seen it, nor have I heard of any one having seen it.

The following are the beliefs of the Kulin as they appear in their legends, and from the statements of surviving Wurunjerri to me. *Bunjil*, as represented by them, seems to be an old man, the benign *Ngurungaeta* or Headman of the tribe, with his two wives, who were *Ganawarra* (Black Swan), and his son *Binbeal*, the rainbow, whose wife was the second rainbow which is sometimes visible. *Bunjil* taught the Kulin the arts of life, and one legend states that in that time the Kulin married without any regard for kinship. Two medicine-men (*Wirrarap*) went up to him in the *Tharangalk-bek*, and he said in reply to their request that the Kulin should divide themselves into two parts—"*Bunjil* on this side and *Waang* on that side, and *Bunjil* should marry *Waang*, and *Waang* marry *Bunjil*."

Another legend relates that he finally went up to the sky-land with all his people (the legend says his "sons") in

[1] But Mungan-ngaua is also spoken of at the ceremonies as *Kurnai-talung* or *Kurnai-ma-ngittel*, that is, "my man."

a whirlwind, which *Bellin-bellin* (the Musk-crow) let out of his skin bag at his order. There, as the old men instructed the boys, he still remains, looking down on the Kulin. A significant instance of this belief is that Berak, when a boy, "before his whiskers grew," was taken by his *Kangun* (mother's brother) out of the camp at night, who, pointing to the star Altair with his spear-thrower, said: "See! that one is *Bunjil;* you see him, and he sees you." This was before Batman settled on the banks of the Yarra River, and is conclusive as to the primitive character of this belief.

One of the legends about Bunjil in the Woëworung tribe is perpetuated in a corrobboree which was witnessed in the early forties by Richard Howitt.[1] The legend is that Bunjil held out his hand to the sun (*Gerer*) and warmed it, and the sun warmed the earth, which opened, and black-fellows came out and danced this corrobboree, which is called *Gayip*. At it images curiously carved in bark were exhibited.

Usually *Bunjil* was spoken of as *Mami-ngata*, that is, "Our Father," instead of by the other name *Bunjil*.

It is a striking phase in the legends about him that the human element preponderates over the animal element. In fact, I cannot see any trace of the latter in him, for he is in all cases the old blackfellow, and not the eagle-hawk, which his name denotes; while another actor may be the kangaroo, the spiny ant-eater, or the crane, and as much animal as human.

Protector Thomas and Protector Parker, who had much knowledge of the Kulin tribes, give some particulars of their beliefs as to *Bunjil* which are worth quoting. *Bunjil* was the maker of the earth, trees, and men,[2] and his name exists in the language as the term for wisdom or knowledge.[3]

Among the Kurnai, under the influence of the initiation ceremonies, the knowledge of the being who is the equivalent of *Bunjil* is almost entirely restricted to the initiated men. The old women know that there is a supernatural being in

[1] Richard Howitt, *op. cit.*, 1845.
[2] *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, p. 84. Melbourne, 1899.
[3] Parker, *op. cit.* p. 24.

the sky, but only as *Mungan-ngaua*, "our father." It is only at the last and the most secret part of the ceremonies that the novices are made aware of the teachings as to *Mungan-ngaua*, and this is the only name for this being used by the Kurnai. They are told that long ago he lived on the earth, and taught the Kurnai of that time to make implements, nets, canoes, weapons—in fact, everything that they know. He also gave them the names they have from their ancestors. For instance, Tulaba received his when he was made *Jeraeil*, it being the name which had belonged to his maternal grandmother's brother. *Mungan-ngaua* had a son named *Tundun*, who was married, and who is the direct ancestor of the Kurnai, their *Weintwin*, or father's father. *Mungan-ngaua* instituted the *Jeraeil*, which was conducted by *Tundun*, who made the instruments bearing the names of himself and his wife. When some one impiously revealed the secrets of the *Jeraeil* to women, and thereby brought the anger of *Mungan-ngaua* on the Kurnai, he sent his fire, the Aurora Australis, which filled the whole space between the earth and the sky. Men went mad with fear, and speared each other, fathers killing their children, husbands their wives, and brethren each other. Then the sea rushed over the land and nearly all mankind was drowned. Those who survived became the *Muk-kurnai*. Some turned into animals, birds, reptiles, fishes, and *Tundun* and his wife became porpoises. *Mungan* left the earth, and ascended to the sky where he still remains.

All that I can say as to the beliefs of the Theddora is from what an old woman, one of the sole survivors of that tribe, said. When I asked her if she knew who *Daramulun* was, she answered: "All that I know of *Tharamulun* is that he comes down with a noise like thunder, to make the boys into men. We call him *Papang*." The word *Papang* is "father."

In the tribes down the course of the Murray River, starting from the Wiradjuri, there is, according to Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, a belief "in a deity," or, as he afterwards says, "perhaps a supreme supernatural being."[1] The Wathi-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 364

wathi called him *Tha-tha-puli*, and the Ta-tathi *Tulong*. They say that he came from the far north, and now lives in the sky. He told each tribe which language they were to speak. He made men, women, and dogs, and the latter used to talk, but he took the power of speech from them. According to the Wathi-wathi, it was *Tha-tha-pulli* who changed the *Bookoomurri* (the primitive beings) into animals. Another legend says that they transformed themselves, and that as animals they felt an interest in the new race of human beings which *Tha-tha-pulli* created after their change.[1]

The conception of *Baiame* may be seen from Ridley's statements, and so far as I now quote them, may be accepted as sufficiently accurate. I have omitted the colouring which appears to be derived from his mental bias as a missionary to blacks. He says that *Baiame* is the name in Kamilaroi of the maker (from *Biai*, "to make or build") who created and preserves all things. Generally invisible, he has, they believe, appeared in human form, and has bestowed on their race various gifts.[2]

The following is the statement of one of the early settlers in the Kamilaroi country, and, I think, gives the aboriginal idea of *Baiame* free from any tinge derived from our beliefs. If you ask a Kamilaroi man "Who made that?" referring to something, he replies, "Baiame deah," that is, "Baiame, I suppose." It is said that Baiame came from the westward long ago to Golarinbri on the Barwon, and stayed there four or five days, when he went away to the eastward with his two wives. They believe that some time he will return again.[3]

In proceeding with this branch of my subject I must turn from the inland to the coast tribes, recommencing with the Coast Murring.

The belief in *Daramulun*, the "father," and *Biamban*, or "master," is common to all of the tribes who attend the Yuin *Kuringal*. I have described them at length in Chapter IX., and may now summarise the teachings of the ceremonies. Long ago *Daramulun* lived on the earth with his

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 368. [2] Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, etc., p. 135. 1875.
[3] Cyrus E. Doyle, quoting one of the earlier settlers in the Kamilaroi country.

mother *Ngalalbal.* Originally the earth was bare and "like the sky, as hard as a stone," and the land extended far out where the sea is now. There were no men or women, but only animals, birds, and reptiles. He placed trees on the earth. After Kaboka, the thrush, had caused a great flood on the earth, which covered all the coast country, there were no people left, excepting some who crawled out of the water on to Mount Dromedary. Then *Daramulun* went up to the sky, where he lives and watches the actions of men. It was he who first made the *Kuringal* and the bull-roarer, the sound of which represents his voice. He told the Yuin what to do, and he gave them the laws which the old people have handed down from father to son to this time. He gives the *Gommeras* their power to use the *Joïas*, and other magic. When a man dies and his *Tulugal* (spirit) goes away, it is *Daramulun* who meets it and takes care of it. It is a man's shadow which goes up to *Daramulun.*

Such are the beliefs which are taught at the Yuin *Kuringal*, and as the Ngarigo attended these ceremonies it is not surprising that they believed the same. The following is the statement of a very intelligent old man of that tribe which I took down as he said it: "*Tharamulun* once lived on the earth, where he taught the Murring what to do. He gave them the *Kuringal* and told them what food to eat. When he died and was put in the ground, his *Bula-bong* (spirit, ghost) went up to the *Kulumbi* (sky). Women know of his existence, but only speak of him as *Pabang* (father). It is only when a young man has his tooth knocked out that the name of *Tharamulun* is told to him. *Tharamulun* can see people, and is very angry when they do things that they ought not to do, as when they eat forbidden food." This account speaks of him as a man whose spirit or ghost went up to the sky, while the usual statement is that he went up in the flesh as one of the *Gommeras*, or medicine-men, might do.

These beliefs extend along the coast, to my knowledge at least as far as the Shoalhaven River, and, according to the old men who were with me at their *Kuringal*, as far as Newcastle.

My information as to the tribes farther north along the coast is very fragmentary. My valued correspondent the late Dr. M'Kinlay, speaking of a time as far back as the year 1830, said that "they believed in evil spirits who disported themselves in the night, but also in a master spirit, in some unknown habitat, who ruled their destinies." He said that he did not know his name, but that they often pointed upwards as indicating his whereabouts. He it was who settled them in their country, apportioned them their hunting-grounds, gave them their laws and instituted the *Boombat*. This shows me clearly that they told him as much as was lawful to tell to an uninitiated man, to one who was not *Boombat*, for that is their name for an initiated person as well as for the ceremonies. The blacks of Port Stephens, who were of the same great tribal community as those at Dungog, believed in an "evil being, *Coen*," who could take the form of birds, and possibly of animals. Any mysterious noise at night was attributed to *Coen*, and they never travelled at night without a fire-stick to keep him off.[1]

In this connection it is worth noticing what Dawson says about *Coen*, when writing about the time when he was at Port Stephens, before the year 1830.[2] "They are afraid of *Coen*, an evil spirit of the woods, which they say "*Crammer* (steals) blackfellow when *Nangry* (asleep), in bush." Speaking of a thunder-storm, he says, "I could, however, learn nothing from them, except that it was *Coen* who was very angry, and was come to frighten them; but of the origin or motives of *Coen* I could not now, more than upon former occasions, get any other explanation than that he was in form a blackman, and an evil being who delighted in tormenting and carrying them away when he could get opportunities."[3]

Some further light is thrown on *Coen* by what Threlkeld says in his work on the language spoken at Lake Macquarie.[4]

"*Koin* is an imaginary male being, who has now, and has always had, the appearance of a black; he resides in

[1] W. Scott. [2] R. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 153.
[3] L. Threlkeld, *An Australian Language*, p. 47. Sydney. [4] *Ibid.*

thick bushes or jungles; he is seen occasionally by day, but mostly at night. In general he precedes the coming of natives from distant parts, when they assemble to celebrate certain of their ceremonies, as the knocking out of the teeth in the mystic ring, or when they are performing some dance. He appears painted with pipe-clay, and carries a fire-stick in his hand; but generally it is the doctors (a kind of magician), who alone perceive him, and to whom he says, 'Fear not, come and talk.' At other times he comes when the blacks are asleep, and takes them up, as an eagle his prey, and carries them away for a time. The shout of the surrounding party often makes him drop his burden; otherwise he conveys them to his fireplace in the bush, where he deposits his load close to the fire. The person carried off tries to cry out, but cannot, feeling almost choked; at daylight *Koin* disappears, and the black finds himself conveyed safely to his own fireside."

This shows clearly that *Koin* is the equivalent of *Baiame* or *Daramulun*, and that Threlkeld repeats what the initiated blacks told him, as one of the uninitiated. It is very characteristic, and not less significant of the relative positions of the blacks and the missionaries, that even Threlkeld, who had aquired their full confidence, knew so little, while he was yet on such intimate terms with Biraban,[1] the account of whom shows that he must have been one of the initiated, and able, had it been lawful for him to do so, to have given Threlkeld a full description, not only of the real attributes of *Koin*, but also of the ceremonies to which he "precedes the coming of natives." I have no doubt that *Koin* is the equivalent of *Daramulun*, for he holds the place in the ceremonies which the latter has in the tribes farther south along the coast; and moreover the old men of the Yuin told me that their ceremonies extended up the coast as far as Newcastle, which is the same as saying that they extended to Lake Macquarie.

There is a long extent of coast between the Port Stephens blacks and those who are known to me as the Chepara tribe. They believed in a supernatural being whom they called

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 88.

Maamba,[1] who was supposed to be "in the *Bugerum*," that is, in the medicine-man, who at their ceremonies is raised almost to frenzy, much as are the *Gommeras* at the magical dances of the *Kuringal*.

In the tribes about Maryborough (Q.), *Birral* was the name of the supernatural being who lived in an island farther north, to which place he directs their ghosts after death. That is to say, the ghosts of those who are good, or those who have some high degree of excellence in any particular line, fishing, hunting, fighting, dancing, and such like. This is all that I have been able to learn about *Birral;* but it suggests that he may be the supernatural being spoken of in connection with the ceremonies of initiation.[2] This perhaps is strengthened by what I have learned of the beliefs at the Herbert River, still farther to the north along the coast.

In these tribes there is a striking belief in a supernatural being called *Kohin*. He is said to have his dwelling in the Milky Way (*Kuling*), but to roam about by night on earth as a gigantic warrior, who kills those whom he meets. He can at will make himself invisible. He sends thunder and lightning, and the blacks talk to him during the storm, and spit and put up their hand towards the sky, as if to ward off the lightning. When the frogs are croaking, it is said that they are calling on him to send the rain. It is said that *Kohin* is offended by any one taking a wife from the prohibited sub-class, or not wearing the mourning necklace for the prescribed period, or eating forbidden food. Such offences bring on the offender *Kohin's* anger, and sooner or later the person dies in consequence. *Kohin* came long ago down from *Kuling*, and appeared to their fathers as a carpet-snake. He said that where he came from was a good land and in it a vast river full of splendid fish. He had two *Tikovinas* with him, which he presented to the tribe, and told them that if they were good men and wore them, they would not be killed in fight, and that they could fly. Two men tried it, and succeeded in going from tree to tree as the flying-squirrels do. Afterwards, becoming more expert,

[1] J. Gibson. [2] Harry E. Aldridge.

they flew from mountain to mountain. He then told them to get two large bags filled with gum-tree leaves, and to start for the Milky Way. This they did, and confirmed all that *Kohin* had said. One returned, but the other refused to leave such good quarters, and sent his *Tikovina* by the other. *Kohin*, who had remained on the Herbert while the two were absent, and had cured some old women of sores and had made them young again, now went away, leaving the two *Tikovinas* with the tribe, telling them that when he sent another, marked red in the centre, they would have all to go to *Kuling*, and live there.

FIG. 28.—TIKOVINA USED BY THE HERBERT RIVER TRIBES.

The *Tikovina* is a flat thin piece of soft wood cut from the north Queensland fig-tree. It is about a foot long, by about three or four inches wide, brought gradually to a point at the bottom, while the top is cut in the rude representation of a man's face with mouth and eyes. It is painted all over the front red and black with human blood and clay. As a sort of war-charm it is worn round the neck of a warrior, and hangs down between the shoulders behind, showing that the wearer means fighting, and that he will not miss with his club, spear, and boomerang, while the weapons of his adversary will glance aside from him. It is kept hidden away from women and children, who seem afraid of it.[1]

As my authority for these statements put it to me, *Kohin* seems to these blacks to be a glorified and deified blackfellow, and they speak of him to those in whom they have confidence as their father.

It seems quite clear that *Nurrundere*, *Nurelli*, *Bunjil*, *Mungan-ngaua*, *Daramulun*, and *Baiame* all represent the same being under different names. To this may be reasonably added *Koin* of the Lake Macquarie tribes, *Maamba*,

[1] J. Gaggin.

Birral, and *Kohin* of those on the Herbert River, thus extending the range of this belief certainly over the whole of Victoria and of New South Wales, up to the eastern boundaries of the tribes of the Darling River. If the Queensland coast tribes are included, then the western bounds might be indicated by a line drawn from the mouth of the Murray River to Cardwell, including the Great Dividing Range, with some of the fall inland in New South Wales. This would define the part of Australia in which a belief exists in an anthropomorphic supernatural being, who lives in the sky, and who is supposed to have some kind of influence on the morals of the natives. No such belief seems to obtain in the remainder of Australia, although there are indications of a belief in anthropomorphic beings inhabiting the sky-land. That part of Australia which I have indicated as the habitat of tribes having that belief is also the area where there has been the advance from group marriage to individual marriage, from descent in the female line to that in the male line; where the primitive organisation under the class system has been more or less replaced by an organisation based on locality; in fact, where those advances have been made to which I have more than once drawn attention in this work.

This supernatural being, by whatever name he is known, is represented as having at one time dwelt on the earth, but afterwards to have ascended to a land beyond the sky, where he still remains, observing mankind. As *Daramulun*, he is said to be able to "go anywhere and do anything." He can be invisible; but when he makes himself visible, it is in the form of an old man of the Australian race. He is evidently everlasting, for he existed from the beginning of all things, and he still lives. But in being so, he is merely in that state in which, these aborigines believe, every one would be if not prematurely killed by evil magic.

Combining the statements of the legends and the teachings of the ceremonies, I see, as the embodied idea, a venerable kindly Headman of a tribe, full of knowledge and tribal wisdom, and all-powerful in magic, of which he

is the source, with virtues, failings, and passions, such as the aborigines regard them.

Such, I think, they picture the All-father to be, and it is most difficult for one of us to divest himself of the tendency to endow such a supernatural being with a nature *quasi*-divine, if not altogether so—divine nature and character.

The earliest instance of this tendency which I have met with is in an interesting paper by Mr. James Manning,[1] in which he reproduces notes written in the years 1844-1845, and mainly taken from the most intelligent of those natives who frequented his home in the bush at that time. He says that he afterwards met with fresh confirmation of the beliefs of the blacks in "a supreme being or Deity," in all parts of New South Wales, in Victoria as far as the Grampians, and in Queensland as far as Rockhampton.

To show what, according to his statements, these beliefs were, I now quote such parts of his account, which, allowing for the medium of transmission, coincide with those which I know to be held by the aborigines in most of the area indicated by him. It is well also to preface this by what he says as to possible missionary preachings, on which Mr. E. M. Curr has laid much stress in speaking of these beliefs. Mr. Manning says, "For the first four or five years or more, of that earliest time" (that is of ten years before he made the notes), "there was no church south of the little one at Bong-bong at Mittagong. The cities and towns of Goulburn, Yass, Albury, and Melbourne did not exist. It was a common parlance among the settlers, when travelling south, before Goulburn and Yass townships were formed, to say that 'there was no Sunday after crossing Myrtle Creek.' No missionaries ever came to the southern districts at any time, and it was not until many years later that the missionaries landed at Sydney on their way to Moreton Bay."

His statements, when condensed, are that "they believe in a supreme Being called *Boyma*,[2] who dwells in the north-

[1] James Manning, Royal Society of New South Wales, *Notes on the Aborigines of New Holland*, Nov. 1, 1882.

[2] *Baiame*, as I have heard the word pronounced.

east, in a heaven of beautiful appearance. He is represented as seated on a throne of transparent crystal, with beautiful pillars of crystal on each side. *Grogorally* is his son, who watches over the actions of mankind. He leads the souls of the dead to *Boyma*. The first man made by *Boyma* was called *Moodgegally*, who lives near the heaven of *Boyma*. He lives on the earth and has the power of visiting *Boyma*, whose place he reaches by a winding path, round a mountain, whence he ascends by a ladder or flight of steps. There he received laws from *Boyma*."

In these statements I easily recognise, although in a distorted form, the familiar features of *Baiame* and his son *Daramulun*, *Bunjil* and his son *Binbeal*, or *Mungan-ngaua* and his son *Tundun*. The first man who ascends to the sky-land is typical of the medicine-man who says that he can ascend to the sky and commune with the "great master."

Mr. Manning has built up on these facts a superstructure which represents Christian dogmas, and he has done this evidently with full faith in the truth of his deductions. The following are his own words: "They not only acknowledge a Supreme Deity but also believe in his providential supervision of all creation, aided by his son *Grogorally*, and by the second mediator, in the supernatural person, of their intercessor *Moodgegally*."

I believe that the late Archdeacon Gunther wrote an account of the belief in *Baiame* by the natives of Wellington Valley in New South Wales, but I have not been able to find it. However, the following occurs in a vocabulary compiled by him, "*Baiamai*, a great God, he lives in the east."[1]

The Rev. William Ridley identifies *Baiame* with God,[2] and says that he "sometimes appeared in human form, and will bring (them) before him for judgment, and reward the good with endless happiness."[3] This account has, and not unnaturally, the mental colour of the writer, who in his

[1] Dr. John Fraser, *op. cit.* p. 56.
[2] Rev. W. Ridley, *Gurre Kamilaroi*, p. 7.
[3] Rev. W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages*, p. 135. Sydney, 1875.

prefatory note speaks of their traditions concerning *Baiame* (the maker of all), as "a ray of true light which has passed down through many generations." [1]

Mr. J. Dawson, in speaking of the beliefs of the native of the south-west of Victoria, says, "The good spirit *Pirnmeheeal* is a gigantic man living above the clouds"; and he goes on to say that, as he is of a kindly disposition and harms no one, he is seldom mentioned, but always with respect. The meaning of the word *Pirnmeheeal* in the *Peek wuuruung* language he gives as "our father." [2]

The use, or misuse, of the term "great spirit" or "good spirit" is not confined to Dawson. I must confess that I have also committed this misleading error before I really perceived the true facts of the case. Gason also uses the term "good spirit" in reference to the *Mura-muras*, which I have already referred to.[3]

The views of the late Mr. E. M. Curr find a place here. He says that from inquiries of blacks on the subject of beliefs of the tribes concerning God and the next world, that they had, as it seemed to him, no beliefs on the subject. He is strongly of the opinion that "those who have written to show that blacks had some knowledge of God, practised prayer, and believed in places of reward and punishment beyond the grave, have been imposed upon; and that, until they had learned something of Christianity from missionaries and others, the blacks had no beliefs or practices of the sort. He considers that, having heard the missionaries, they were not slow to invent what he might call kindred statements with aboriginal accessories, with a view to please and surprise the whites." [4] That the blacks had no knowledge of God, and that they did not practise prayer, is quite true; but they had, and have beliefs such as those which I have recounted, which were evidently unknown to Mr. Curr, and which he was not likely to learn from the manner of his inquiries "concerning God and the next world." Nor would those he questioned voluntarily tell him, even if they

[1] Rev. W. Ridley, *op. cit.* p. vi.
[2] James Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 49. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 13.
[4] *Op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

understood his meaning, the sacred and secret teachings of the initiation ceremonies. In my experience, men have in such circumstances put on an appearance of dense stupidity, or have resorted to absolute denial of any knowledge, and even to lies.

In reading Mr. Curr's work, *The Australian Race*, I find, however, that such beliefs as those I have stated are noticed by his correspondents. The Larrakia[1] believe in a being who dwells in the stars, and never dies. The Cape River tribes[2] believe that when a blackfellow dies whose actions have been in life what they hold to be good, he ascends to *Boorala* (*i.e.* the Creator, literally "good"), where he lives much as he did on the earth.[3] In this we may recognise the *Birral* of the tribes inland from Maryborough (Queensland) referred to a few pages back.

Some of the authorities whom I have quoted to show the wide range of this belief in the tribal All-father have raised upon it a structure which has caused others to feel the doubts which Mr. E. M. Curr has expressed. It seems therefore advisable that I should give the reasons which appear to me to prove conclusively the aboriginal origin of the belief in the tribal All-father as I have given it.

It has been necessary for me, in recording and discussing these beliefs, to bear in mind the possibility of fraud or error on the part of my native informants. Especially is this the case as to those who have been much with the missionaries in Gippsland. The two mission-stations were, as far as I remember, established there about 1860, therefore subsequently to the *Jeraeils* at which my most trusted native informants were initiated. The strongest instance bearing upon the possibility of later external beliefs having been engrafted upon the primitive beliefs of the Kurnai is that of the man who at first identified Brewin with Jesus Christ, and afterwards with the Devil. I gave that as an instance of what one might assume to be the grasp of the Christian religion obtained by a converted Australian savage of fairly good intelligence. I knew this man, and I believe he said what he really thought. I was the more struck by it because

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 253. [2] *Op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 146. [3] *Op. cit.*

I remembered the religious function at which he was confirmed by the Bishop of Melbourne. But I have not made use of anything else which I may have heard from him, other than that remarkable opinion. He took no part in the *Jeraeil* when it was revived, nor did he know of the intention to hold the ceremonies when the old men were ready for them.

The men from whom I obtained the Kurnai views on this subject, and who took the most prominent part in the *Jeraeil* ceremonies, were boys or youths when Gippsland was settled by the whites in 1844. Two years earlier Angus M'Millan had entered it from New South Wales and made known, on his return, its value as a pastoral district.

Twenty years later, when I came to know the Kurnai men just mentioned, the old men of 1844 had mostly died off, or been killed in the troublous times of early settlement.

It was their sons who were now men of the tribe, say between thirty and forty years of age, and they had been initiated by their fathers probably before 1855.

When the *Jeraeil* was held at my instance, these men conducted them, and they assured me that they did so exactly as "the old men" had done when they themselves were initiated. In answer to inquiries about the legends told at the ceremonies, including that of Mungan-ngaua and his son Tundun, they said, "The old men told us so."

As to the possibility of this belief having been introduced by blacks from the settled districts of New South Wales and Victoria, it will suffice to say that the Kurnai were isolated from other tribes by the nature of the country surrounding them. Moreover, they did not attend the ceremonies of any other tribe, nor did they receive visitors at theirs.

As to the tribes which have ceremonies of the western type, I must now point out that missions have been in existence in the Narrang-ga, the Parnkalla, the Dieri, and the Arunta tribes for long periods. In all of them, with perhaps the exception of the Narrang-ga, the missionaries have taught and preached in the native language, and as to the Arunta have, I believe, evolved a name for the Deity

from the term which Spencer and Gillen have given as Alcheringa, or the Alcheringa ancestors. Such being the case, how is it, if we are to assume that the All-father belief in the south-east has been due to missionary teachings, that there has not been a similar adoption of it by the western tribes?

If I am correct in saying that the Kurnai belief in Mungan-ngaua is aboriginal, then the similar beliefs of the other coast tribes may also be accepted.

It seems to be usually assumed from the evidences, for instance, of tribes like those of Fiji that ancestor worship has been at the root of primitive religions; but Australian evidence seems to carry us back to a stage before ancestors came to be worshipped, although they were looked upon as having been greater and wiser than their descendants, the present race. This is very evident from the account given by Spencer and Gillen of the Arunta and other tribes having kindred beliefs. I find that among the Lake Eyre tribes it was not the ancestors but a supernatural human race, antecedent to them, who are seen in myth and tradition to have been similarly superior to their successors. Here there is even less of a possible approach to ancestor worship than with the Arunta.

In the tribes of South-east Australia the ancestors appear in the guise of totems or theriomorphic human beings, in some respects resembling both the Alcheringa ancestors and the *Mura-muras*. But it must be remembered that in these tribes there has been a clearly marked advance in the status of society, from group marriage to a form of individual marriage, from descent in the female to the male line, and from a society organised on the class systems to one based on locality. Here, as I have now shown, the tribe living on the earth is represented by the tribe of the dead, living in the sky-country, but also able to visit the earth, and with a Headman who is spoken of as "father" by the natives from the Murray mouth in South Australia to the Herbert River in North-eastern Queensland.

In this being, although supernatural, there is no trace of a divine nature. All that can be said of him is that he is

imagined as the ideal of those qualities which are, according to their standard, virtues worthy of being imitated. Such would be a man who is skilful in the use of weapons of offence and defence, all-powerful in magic, but generous and liberal to his people, who does no injury or violence to any one, yet treats with severity any breaches of custom or morality. Such is, according to my knowledge of the Australian tribes, their ideal of Headman, and naturally it is that of the *Biamban*, the master in the sky-country. Such a being, from *Bunjil* to *Baiame*, is *Mami-ngata*, that is, "our father"; in other words, the All-father of the tribes.

The mental stages by which the conception of the All-father of the tribe may have been reached in these tribes perhaps commenced with the belief in the existence of the human self-consciousness as a spirit or a ghost, whose home on the earth and in the sky-country was dreamland. This would naturally lead to the belief in the existence of the ancestral ghosts, as a tribe like that on the earth, with a Headman and medicine-men, its fighting, feasting, and dancing. From this it is not a long stretch to the idea of the All-father of the tribe, since it is not uncommon, indeed I may go so far as to say, that it is, in my experience, common to address the elder men as father. Such seems to me the probable course of development of this belief, which moreover I am satisfied has been locally evolved, and not introduced from without. But in saying this I must guard myself from being thought to imply any primitive revelation of a monotheistic character. What I see is merely the action of elementary thought reaching conclusions such as all savages are capable of, and which may have been at the root of monotheistic beliefs.

But all this does not bring us to the worship of the ancestor.

Although it cannot be alleged that these aborigines have consciously any form of religion, it may be said that their beliefs are such that, under favourable conditions, they might have developed into an actual religion, based on the worship of *Mungan-ngaua* or *Baiame*.

There is not any worship of *Daramulun*; but the dances

round the figure of clay and the invocating of his name by the medicine-men certainly might have led up to it.

If such a change as a recognised religion had ever become possible, I feel that it would have been brought about by those men who are the depositaries of the tribal beliefs, and by whom in the past, as I think, all the advances in the organisation of their society have been effected. If such a momentous change to the practice of religion had ever occurred, those men would have readily passed from being medicine-men to the office of priests.

CHAPTER IX

INITIATION CEREMONIES, EASTERN TYPE

First accounts of ceremonies—Eastern and Western types—Discovery of use of Bull-roarer — Headmen summon the people for ceremonies by accredited messengers —*Kuringal* of the Yuin—Extent of the *Kuringal* ceremonies—Those of the Geawe-gal, Gringai, and Chepara tribes—The Wiradjuri *Burbung* — The Wonghibon ceremonies — The Ta-tathi *Burbung* — The Kamilaroi *Bora*—The Turrbal ceremonies—*Dora* ceremonies in Queensland —The Wakelbura *Umba*—The Kulin *Jibauk*—The Kurnai *Jeraeil*—Influence of the ceremonies.

ONE of the very earliest works on Australia, that of Collins, describes parts of the ceremonies practised by the natives of Port Jackson. Since that time travellers, missionaries, and residents in the Australian bush have become aware of and reported the existence of certain ceremonies—the "making of young men" as the practice has come to be called. Fragmentary accounts are to be found in works describing Australia and its inhabitants, but so far as I am aware no one has attempted to give any authentic, detailed description of the ceremonies themselves, from the observation of an eye-witness accustomed to scientific methods of investigation, until I published an account of the *Kuringal* and *Jeraeil* ceremonies in 1884.[1]

It is perhaps worth recording here that I discovered the bull-roarer in the Kurnai tribe, and was, I think, the first to draw attention to the important part it plays in the ceremonies of Australian tribes. I had been for some time obtaining particulars from my friends among the Kurnai as to their ceremonies at which boys were made into men. I

[1] *Journal Anthrop. Institute*, May 1884 and May 1885.

had been able to piece together a good deal, which I now know related to the part of the ceremonies in which women take part, and which might lawfully be told to any one. I once happened to meet Turlburn, whom I have before mentioned, on the plains between Sale and Rosedale, and stopped to have a talk. After a little I brought up the subject of the ceremonies, and he finally said, "There is one thing you do not know." We were sitting by a little bridge which crossed a shallow gully, with open country around us and a straight road for a considerable distance. Looking all round, he then said, "Come down here," going under the bridge and speaking in a low tone of voice. I went there and sat down, and he then, with much mystery and a watchful air, lest any one might come, told me of the *Tundun*, that is the Bull-roarer, and of the part it plays in their ceremonies. If I had not known this, I should never have gained the influence I afterwards had, which enabled me to cause the *Jeraeil* to be revived, at which I took part, and which is described in this chapter.

There are two Bull-roarers used by the Kurnai tribe. The larger is called *Wehntwin*, or grandfather, also *Muk-brogan*, or, as I may put it, the Arch-companion, for *Muk* is a superlative, and *Brogan* is one who has been initiated with others, who are all *Brogan*. The smaller is the *Rukut*, or woman, that is, the wife of Tundun.

Since that time, and especially since the year 1890, much has been done in describing the *Bora* ceremonies of New South Wales, and the similar ceremonies of Queensland. But in no instance has the work been so thorough or so comprehensive and detailed as the account of the ceremonies of the Arunta tribe by Professor Spencer and Mr. Gillen.[1]

The absence of authentic information, prior to my publication in 1884, did not arise from no white man having been present at the *Bora* or other similar ceremonies; for it is known that even from the early times of settlement white men have been initiated in these mysteries, having been either escaped convicts who had lived with the tribes

[1] *Op. cit.*

in the interior, or white settlers who, brought up from childhood in contact with some tribe, came to be regarded as one of themselves, and were therefore permitted to be present at the sacred ceremonies, even if they were not, as happened in some cases, actually initiated in the same manner as the aboriginal youths. Such a case is known to me in New South Wales, in which the white man, having been initiated as a youth, refused persistently to make the ceremonies known to my fellow-worker Dr. Lorimer Fison.

My account will be drawn partly from what I have witnessed and taken part in, as an initiated person, and partly from conversations which I have had with blacks as to the ceremonies of their own tribes. I can rely on these statements, not only being in a position, from my own knowledge, to form an opinion as to their truthfulness, but also because there is, as I have found, between initiated persons, not only no reservation, but a feeling of confidence, I may even say almost of brotherhood. For the sake of comparison, I draw some illustrations from the statements of competent correspondents, and extracts from certain authors, to complete my work.

It is very rarely the case that the initiation ceremonies of a tribe are peculiar to it, and therefore not attended by other neighbouring tribes. Such a case means that the tribe does not intermarry with its neighbours. The Kurnai are such an example, whose *Jeraeil* ceremonies are attended by four only out of the five clans of the tribe. The fifth clan has no ceremonies of their own, nor did it attend those of any other tribe. But there were in it cases such as that of my messenger to the Yuin who was free of the Ngarigo tribe, because his mother belonged to it, and he himself had been initiated at their *Kuringal* ceremonies. Another instance of such cases is that of the before-mentioned *Yibaimalian*, whose father was a renowned "blackfellow doctor" of the Wiradjuri tribe, who joined the Wolgal, with whom he was related by marriage, and then obtained a wife from the Theddora of Omeo. By this he became connected with the Ngarigo through her relations, and thus met the Yuin and became a man of influence in their tribe.

But the rule is, that a certain ceremony brings together a number of tribes. Thus the *Kuringal* of the Yuin is attended by people from Manero, Shoalhaven, and Braidwood, and they therefore form what may be called a "community," which in this sense includes a number of tribes. In other words, all the tribes which attend the same ceremonies form an intermarrying community larger than any one tribe, and approaching what I have called a "nation." Intermarriage usually takes place in a friendly manner, but also in what may be called a "veiled hostility," as will be seen in speaking of the tribal meetings within fifty miles of Maryborough (Queensland). The community which thus meets periodically for the purpose of initiating its youths into the status of manhood, and membership in the tribe, is in principle also that of the united exogamous class divisions. Calling the classes for convenience A and B, then it may be said that it is the men of A class who initiate the youths of class B, and *vice versâ*. A class cannot initiate its own young men, but both classes co-operate in this ceremony. On the other hand, in those tribes which have no longer any class organisation in a vigorous state, it is the local organisation by its assembled initiated men which conducts the ceremonies. Such a case is that of the Kurnai and the Chepara tribes.

Speaking broadly, it may be said in all but exceptional cases that initiation ceremonies of some kind, having invariably certain fundamental principles in common, are practised by the native tribes all over Australia.

These ceremonies may be conveniently separated into two types, namely one which extends over most of the eastern part of Australia, and another which occurs in the western half. The line which separates these types may be roughly indicated as extending from the mouth of the Murray River to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. But this line only approximately shows the range of those who practise circumcision, or circumcision together with sub-incision, from those who have ceremonies of the character of the *Bora* or *Kuringal*.

The ceremonies which I shall take as an illustration of

the eastern type are those of the tribes which inhabit the south coast of New South Wales, and who may be conveniently spoken of generally as the Coast Murring. The ceremonies are called *Kuringal*, or *Bunan* when a mound is made in connection with them, and *Kadja-wallung*[1] when there is no mound.

These ceremonies are, according to my aboriginal informants, an example of those of the tribes extending from Twofold Bay along the coast to Port Macquarie, at least, and inland to the Turon River, thus including the tribes of Port Jackson, whose ceremonies were described by Collins a century ago. To my own knowledge, the last *Kuringal* was attended by the Katungal from Twofold Bay to Shoalhaven, and by others from as far inland as the upper waters of the Snowy River, and Braidwood. It was, in fact, the great intermarrying group which met at this ceremony, and the component parts of it differed so much in language, that the most distant could not understand each other without making use of the broken English which passes current over all Australia in those native tribes which have been brought under the white man's influence.

But this assemblage did not include any of the Biduelli, a few of whom still lived, and had temporarily joined the Yuin. They were excluded from the ceremonies, because they had none of their own, and had never been initiated by any of their tribal neighbours.

In these tribes it is the Headman of some locality, in one geographical moiety of the tribe, who summons the assembly for initiation, by a message to a Headman in the other moiety. Assuming that it was the principal Headman of the Katungal or coast people who initiated the *Bunan* or *Kuringal* ceremonies, he would send his messenger, called by them *Jerri-irr* or *Gudjin*, to the Headman of the Baiangal, or forest people, who would then take action on his part. The messenger need not be of the same totem as the sender, nor of the same local group, but it is usually the case that he is. This message is sent after consultation with the other

[1] "Raw ceremony," alluding to the novices not being "roasted" before a fire.

old men. For distant places two messengers go in company, as far as their roads are the same, and then separate. A messenger is, of course, an initiated man, and is chosen especially as being a good speaker. He carries with him a bull-roarer, which the head *Gommera* gives him. The points of his message are impressed on his memory, or it is aided by so many strands of a man's kilt,[1] which he carries with him. In addition to the bull-roarer, he also carries, wrapped up in the skin of one of the animals of whose pelts the men's kilts are made, a belt of opossum-fur string, arm bands of ringtail opossum skin,[2] and a forehead band.[3] When he arrives at the place where the *Gommera* is to whom he is sent, he opens his bundle in the council-place, the *Wirri-wirri-than*,[4] and there delivers his message, exhibiting to the *Gommera* the bull-roarer and the other things. Holding the kilt in one hand, he then takes the strings seriatim, and says, "This tail is for so-and-so," naming a *Gommera*, until he has named all of those whom he has to call together. The *Gommera* then announces the message to the men at the council-place, and after consulting with them, fixes the time when he and his men will start for the appointed place.

The *Burbung* of the Wiradjuri is analogous to the *Bunan* of the Yuin, and is called together by the Headman of one of the totems, the message being sent through the totem to the several Headmen of it, in the local divisions, who communicate it to the other men of their localities. It may be noted that in these tribes the class system is in full vigour.

Assuming that the sender of the message is the head of the Yibai-gurimul, that is, of the Yibai sub-class and the

[1] The *burrain* or kilt is made of the skin of a rabbit rat (*nga-bun*), or kangaroo rat (*guragur*), wallaby or native cat, cut into strands about half an inch in width, the full length of the skin being still left attached by about an inch at the upper end. One *burrain* is fastened in front and one behind the wearer, being pendent from the belt of opossum-fur string by the outermost strand, tucked under the belt on each side.

[2] *Unda* or *ngulia*. [3] *Kikul-buga*.

[4] The word *wirri-wirri* means "hasten"; *than* means "speech," as in the name of the language of the Krauatungalung, which is *Than-quai*, or "rough speech."

opossum totem, the messenger would also be Yibai-gurimul, and he would carry the message to the head of the same sub-class and totem in the local group, to which he is sent, who would similarly send it on till, in the course of time, it would have gone through the whole tribe. Thus the message travels through the whole community, being carried by members of the opossum totem, whose Headmen communicate it to the other men of their groups. The messenger carries with him a whole set of male attire, together with a bull-roarer (*mudji*) carefully wrapped in a skin and concealed from women and children. Hence in such tribes the community is assembled by a totem.

In the Kurnai tribe the *Jeraeil* was called by the Headman of either the southern or the northern moiety of the tribe. So far as I know, there was no rule as to which it should be. The initiative was taken by the local organisation. It could not be by the social organisation, for in this tribe that organisation had become totally extinct.

This action was preceded by long consultations between the elders of the clan in which it originated. When it was found that there was a sufficient number of boys to be made men, the *Gweraeil-kurnai* in that clan sent out his *Baiaur*, or messenger, to summon the principal Headman of the next clan. He carried with him some token from the sender, such as his club,[1] or boomerang,[2] or shield,[3] and he had given to him to convey with great secrecy one of the larger of the two bull-roarers used in this tribe. He delivered his message to the old man to whom he was sent, together with the bull-roarer and the tokens. The *Gweraeil-kurnai* then called together the elders at some suitable place apart from the camp, and, showing them the tokens and bull-roarer, told them the message. After due consideration, the message was announced in a general assemblage of all the initiated men, and the *Gweraeil-kurnai* sent forward the message by one of his own men. These proceedings are carefully concealed from the women, excepting the old women of consideration, to whom a hint is given by some such expression as "the *Mrarts* (ghosts) are going to kill a kangaroo."

[1] *Kujerung.* [2] *Wunkim.* [3] *Bameruk.*

This hint is given because the old women take a part in the earlier stages of the ceremonies.

In this manner the message travelled from clan to clan and from group to group, till the whole Kurnai community, that is to say the initiated men, became aware of the intention to hold a *Jeraeil*. These preliminary proceedings take up a long time, extending over several months. More than one set of messengers would travel to and fro before the final arrangements would be completed, and the time and locality were settled. The latter would in all probability be in the country of the Headman by whom the *Jeraeil* was called together, for it would be to him, and at his call, that the others came.

The manner of explaining the time at which the meeting would take place, and even the different stages of the route to it, would be described as explained in the chapter on "Messengers."

In the great group of tribes, of which the Wakelbura is my example, it was also the practice to send a message for the initiation ceremonies through a totem; but in this case a message-stick accompanied it, and this was made of the wood of some tree which was of the same class division as the sender, and also of the bearer of the message.

These instances will show the manner in which the meetings for initiating the youth of the several tribes into the privileges and the obligations of manhood are called together. I will now show what these ceremonies are.

THE CEREMONIES

The Kuringal Ceremonies.—In addition to the particulars which I have given as to the manner of assembling the tribes which attended the ceremonies of the Yuin tribe, I may now add some further particulars as to those who were present at that which I attended.

For many years I had known a medicine-man of the Wolgal tribe, the before-mentioned Yibai-malian, and through him became acquainted with one of the principal *Gommeras* of the Yuin. On several occasions I had spoken with Yibai

about the initiations, and to his surprise he found that I knew much about them; and I also produced to him several of the bull-roarers from different parts of Australia. Thus at last he came to look on me as one of the initiated, and in consequence spoke to me unreservedly on the otherwise forbidden subjects. I then arranged with him that one of the most influential of the Yuin *Gommeras*, who lived at Two-fold Bay, should come up to Manero with some of his men and meet me on the occasion of my next visit to that part of New South Wales. At this meeting, amongst other things, we discussed the advisability of holding a *Kuringal*, and it was at last decided that one should be held. I was greatly struck by the manner in which the old man received a bull-roarer which I had made for the occasion, it being the facsimile of those with which I had played as a boy. I drew it from a small bag and secretly presented it to him, saying: "This I used when I was a lad, and you know that these *mudthi* were first made by that great one (pointing upwards), and that he ordered your fathers to hold the *Kuringal*, and to make your boys into men." He and Yibai, who was standing by him, each placed his hand over his mouth, and looked at the bull-roarer for some moments. Then the Yuin *Gommera* Brupin said: "Yes, that is it," and he called the three men whom he had brought with him, and holding the bull-roarer before him said: "This is a *mudthi* which he (pointing to me) has brought from a long way off. It is

FIG. 29.—1. YUIN BULL-ROARER, MUDTHI; 2. DIERI BULL-ROARER, YUNTHA.

the same as that which we know of, and which was given to our fathers by that great *Biamban* you know about." The men looked at it with every appearance of awe, but said nothing, and then returned to their fire.

When we parted it was understood that I should send up my messenger to Brupin, who would consult with the other *Gommeras*, and I shortly after sent a man of the Krauatun Kurnai as my messenger to the Yuin to ask them to call together a *Kuringal*, and to let me know when they were ready, and I would go up to help them. This man was, in fact, the proper intermediary between the Kurnai and the Yuin. His mother was a Ngarigo, and his wife was Yuin, so that he was as one of themselves ; and he had been, moreover, initiated at the Ngarigo *Bunan*.

He carried from me the bull-roarer which I had shown to Yibai-malian and Brupin, and delivered it with my message to the latter at Bega. In going to and from that place he journeyed on foot a distance of about four hundred miles over some of the most mountainous country in South-east Australia. He made the journey a second time before the arrangements were completed, and he brought back a message to me that Brupin would send his messenger carrying my *mudthi* to the principal *Gommera* of the Kurial, who lived at the Shoalhaven River, asking him to bring his people to a meeting on the east side of the Bega River, not far from the coast.

Word was sent to me when the Murring were assembling. Being, so to say, in the position of a *Gommera* of the Kurnai, I was told that I was to bring a contingent of my men to the meeting ; and I accordingly arranged with my messenger that he was to take certain of the Kurnai, starting from the Snowy River mouth, and meet me on the upper waters of the Delegate River.

The term *Kuringal*, which means "of the bush," or "belonging to the bush," includes two slightly different forms of the initiation ceremonies, which are called respectively *Bunan* and *Kadja-wallung*. The difference and resemblances of each will be seen from the following statements. But for the moment it will suffice to say that, broadly speaking, the

Bunan is distinguished from the *Kadja-wallung* by having a circular ring of earth, within which the preliminary ceremonies take place, and a small sacred enclosure, at a distance, connected with the *Bunan* by a path. This form connects the *Bunan* with the *Burbung* of the Wiradjuri, the *Bora* of the Kamilaroi, and the *Dora* of some Queensland tribes.

The *Kadja-wallung* ceremonies dispense with the circular mound, and the small circular enclosure is represented by the small clear space which will be described farther on in this chapter. With these differences, the ceremonies are substantially, and in some particulars identically, the same. I shall, however, describe the whole of the ceremonies, beginning with the *Bunan*.

The ceremonial meeting having been called, that part of the community which took the initiative prepares the ground, and gets everything ready for the arrival of the various contingents; some spot being selected where a good supply of food is obtainable.

In forming the *Bunan* ground a larger space is cleared, and on it a low circular embankment is made, having a diameter of from thirty to fifty yards, according to the number of people who will attend it. At a distance of 400 to 500 yards from the circular mound a lesser space is also cleared, and is so selected that saplings can be arched over, and thus make an enclosure, with only one opening facing the larger *Bunan*. If there are not sufficient saplings, or if there are not any, some are cut elsewhere, and, being stuck in the ground, are bent over as before mentioned. A path is cleared from the great to the small *Bunan;* and where young trees or bushes border it, they are also arched across the path, but this is not essential.

The *Bunan* is got ready, and the proceedings commence about the time when the contingents are expected to arrive.

Assuming that the *Bunan* was to be attended by the clans from Moruya, Bega, and Twofold Bay, that is, by both the Kurial and Guyangal, and that the meeting was to be near Bega, the following would be the procedure as the contingents arrived.

The people from Braidwood, Ulladulla, and Shoalhaven

would accompany those from Moruya. With them, people from Broulee would occasionally come. Next would arrive those from Queanbeyan, then the Gurungatta from beyond Shoalhaven, with whom there might be even some from Jervis Bay; and all these people are true Kurial.

The Wollongong people did not attend this ceremony, because they go to one farther up the coast. The people from Twofold Bay would arrive about the same time, and bring with them some of the Bemeringal from the country along the coast range, being some of those living to the east of the Ngarigo.

The limits within which people would come may be roughly stated as Jimberoo, Kangaroo Valley, Nowra; but at this latter place were Bemeringal, that is, those who lived upon the high tableland, who went to the ceremonies at Goulburn. Nor did the Bemeringal come to these ceremonies from as great a distance as the country of the Ngarigo.

The *Bunan* ground being prepared by the initiated men, the ceremonies are commenced by a young man, who was initiated at the last *Kuringal*, and who is therefore selected to commence this. Walking past a log near the camp, he starts back as if in surprise, and shouts out "*Gari! gari!*" that is, "A snake, a snake!"[1] The men also, pretending surprise, run up to him, saying: "Where is it?" He replies, "In this log," and pretends to be afraid, calling out, "*Kai! kai!*" as we might say, "Oh! Oh!" and as a child might do if frightened. He then runs off, and all the men run after him in a long line. Each man has a bough in either hand, or, as I have seen, some of the leading men have a boomerang in one hand instead. The young man, with a bough in each hand, runs a sinuous course, and strikes the ground alternately on the right and the left, with a swaying motion of the body. The men following him as a tail exactly imitate his movements, shaking their boughs with a rustling sound alternately on either side, and shouting at each blow, "*Hai! Hai!*" The leader and all his following halt at each camp, making a sound which can only be

[1] *Gari* means a snake of any kind.

represented by "*prr ! prr !*" at the same time raising the bough or boomerang with one hand to the sky, while pointing to the ground with the other. After each camp has been visited, they separate. In this manner women are informed that an initiation ceremony is to be held.

This, of course, takes place when it is expected that the first contingent is about to arrive. When it reaches a place about a day's journey from the *Bunan* ground, it halts for a time to allow the messenger to go on and announce their arrival, and also to give themselves time to paint and adorn themselves properly.

When such a contingent arrives within hearing distance of the camp, the women and children are sent on a little way, while the men remain behind. Those two of the men who have the most muscular arms take the bull-roarers, which are carried with the party, and make as loud a noise with them as they are able. The other men, at the same time, raise a great shouting, so that the noise made by the *mudthis* may be notified to the initiated at the *Bunan* camp, and yet may be masked from the women and children. From this the men at the camp know when to expect them.

The messenger having now rejoined the contingent, they all run forwards towards the camp, leaving their weapons with their bundles. Each man carries a bough, or the old men carry boomerangs, and the procedure is like that before described, all the people being assembled at the circular mound. Each hut having been visited, and, as in the *Gari* ceremony, the men having halted at each, and pointed to the sky and the ground, they finally reach the *Bunan*, where the people are waiting for them.

The women and the children are collected in the centre of the circle, the men standing outside and on the side facing the path to the lesser *Bunan*. Meanwhile the women and children of the contingent have joined the other women and children in the circle.

When the messenger reaches it, followed by the men of this contingent, he runs round to a point not far from the entrance and jumps over the mound, followed by his men. Then he moves rhythmically round the women and children

until all his men are within the circle. One of them then shouts out the name of one of the local divisions of the makers of the *Bunan*, to which all his followers shout "*Yau!*" that is "Come here!" Then other names of the local divisions of the *Bunan*-makers are shouted, while the men of the contingent are dancing. The women and children dance in imitation of the men of the contingent, but in silence.

The visitors now run out of the circle, and the *Bunan*-makers run into it, the former taking their places outside the circle. The latter now dance in their turn, and shout out the names of the local divisions of the visitors. These names are received with shouts of "*Yau!*"

This being finished, the women and children go outside, and the *Bunan*-makers join the contingent in the ring, where all dance a ceremonial dance. The women and children during this sit down outside the entrance, but with their backs to it, and are under the surveillance of one of the older Gommeras, to prevent their looking at what the men are doing.

The women and children, the novices being among them, sing the "tooth"-song during this dance, the intention being to cause the novice's tooth to come out easily. The following are the words of this song:—

Buinbe	(*be*) *lanya*	*miri*	*yeringya.*
Eel	the bush	dingo	mother's brother.

While they are occupied in singing the "tooth"-song, the men quietly steal away, led by one of the *Gommeras*, along the path to the lesser *Bunan*. A few men are left for a time singing in the circle, so that the women shall not know that the men have left.

The men of the contingent are taken by the path and shown the various representations, or emblems, or figures as they may be called, with each of which a magical substance, that is, a *Joïa*, which is used by the medicine-men, is specially connected. Indeed some of them have certain *Joïas* peculiar to themselves. The following is a description of the figures and proceedings at this part of the *Bunan* ground. The series commences with that figure nearest to the greater *Bunan*.

1. *Guraua*, that is, "a hole," otherwise "a grave." At it one of the medicine-men dances the magical dance peculiar to these ceremonies, in which he squats down near to the ground while dancing, moving his legs alternately from one side to the other, at the same time swinging his arms perpendicularly in front of his body. He seems possessed by a sort of frenzy while doing this, and apparently brings up from within himself and exhibits between his teeth the *Joïa* peculiar either to himself or to the object exhibited or sung. In the case of the *Guraua*, the *Joïa* is a quartz crystal, which is considered to be one of the most deadly of the magical substances which the *Gommeras* receive from *Daramulun*.

2. *Junnung-ga-batch*. This is the figure of the spiny ant-eater made of earth, with sticks for quills. Here all the men stand round, and make a noise as if blowing something out of their mouths, and then shout "*whish*" to rouse the creature up, this being the sound made by them when digging it out of the ground. It is supposed to distract its attention from its burrowing out of sight in the ground. One of the medicine-men, while this is going on, dances round the figure, producing a white frothy substance out of his mouth having the appearance of soap. This is said to be a deadly *Joïa* if blown over a person or put into his food.

3. *Murumbul*. The figure of a brown snake[1] made of clay. At this stage one of the medicine-men, at the *Bunan* which I am now describing, dropped a small live brown snake from his mouth on to the ground while dancing, which he then picked up and held up before putting into his bag. This *Joïa* is said to be "very strong," and that the medicine-man having it can send it at night into people's camps to kill them while they sleep.

4. *Daramulun*. A figure the size, or more than the size, of life is made of earth in relief representing a man in the act of dancing the magic dance, and surrounded by the implements and weapons of the Yuin. These were, it is said, invented by *Daramulun*, and given by him to their fathers. Round this all the medicine-men dance, shouting

[1] *Hoplocephalus* sp.

the name of *Daramulun*, and each producing his special *Joïa;* amongst others, one looked like a black membrane, and another was, to all appearances, a piece of one of the lesser intestines of some small animal, which the *Gommera* let hang from, and then withdrew into, his mouth.

5. Finally the lesser *Bunan* is reached, in which one medicine-man dances while the others dance round it. He who was inside it exhibited a black substance about five inches in length which hung from his mouth, and was then withdrawn. It is a *Joïa* called *Brauun*, the meaning of which word I did not learn, but the *Joïa* itself is said to enable its possessor to cause an enemy's eyesight to become dim, so that he would be unable to defend himself.

After all these magical substances have been exhibited to the contingent, they return quietly to the *Bunan* circle, the first entering making a sound like "*prr! prr!*" and each joining in this as he enters, so that, as the women have all the time continued singing the "tooth"-song under surveillance, they could not be aware of what has been going on.

The men being now all within the circle, one of them calls out the name of some place a number of times, and they all go off to their respective camps. In the evening there is a dancing corrobboree, the *Bunan*-makers being the performers, and the contingent the spectators, in whose honour it is held.

This ceremonial is repeated on the arrival of each contingent, and may extend over several weeks.

During this time the "tooth"-song is sung by the women each night when they hear the *mudthi* sounded at the camp of the young men, that is, of those who have been at one initiation only. This camp is at about 200 to 300 yards from those of the married men.

When all the contingents have arrived, the men about daybreak rush off, each carrying a fire-stick or a burning log. They run into the great *Bunan* and throw the burning wood into a heap in the centre of the circle, and pile up bark and dead wood on it to make a great fire. Meanwhile the guardians of the boys who are to be initiated have taken them to another small fire made about a hundred

yards from the *Bunan*, where they paint them with dabs of white clay over the shoulders, arms, and chest, and with bars of the same across the legs. Each boy has also a fillet of white grass twine bound round his forehead.

It may be mentioned here that these guardians, two of whom are selected for each novice, are men who stand in the relation of *Kabo* to him; that is, who are own or tribal brothers of those girls or women who form the group from which his future wife must be taken, or, which is the same thing, are own or tribal husbands (actual or potential) of the own or tribal sisters of the novice. During the *Kuringal* the *Kabos* look after their boy and do everything for him, cook for him, bring him water, and so on. They explain everything to him, tell him what his duties as one of the tribe are, repeat to him the tribal legends which he now hears for the first time, impress on him the tribal laws and the tribal morality, describe the powers of the *Gommeras* and their ability to see in dreams what others do, and finally their power to kill by magic at a distance.

The large fire being ready, the men assemble at the boys' fire. Each boy is lifted by one of his guardians on to his shoulders, and carried in this manner to the mound. The *Kabos* walk first, and after them come the women.

The boys are placed sitting on the mound with their feet in the *Bunan*. Each holds a woman's digging-stick upright between his feet, and on it hangs a woman's netted bag,[1] containing the cord of twisted opossum-fur many yards in length, which when wrapped round his waist forms his belt, also a man's kilt, a forehead band, and the pointed bone which is worn through the perforated septum of the nose. These comprise a man's full ceremonial dress, and this set is given to him by some relative or friend, or by several of them conjointly.[2]

The boy is told by his *Kabos* to look at the fire, and not to move away on any account. While this is being arranged the *Gommeras* are building up a fire fit to roast

[1] *Mudbi*.

[2] The wearing of this set is not confined to manhood, for small sets are sometimes made to please little boys.

the boys. The head *Gommera*, however, only looks on, having given his instructions to the others early in the morning, at the council-place, so that each one knows what he has to do.

The fire is built up only twelve or fourteen paces from the boys, and they are kept before it for ten or twelve minutes, or even longer, if they can bear the heat. Even if the wind blows it towards them, they must not move of themselves, for it is the duty of the *Kabos* to look out for such an event, and to move them farther off, before any harm can happen to them.

Behind each boy, that is to say, outside the mound, crouches his mother, or failing her, his mother's sister, or the sister of his father (*Mimung*), closely covered with boughs. When the head *Gommera* thinks that the boys have been roasted enough, the bull-roarer is sounded at a little distance away and behind the women, and at this signal the *Kabos* make the boys run across the *Bunan* and along the path, where they lie down, and are closely covered with opossum rugs or blankets.

After a little time the boys are allowed to sit up, but still covered so that they cannot see what is going on. Meanwhile the men have brought their bundles, and then remove the boughs from the women, who are sent away to some place several miles' distant, where they make a new camp and await the return of the men the next day. In order to ensure discretion on their part, and that none of them shall spy out the proceedings at the secret ceremonies, an old man is left behind in charge of them, who sees that they do their part in readiness for the return of the men.

The men having joined the boys with their bundles, they all move along the path, and at each stage the medicine-men go through their magical performances. The *Kabos* explain everything to their boys, and also tell them about *Daramulun*, warning them never to mention these things to women or children.

These matters are more fully described in speaking of the other variety of the *Kuringal*, the *Kadja-wallung* ceremonies.

The *Kabos* during the day take their boys out to hunt for food, and remain away until evening, when the men, having cleared a space near the lesser *Bunan*, capable of accommodating twenty or thirty people, take the boys there for the ceremony of knocking out the tooth.

From this point the *Bunan* and *Kadja-wallung* ceremonies are the same, and it will be convenient, before proceeding farther, to describe the other ceremonies up to this point. For this purpose I will now describe the visit which I made to the Murring, when they were ready for the *Kuringal* which had been held at my suggestion.

Having received notice from Yibai-malian and Brupin that the people were assembling for the *Kuringal*, and having sent off my contingent of the Kurnai under the guidance of my messenger from the Snowy River, I went to the south coast and there found about one hundred and thirty blacks,—men, women, and children,—waiting for me. They represented mainly the two great divisions of the Murring of the south coast, but there were also people from as far as Bateman's Bay and Braidwood, who accompanied the Shoalhaven contingent. Besides these, there were also a few of the Biduelli. After waiting a few days for the Kurnai, I learned that owing to their guide having been attacked by ophthalmia, they had returned from the Coast Range before descending to the sea-coast where we were waiting for them.

Thus some time was lost, which I could not make up, and in order that the whole of the ceremonies should be completed while I could remain, it was decided that, as the men had not yet prepared the circular mound, the *Kadja-wallung* should be at once proceeded with. This was settled at a meeting of the old men at their council-place, about a quarter of a mile from the general camp. The preliminary ceremonial receptions of the several contingents had been held as they came in, although they could not have been done fully according to the usual rule, in the absence of a proper ring. In my case, although my party had not met me as arranged, there was the ceremonial visit to the several huts, starting from council-place, the *Wirri-wirri-thun*. The messenger who had been entrusted with my bull-roarer

swung it a little distance from the council-place, and at its roaring sound the men sprang up and ran in a long line, following Umbara, the tribal bard, who held a boomerang in his hand, the others holding boughs.

They ran towards the camp, in a long sinuous line, following the actions of their leader, rhythmically striking the ground on alternate sides, and shouting "*Wah!*" Once or twice in their course the leader and his men stopped and raised their boughs and boomerangs silently to the sky. When they reached the camp the long line wound through it, stamping in time, waving boughs and shouting "*Wah!*" They visited each hut, from which the women and children hastened to join the others who had assembled just outside the camp, encircled by the men, while the women sang the "tooth"-song to the time beaten on rolled-up rugs. The men now ranged themselves at the east side of the women, and shouted alternately the name of one of the local groups, the most distant one being first used.

This having been done, the men closed rapidly and closely round the women and children so as to crowd them together; and, having done so, shouted "*Wah!*" and raised their boomerangs and boughs to the sky. This is the gesture signifying "the great master" (*Biamban*), whose true but secret name of *Daramulun* it is not lawful to utter, excepting at the ceremonies, on the initiation ground.

In the evening the friendly welcome of the dancing corrobboree was held. The only notable variation in this from the corrobborees which I had seen elsewhere was that of a dance by the women of the Braidwood contingent, the wives of Katungal (sea-coasters). These women danced together in the usual corrobboree style, but wearing short fringe-like skirts, which represented the "women's aprons" of the olden time. Their faces were whitened with pipe-clay, and they wore large head-dresses made of swans' feathers.

On the following morning a general council of the men was held at the *Wirri-wirri-thun* to decide the procedure. Some of the *Gommeras* were desirous of forming the *Bunan*, which had been left pending my arrival, but to this I objected that, as my time was now so short, I could not wait to the

end of the ceremonies if that were done. Some of the old men agreed with me, and after Umbara, who had much influence, had spoken, it was decided that the *Kadja-wallung* should be begun on the following morning.

Therefore on the next morning about ten o'clock the men all assembled at the *Wirri-wirri-than*, and Gunjerung,[1] the principal Headman, finding that all were ready, gave the order that each one should make up his bundle and place it behind a clump of Ti-tree close at hand. This having been done, two men were left to sound the bull-roarer, as soon as the others should have reached the camp. Two bull-roarers were used for this, one which Yibai-malian had made when the one which I had sent in the first instance by my messenger, and which had been hidden, was accidentally burned by a bush fire, and the other which I had brought up with me to show the old men. It was one from the Dieri tribe, and had been used at one of their ceremonies. The Yuin looked at it with great interest. I was surprised that they should wish to use it, but such being the case, I had no objection. According to rule, the two men who were to sound the *mudthis* should have been those who had been sent with the message by Brupin and Yibai-malian, but one of them was temporarily away, getting some supplies to take with the men to the place of the ceremonies, and another was told off to take his place. As soon as we had reached the camp, and the men were distributed through it, the distant roaring sound of the *Mudthis* was heard and the whole camp was instantly in commotion. The women started up, and, seizing their rugs and blankets, hastily went with their children to a vacant space on the north side of the encampment, where they re-commenced the "tooth"-song. Meanwhile the men were stalking about among the camps shouting "*Ha! Wah!*"[2] commanding silence among the women. In a very short time these with their children were huddled together in a close group, surrounded by the men, who were stamping a dance to the word "Wah!" finally closing in round them, and silently raising their hands to the sky. This silent

[1] Gunjerung is the "Morning Star."

[2] This word is properly "*Waugh*," but is pronounced *Wah* or *Woh*.

gesture again means *Daramulun*, whose name cannot be lawfully spoken there.

A singular feature now showed itself. There were at this time two or three Biduelli men with their wives and children in the encampment, and also one of the Krauatungalung Kurnai, with his wife and child.[1] When these ceremonies commenced they, with one exception, went away, because neither the Biduelli or the Krauatun Kurnai had, as I have said before, any initiation ceremonies, and these men had therefore never been "made men." The one man who remained was the old patriarch of the Biduelli, and he was now driven crouching among the women and children. The reason was self-evident; he had never been made a man, and therefore was no more than a mere boy.

The women and children being thus driven together, the old men proceeded to draw from them those boys who were considered to be ripe for initiation.[2] The old men pointed out those who were to be taken, and their *Kabos* seized them and placed them in the front rank of the women. There was one boy, a half-caste, indeed he was nearer white than black, as to whom the old men were divided in opinion. He was in an agony of terror, clinging to his mother, but by the order of the head *Gommera* he was dragged out and discussed. After a few minutes the decision was given, "He is too young, put him back again." The women and children were now pushed together into as small a compass as possible, with the old Biduelli patriarch among them. Skin rugs and blankets were then placed over them, so that they were completely hidden, and were themselves unable to see anything. At a signal from Gunjerung, a *Kabo* seized his boy from under the covering, and holding him by one arm, ran him off to the place where the bundles were left. All of us followed as fast as possible, and as I left I could hear the muffled sound of the "tooth"-song being sung by the women under their coverings.

[1] This man had married the daughter of Yibai-malian.

[2] The proper time is when the whiskers are beginning to show themselves, and when the old men observe that the boys are paying more attention to women of the tribe than is considered decent or proper.

It was expected that there would be eight boys ready to be made men, but owing to the delays and to the non-arrival of the Kurnai contingent, there were only three who were passed by the old men. Two were about fourteen or fifteen, the other was older and had an incipient moustache.

The first proceeding at the trysting-place was that the *Kabos* placed on each boy, who had been stripped naked, a new blanket folded twice, so that when fastened down the front it formed a cone, the apex of which was over the boy's head and the base barely touched the ground. The wooden skewers with which the sides of the blanket were fastened were so placed that the boy's face appeared just over the uppermost one. The upper fold fell over the head so as to shade the eyes and in fact most of the face.

This being all arranged, Gunjerung gave the signal to start, and our procession began to ascend the steep side of a grassy hill leading to the mountain. Some of the old men led the way, then came the three sets of *Kabos*, one on each side of a boy, holding the upper part of his arm, and in deep converse with him as they went. All the other men followed as they liked, each one carrying his bundle, and the *Kabos* carried, not only their own, but also their boys' things.

The duty of the *Kabos* is to take charge of the boys during the ceremonies. They never leave them alone, and if one of them has to absent himself for a time, he calls some other man, of the same relation to the boy as himself, to take his place. It is the duty of the *Kabo* to prepare his boy for the coming ceremony by instruction, admonition, and advice, and this commences the moment the procession moves forward. One of the earliest, if not the first, instruction is that the boy must not under any possible circumstances show any surprise or fear, and no matter what is said or done to him, he is not by word or deed to show that he is conscious of what is going on, yet that he must narrowly observe everything, and remember all he sees and hears. It is explained that everything he hears said, to which the word "*Yah*" is appended, means the exact opposite to the apparent meaning. This word was explained when

we started by Umbara. He said that it was like a white man saying "I sell you"; my messenger Jenbin said it was like a white man saying "gammon." The use of the word will be seen by illustration farther on.

The intention of all that is done at this ceremony is to make a momentous change in the boy's life; the past is to be cut off from him by a gulf which he can never re-pass. His connection with his mother as her child is broken off, and he becomes henceforth attached to the men. All the sports and games of his boyhood are to be abandoned with the severance of the old domestic ties between himself and his mother and sisters. He is now to be a man, instructed in and sensible of the duties which devolve upon him as a member of the Murring community. To do all this is partly the object of the ceremonies, and the process by which this is reached is a singular one. The ceremonies are intended to impress and terrify the boy in such a manner that the lesson may be indelible, and may govern the whole of his future life. But the intention is also to amuse in the intervals of the serious rites.

The ceremonies, therefore, are marked by what may be called major and minor stages, and the intervals are filled in by magic dances, by amusing interludes and buffoonery, in which all the men take part, excepting the *Kabos*, whose duty is to unceasingly explain and admonish during the whole ceremony; to point the moral and adorn the tale. The pieces of buffoonery are perhaps some of the most remarkable features of the proceeding. If one were to imagine all sorts of childish mischief mixed up with the cardinal sins represented in burlesque, and ironically recommended to the boys on their return to the camp and afterwards, it would give a not unapt representation of what takes place. But there is the remarkable feature that at the end of almost every sentence, indeed of every indecent, immoral, or lewd suggestion, the speaker adds "*Yah!*" which negatives all that has been said and done. Indeed the use of the word "*Yah*" runs through the whole conversation carried on during the ceremonies, as when a man in the rear of the procession calls to some one in the front,

"Hallo there, you (mentioning his name), stop and come back to me—*yah!*" This gave to the whole of the proceedings, up to the time when we reached the *Talmaru* camp, in the recesses of the mountain, a sort of Carnival and April fool aspect.

The old men told me that the meaning of this inverted manner of speaking, of saying one thing when the speaker intended another, was to break the boys of a habit of telling lies, and to make them for the future truth-speaking.

The ceremonies are also intended to rivet the influence and power of the old men on the novices, who have heard from their earliest childhood tales of the fearful powers of the *Gommeras*, and of the *Joïas* by which they can cause sickness and death. At these ceremonies the *Joïas* are exhibited. A young man said to me after his initiation, "When I was a little boy I did not believe all I heard about the *Joïas*, but when I saw the *Gommeras* at the *Kuringal* bringing them up from their insides, I believed it all."

These remarks will be illustrated by the incidents which I am about to describe.

At the halt made the *Kabos* placed their boys in a row, and two old men sat down before them on the ground, facing each other with their feet touching. In the oval space thus enclosed by their legs they proceeded to make a "mud pie" of the wet soil, which they smoothed and patted into the semblance of a cake, with childish manner and gestures. All the men danced round them uttering some word which I omitted to note. Several men then came to the boys and spoke to them, in their buffoon manner, pointing at the same time to the dirt cake. It fortunately happened that one of the boys was a Bemeringal, whose language differed from that of the Katungal so much that throughout the ceremonies, while the men spoke to the Katungal boys in their own language, they spoke to the Bemering boy in the broken English which is used by the blacks and whites in speaking to each other. Thus I was able to follow the whole course of instruction and admonition very satisfactorily, and also to check the explanations given me by my friends Yibai-malian and Umbara and others. The men said, "Look at that!

look at those old men! when you get back to the camp go and do like that, and play with the little children—Yah!"

After a march of another quarter of a mile there was another halt. Some of the old men came out of the scrub with boughs held round their heads representing a mob of bullocks, and went through some absurd antics to make the boys laugh at their child's play. But the boys, having been warned by their *Kabos*, looked on with the utmost stolidity.

From here we marched slowly up the mountain side, until at another little level a third halt was made. Here the second stage was marked by all the men rubbing themselves with powdered charcoal, making themselves almost unrecognisable. The use of powdered charcoal in this manner seems to have a very general application in these ceremonies and in other tribes to magic, as for instance the Bunjil-barn among the Kurnai.

This interlude was an amusing one. The men, led by Umbara, pretended to be a team of working bullocks. Each man held a stick by both hands over his neck to represent a yoke, and the team danced slowly among the trees, past the boys with ludicrous gestures. Thence a further march was made, the men making laughable remarks to the boys, such as "You can go home now—Yah! We are going to the sea-shore to get oysters—Yah!"

On the summit of the hill there was another halt, and here was the first magic dance. The boys and their *Kabos* stood in a row and the men danced in a circle before them, shouting the name for "legs." This kind of dance is merely jumping round in a circle, with the legs wide apart and the arms stretched straight downwards swinging across each other in front, the word being loudly uttered, rhythmically with the body movement. After doing this for a minute or two, the circle of dancers opened, and joined on to the end of the line of *Kabos* and novices, the whole then forming a new circle. One of the *Gommeras* darted into this enclosed space, and danced the magic dance. This is done as if sitting almost on the heels, but the knees are widely apart, and the two hands are extended downwards until the fingers almost touch

the ground. The medicine-man then hops backwards and forwards with a staring expression of face, his head vibrates from side to side, and he suddenly shows, sometimes after apparently internal struggles, one of his *Joïas* between his teeth. This is supposed to have been brought from within himself. The other men are meantime dancing round him, and I have occasionally seen him work himself into a kind of ecstatic frenzy, and fall down, once almost into the fire, utterly exhausted. While this was going on, the *Kabos* spoke in earnest tones to their boys, explaining to them the great and deadly powers of the *Gommeras*, and the necessity of their obeying every instruction given to them.

After a further ascent of a steep mountain ridge, there was another halt before crossing the summit of the range, which was marked by the men representing to the boys a procession of old men, slowly and with rhythmical movements marching out of the forest into the little open space in which the boys had been halted. Great age was shown, as in all these representations, by each man walking in a stooping position, supported by a staff in each hand. After circling round the boys twice, the procession resolved itself into a ring in front of the boys, and the men danced the usual magic dance round one who exhibited his *Joïas* in the usual manner. The men then, ceasing to dance, rushed to the boys in an excited manner, old Yibai-malian leading the way, and for the first time went through one of their most characteristic performances. They all shouted "*Ngai!*" meaning "Good," and at the same time moved their arms and hands as if passing something from themselves to the boys, who, being instructed by the *Kabos*, moved their hands and arms as if pulling a rope towards themselves, the palms of the hands being held upwards. The intention of this is that the boys shall be completely filled—saturated, I might say—with the magic proceeding from the initiated and the medicine-men, so that "*Daramulun* will like them."

Perhaps the best expression that could be used in English would be that by their thus passing their magical influence to the boys, the medicine-men and the initiated made the novices acceptable to *Daramulun*.

The bull-roarer was now sounded in the distance and the procession, obeying its call, moved again up the mountain.

The fifth halt was merely a burlesque of a number of women sitting on the ground and beating on their rolled-up rugs as they sang a song. The sixth halt was near the summit of the mountain, and a number of the men crouched on the ground covered with grass representing kangaroo rats. As the boys came up, these men started to their feet and danced, forming a circle, in which Yibai-malian exhibited his magical powers. The name of the animal was the word sung here.

From this place the ground fell a little, so as to lead by a gentle slope of about a quarter of a mile into a small grassy depression lying back from the range, and falling slightly to the south. Here we halted, the bundles were laid down or hung on the trees, and the first of the minor stages was completed. The procession from the camp to this place in the mountain represents the cleared path from the circle to the little *Bunan*. The various stages to be now described represent some of the stages on the path, and the little *Bunan* is represented, partly by this grassy depression and partly by a small grassy glen below it. This latter was connected with the grassy depression above it by a little water channel which had cut its way down a steep rocky slope and joined a small creek leading down to a valley where there was a fine pool of water. It then formed a stream, bordered by shrubs and tall sedges, and flowing through a series of small basin-like hollows, ultimately ran into a lake on the sea-shore.

On the way down from the summit to the place where we had halted the old men had bent down small saplings to form arches, under which the novices had to pass. Some of them were so low that the boys had to crawl under them. These arches are made to impress obedience on the boys.

The forest was not very dense, but the trees were high, and the whole was secluded by a dense growth of wattles, which covered the upper slopes of the mountain-top over which we had come.

Here we made our camp, each contingent being on that

side of it nearest to its own country. The *Kabos* and their boys had a camp by themselves, in the rear of the huts of the men from Manero and Braidwood, in order to separate them from any of their relations and friends. The *Kabos* cut boughs and made a couch on which the novices lay down covered with their blankets. Their guardians sat by them, occasionally talking to and instructing them.

The younger men stripped sheets of bark from the trees[1] and made the huts which composed the camp, went down to the creek for water, and built up the fires, one for each hut, while in the middle of the open space round which the huts had been pitched the old men built up the magic fire called *Talmaru*, which was soon burning brightly. This fire is built by driving a stake into the ground and then leaning pieces of wood up against it all round to form a cone about three feet in height.

All the fires at the camp are spoken of in the language of the ceremonies as *Talmaru*, and not by the word which means "fire" in their tongue. It may be said with truth that there is a special language appropriate to the *Kuringal* ceremonies, which is not used elsewhere, and which is only known to the initiated.

On the north side of the *Talmaru* was the Moruya camp, on the south side that of the men from the coast, south of Bega, while on the western side were the Bemeringal; and, as I came from that direction, my camp was with them. With me was my messenger, having in his charge my bull-roarer, and it was his duty "officially," if I may so use that word, to look after me and obey my orders, as being one of the *Gommeras* or Headmen who had started the *Kuringal*. My old friend Umbara, who was alone, having come in a boat from his home at the Waloga lake, joined me, and had his hut on one side, while Yibai-malian, being a Bemeringal, was on the other.

The encampment having been thus satisfactorily arranged, and the men having rested after their exertions, it became necessary, as Umbara put it, to rouse them up by swinging the *Mudthi*; but as Mragula, the old Wolgal singer, was

[1] *Eucalyptus obliqua.*

not satisfied with the sound of mine, he set to and made another from a piece of the wood of a native cherry-tree[1] which grew near by. While he was doing this, I went with my messenger to a pile of rocks near at hand, where he had secreted the Dieri bull-roarer, and set him to swing it vigorously. Instantly, when the sound was heard, all the men started to their feet, the *Kabos* roused their boys up with a shout of "*Huh! Yakai!*" which may be rendered "Hallo! Oh, dear!" The roaring of the *Mudthi* represents the muttering of thunder, and the thunder is the voice of *Daramulun*, and therefore its sound is of the most sacred character. Umbara once said to me, "Thunder is the voice of him (pointing upwards to the sky) calling on the rain to fall and make everything grow up new."

All the men now went to their camps and had their dinners, but the boys had only a small quantity of tea and a piece of bread each, this being the commencement of short commons for them during their novitiate.

The old men being ready, we went down a cattle-track to the lower glen, where a place was chosen and a space cleared for the tooth ceremony. All the bushes were chopped up, the stones gathered, and even the grass plucked up by the roots—in fact, everything cleared from it for a space of about twenty-five feet square. In a line along one side three pairs of holes were dug, about a foot in depth, in which the novices were to stand. A great stringy-bark tree was close to the northern side, and on this the Bega *Gommera* cut in relief the figure of a man of life-size in the attitude of dancing. This represented *Daramulun*, whose ceremonies they are, and who, as is taught to the novices, is cognisant of all the *Kuringal* proceedings.

While some of the old men were making these preparations, other men prepared sheets of stringy bark for the dresses of the performers in the next ceremony. These dresses were prepared by cutting the bark of the tree through all round the bole in two places about three feet apart. The outer bark is then chipped off and the inner bark beaten with the back of the tomahawk before being separated

[1] *Exocarpus cupressiformis.*

from the tree. It is then taken off as a sheet of fibres, and being extended on the ground, is at least three times its former circumference. The sheets of fibre are about three inches thick, and look like coarse bright yellow tow. Ten men were now decorated with this fibre round their bodies, tied round their legs and arms, and placed as monstrous wigs on their heads. Their faces were further disguised by reverting the upper and lower lips by cords made of the fibre tied behind the head, thereby showing the teeth and gums, and the effect was hideous. Two pieces of bark were now stripped, each about four feet in length, by fifteen inches at one end and nine at the other. The ten men now knelt down in a row on the southern edge of the cleared space, and about six or seven feet distant from, and parallel with, the row of holes, which faced them. The kneeling men were shoulder to shoulder; the man at either end had one of the pieces of bark in his hands, and in front of him a small mound of earth raised up in such a position that he could strike it with the concave side of his piece of bark.

FIG. 30.—MAN DECORATED FOR THE KURINGAL CEREMONY.

All being now ready, including the new bull-roarer, my

messenger was sent to sound it on the mound of rocks overlooking our camp. The *Kabos* soon appeared, carefully leading their charges over the rocks and among the fallen trees, and down the cattle-track. The boys were ordered to keep their eyes fixed on their feet, and could therefore only proceed slowly, each one being guided by a *Kabo*. The remainder of the men who had remained at the camp followed them.

When the novices reached the cleared ground, still with bent heads and downcast eyes, each was placed with his feet in one pair of holes. Then they were told to raise their eyes and look, and the sight of the ten disguised figures must have been startling to them, but I could not see the slightest trace of emotion on the face of either of them.

At this time the scene was striking. Some of the men were standing at the east side of the cleared space, some on the west side, the boys and their *Kabos* being on the north, almost at the foot of the tree on which the figure, about three feet in length, of *Daramulun* was cut. In front of them were these motionless disguised figures. The *Gommera* Brupin was at a little distance almost hidden in some scrub, and old Gunjerung, the head *Gommera*, stood apart from all as was his custom, leaning on his staff, waiting for the moment when all being ready, he would give the signal for the ceremony to commence.[1]

FIG. 31.—THE FIGURE OF DARAMULUN. Cut on a tree.

At length Gunjerung raised his staff, and the kneeling man nearest to the sea, that is at the east end of the row, raised his strip of bark and brought it down on the earthen mound before him with a sound like the muffled report of a gun. Then he and all the other men

[1] The principal men in these ceremonies, such for instance as this Gunjerung, always stand apart from the others. See the plate in Collins' work, where the *Koradjis* (*Gommeras*) are standing apart just as Gunjerung did.

surged over to the west, uttering a sound like "sh" or "ush," long drawn out. The western man now, in his turn, struck his mound with a resounding blow, and all surged back making a rumbling sound; so they went on for some little time with the regularity of clockwork. This represents the waves breaking on the land, and rushing up on the shore, and the thunder answering it from the mountains.

Gunjerung now signed with his staff, and the masked figures, springing up, rushed to the novices, and commenced to dance to the words "*Wirri-wirri-wirri*," that is, "Quick, quick, quick." As they did this, one of the *Kabos* knelt behind his boy, with his right knee on the ground, and the boy sat on his left as a seat. The other *Kabo* came behind and drew the boy's head on to his breast, having his left arm round his chest, and his right hand over the boy's eyes. The *Kabo* kneeling on the ground held the boy's legs, his feet being in the holes.

From behind the bushes where he had been concealed, the *Gommera* Brupin now suddenly emerged dancing, bearing in one hand a short wooden club[1] and in the other a piece of wood about eight inches long and chisel-shaped at the end.[2] Being the representative of *Daramulun*, he was clothed only in a complete suit of charcoal dust.

The boy's eyes being covered, he danced into the space between them and the masked men to excited shouts of "*Wirri*," to which the other men were also dancing, and thus approached the first boy. He now handed his implements to the man nearest to him, and seizing the boy's head with his hands, applied his lower incisor to the left upper incisor of the boy, and forcibly pressed it upwards. He then, dancing all the time, placed the chisel on the tooth and struck a blow with the mallet. This time the tooth was loosened, and I could see blood. Some of the dancing-men now came between the boy and me, so that I lost count of the blows for a few seconds. However, I counted seven, and I think that there was at least one more. The tooth then fell out of its socket, and

[1] *Bul-bul.* [2] *Kuk-kum-bur.*

Brupin gave it to one of the old men. The boy was then led aside by the *Kabo*, who told him that he must on no account spit out the blood, but swallow it, otherwise the wound would not heal. The stoical indifference shown by this boy, to what must have been an exquisitely painful operation, was most surprising. I watched him carefully, and he could not have shown less feeling had he been a block of wood. But as he was led away I noticed that the muscles of his legs quivered in an extraordinary manner.

The *Gommera* now danced up to the second boy, and amidst the same shouts of "*Wirri*" gave a hoist to the boy's tooth with his own, and then struck his first blow. This, however, produced a different effect on this boy, for he set up a tremendous yell and struggled violently. His outcry was, however, drowned by the cries of "*Wirri*," and the boy's eyes being still covered, the *Gommera* again danced in from the masked figures, behind whom he had been crouching, and again struck his blow. This produced the same effect as before. The old men now said that the boy had been too much with the women, and had played too much with the little girls, thereby causing his tooth to be so firmly fixed. Yibai-malian now came forward, in his character of a great medicine-man, and first of all gave the tooth a tremendous hoist up with his lower jaw, then he put his mouth to that of the boy, who made a tremendous struggle, and got his arms free. Yibai told me afterwards that he then forced one of his *Joïas*, a quartz crystal, up against the tooth to loosen it. The boy, feeling this hard substance coming out of the medicine-man's mouth, thought, as he afterwards told his *Kabo*, that the man was going to kill him by something out of his inside. While this was going on, the men near to the boy said to him, "Now you be quiet, only a little more and it will be out."

As soon as the boy was soothed down, the *Gommera* danced in again and succeeded in getting a good blow which knocked the tooth out. He struck thirteen blows in all.

The third boy now only remained, the smallest of the three, and in his case one of his *Kabos*, a man of the Ngarigo

tribe, having first of all pushed the gum back from the tooth with his finger-nail, Yibai-malian gave the tooth the regulation hoist, and the *Gommera*, dancing in, knocked the tooth out with a few blows.

The three boys, having somewhat recovered from the severe ordeal through which they had gone, were led by their *Kabos* to the tree on which the figure of *Daramulun* was cut, and were told of him and his powers, and that he lived beyond the sky and watched what the Murring did. When a man died he met him and took care of him. It was he who first made the *Kuringal*, and taught it to their fathers, and he taught them also to make weapons, and all that they know. The *Gommeras* receive their powers from him, and he gives them the *Krugullung*. He is the great *Biamban* who can do anything and go anywhere, and he gave the tribal laws to their fathers, who have handed them down from father to son until now.

As the boys were then being led away to their camp, Gunjerung stopped them, and spoke to them in a most impressive manner. Alluding to the figure of *Daramulun*, he said, "If you make anything like that when you go back to the camp, I will kill you."

When the boys were taken away, the men stripped off their bark-fibre disguises and piled them over the foot-holes. Then they all formed a ring round the cleared space, standing with their faces outwards. At a signal from Brupin they all bent forwards, and with their hands scratched leaves, sticks, rubbish, anything they could reach, towards themselves, throwing it backwards on to the heap. Then they simultaneously jumped backwards, uttering the sounds "*prr! prr! prr! wah! wah! wah!*" three times. A large quantity of rubbish being thus gathered over the sacred ground, they all turned round, and each one motioning with his outstretched hands towards the heap with the palms downwards repeated the words "*Yah! wah!*" as a final conclusion.

We all now went up to the camp, and standing by the *Talmaru* fire, the boys were invested with the man's belt. A long cord of opossum-fur string, folded a number of times, was wound round the waist, and fastened by the end

being tucked under the folds. This belt is coloured with red ochre. In front hangs the narrow kilt (*Burrain*), thrust up under it so as to hang down and preserve decency, being fastened to the belt by the two outside thongs, which are tucked once or twice under and round the belt. A *Burrain* also hangs down behind.

The novices were now covered as before with their blankets; and, being seated beside their *Kabos*, were told that, their teeth being out, nothing more would be done to them, that they were no longer boys, but were to look on and attend to all the *Kabos* told them.

The proceedings which I shall now describe continued all night, and are intended to enforce the teachings of the *Kabos*, to amuse the boys, and at the same time to securely establish the authority of the old men over them.

The magic fire was freshly built up, and the novices were told to stand up and observe. I may now mention once for all that the evening's ceremonial entertainments and proceedings were carried on alternately by the two sections of the community—the mountain Bemeringal and the sea-coast Katungal.

Dances and performances alternated, some merely to amuse, others to illustrate the magical powers of the *Gommeras*, and others to enforce tribal morality, or to perpetuate tribal legends. These were all strung together by a series of buffooneries, some of them of the broadest kind, and pervaded by the inverted manner of speaking before mentioned. Jokes, which were too broad for translation, were bandied about from side to side with the inevitable "*Yah!*" attached, which implied that they were not to be taken as serious.

In all these performances the men are naked, and even towards morning, when it clouded over and a smart shower fell, only a few put on a little covering. The old men especially adhered to the rules of their fathers, so far as they could do so, in the conduct of the ceremonies and their own procedure. One old man put on nothing when it rained but a pair of boots.

The first performance was by the Bega *Gommera*, and

it was a ludicrous one. It represents an old man tormented by opossums. It must be mentioned that, whenever possible, the men who represented animals were of those totems, and indeed all the animals which were represented in these performances were the totem animals of the tribe. Thus, when it is a kangaroo hunt, it is a kangaroo man who performs, and the wild-dog men hunt him. But if there are not sufficient of the necessary totems, then other men help them.

In this instance the great age of the performer was indicated, as in all other cases, by his leaning on a staff. He was occupied in chopping some animal out of a hollow log, and behind him were a number of opossums, crouching in the bushes. As he chopped, an opossum came behind him and scratched his bare leg, frightening him, to judge by the caper he cut and the yell he uttered, as he turned round and hit at it with his staff. His tormentor dodged him, and, running past on all fours, lay down at the edge of the cleared space. The old man now resumed his chopping, when another opossum ran out and bit his leg, and the old man, jumping and yelling, hit at and missed him. So it went on till all the opossum men had passed from one side of the fire to the other, and were lying side by side. The performer now dropped his staff and tomahawk and rushed to the fire, where he clapped his hands, shouting the word for opossum, whereupon all the opossum men sprang up and danced round him and the fire.

The next was a magic dance to the word meaning "legs." In this the dancing of the *Gommeras* and the exhibition of their *Joïas* was a marked feature of the dance. At one time there would be only one, then others would rush into the ring, until there were four or five, once there were six, all dancing in an excited state, staring with goggle eyes, with their lips drawn back, showing their *Joïas* held between their teeth, in the firelight, for it had become dark. One man in his frenzy threw himself down on his knees, and danced on them. Others danced until, apparently overcome by their own magic, they fell down seemingly senseless.

The purely magical dances were performed when the word rhythmically shouted was *Daramulun*, or *Murunga*, that is, the bull-roarer, this synonym being lawfully used only at the *Kuringal*, *Ngalalbal*, the mother of *Daramulun*, or the names of different parts of the body which might be affected by the *Joïas*, and lastly the *Joïas* themselves.

The different *Joïas* which were "danced" during the night were as follows: *Krugialla*, the quartz crystal; *Kunambrun*, a black stone, apparently lydianite; *Bundain*, resembling the flesh or the intestine of an animal, and also a substance looking like chalk, of which I did not obtain a sample.

The dance of *Daramulun*, which was indeed the invocation of him by name, accompanied by dancing, was repeated several times. The dance of *Ngalalbal* took place only once, and it was partly a performance. The old Wolgal singer struck up a plaintive air, beginning in a high note, and gradually falling, all joining in it, excepting those who represented *Ngalalbal*.[1] The words of the song are:—

Ngalalbal Ngalalbal walulbal gilli-gulli bela,

or, freely translated, "Oh! Ngalalbal, where do you go, coming from afar?" As the song rose louder from the number of voices that joined in, two figures glided in from the black shadows of the forest to the light of the fire. The word "glided" best expresses the slow movement with which the two figures came forward side by side, as one person, and again vanished out of the circle of firelight into the forest beyond. They glided past silently, almost motionless, each one shrouded from head to foot in the same manner as the novices, and each one protruding from the space in which the face was visible a crooked stick to represent a boomerang, held concave edge outwards, with which, tradition says, the two *Ngalalbal*, the mothers of *Daramulun*, were armed. After they passed, there was a magic dance to the word *Ngalalbal*.

Of the totem dances some were merely the magic dance

[1] *Ngalal* is "sinew," *e.g.* those at the back of the knee. *Bal* is a dual postfix, the name being rendered as "the two Ngalalbal." The name probably also refers to the sinewy legs of the emu, for Ngalalbal is the emu.

to the name of the totem. Others were prefaced by pantomimic representations of the totem animal, bird, or reptile. Thus there was a dance to the word *Yirai-kapin*, the dog's tooth, referring to the "ravenous tooth which devours everything." It commenced with the life-like howling of a dingo in the forest, answered by other dogs on the other side. Then nearer, till a man ran into the firelight on all fours, with a bush stuck in his belt behind, to represent a dingo's tail. Others followed, till half a score were running round the fire, smelling each other, snarling and snapping, scratching the ground, in fact representing the actions of wild dogs, until the medicine-man leading them sprang to his feet, clapped his hands, vociferating in measured tones, "*Yirai-kapin.*" While he danced, the others followed him, dancing round him, and the usual totem dance was made.

Another was the crow dance, in which men, with leaves round their heads, croaked like those birds, and then danced; the owl dance, in which they imitated the hooting of the *Takula*, owl; the lyre-bird dance, and that of the stone-plover. Finally, there was the dance of the rock-wallaby, which was pantomimic.

In this the rock-wallaby were at first concealed in the shadows to the right front of the fire, that is, looking north from where I sat. Brupin and Yibai-malian were the principal performers, the animals being represented by two or three of that totem, with other men helping them. Yibai had charge of the rock-wallaby, and Brupin tried, in a grotesque manner, to entice them from him, while talking to the former. When they ran to Brupin's side, Yibai threatened him, and they had a comic combat, as if with club and shield. So it went on till all the wallaby had been enticed from Yibai, who evinced his grief at the loss in the most comical manner. It ended with the usual dance to the word *Yalonga*, that is, rock-wallaby.

Some of the pantomimes were curious, particularly one which represented a *Gommera* curing a sick child, which was a small log which one of the old men had taken from the fire and carried in his arms to and fro, imitating the crying of a sick child. Several of the men came up and imitated

the actions of a "doctor," in stroking the child with their hands, and extracting from it stones, pieces of wood, bark, and other things, as the cause of the disease. This was received with shouts of laughter from all, from the medicine-men as well as the others. The only ones who did not even smile were the utterly unmoved novices.

Another pantomime represented a number of very old men who came up, following each other, out of the forest, and circled round the fire in the usual rhythmical manner, swaying from side to side at each step, and each holding his head with both hands, one at each temple. After going round the fire several times, the chain broke up into individuals, who began tickling each other, finally falling down into a heap, screeching with laughter. Such an exhibition of childishness in venerable old greybeards was ridiculous, and this was impressed on the novices by going up to them and saying, "When you go back to the camp do like that—yah!" by this warning them not to be guilty of such childish acts in their new characters of men.

Other pantomimic representations were to impress rules of tribal morality by visible instances.

A man lay down on the ground near the fire, as if a woman asleep. The other performers were hidden by the shadows thrown by the trees beyond the fire. One man then stole out, and seeing the woman sleeping, cautiously approached, after peering all round to see if any one were near. He tried in vain to wake her, and made comic gestures which left no doubt of his intentions. Being unable to succeed, he went across and lay down at the edge of the clear space. One by one the other men came by, each fruitlessly endeavouring to waken the sleeping woman, and also making gestures showing what he intended. When all had passed the pseudo-woman, one of the *Gommeras* jumped up and commenced his dance, the disappointed suitors joining in it. This play, taken by itself, was comic, but when looked at in reference to the gestures made by the men, suggested what might happen if a savage found a solitary woman sleeping in the bush. But a remarkable commentary was applied, not only by the broad allusions made by the

men looking on, addressed to the novices, and always followed by the emphatic "Yah!" but by the direct statements of Gunjerung to the boys in the coast language, and to the Wolgal boy in English, which was, "Look at me! if you do anything like that when you go back to the camp, I will kill you; by and by, when you are older, you will get a wife of your own."

Another pantomime was still more striking. By itself it seemed to be merely beastliness of behaviour. The pantomimic actions and words left no doubt that this represented the offences for which, it is said, the cities of the plain were destroyed by celestial fire.

When the dance was over, and Gunjerung went to speak to the boys, I had moved up close to them to hear with certainty what he might say to the Wolgal boy, and thus have at first hand what otherwise I should have to take from a translation. Looking at him with the expression of a malignant wizard, he said, "Look at me!" The boy took no more notice than if he had been blind, deaf, and dumb. He said again, "Look at me!" The *Kabo* said, "Look at him"; the boy then looked Gunjerung full in the face, who said, "Look at that man!" pointing to one of the most prominent *Gommeras* who had been dancing; "if you do anything like that when you go back to the camp, he will see you and will kill you dead."

These representations went on from about six in the evening to near three o'clock in the morning. When one section had wearied themselves a short halt was called, and the boys were told, as in one instance, "You can go and lie down, we are going to sleep—yah!" The *Kabos* led them to the couch of leaves, and caused them to lie down covered by blankets. The men sat by their fires, or rolled themselves in their rugs; some smoked, some chatted, but before long, sometimes after no more than five minutes had passed, one of the leading *Gommeras* would start up, clap his hands, and rush to the Talmaru fire, shouting some word, in most cases either "*Mirambul*" (legs) or "*Katir*" (dance). The section to which he belonged then joined in, the proceedings recommenced, and the other section remained spectators.

Twice when the proceedings flagged a little, Yibai-malian made me the sign for *Mudthi*, namely, moving the forefinger of the right hand in a small circle, and I sent my messenger to the mound of rocks to sound the bull-roarer out of sight. Directly the sound was heard the whole camp, excepting the *Kabos* and novices, was in a state of excitement, the men shouting "*Huh! huh!*" and the dancing went on with renewed vigour.

The novices were thus kept in a constant state of excitement and suspense until, as I have said, at about three in the morning, when the old men danced to the word *Kair*, that is, the end, the finish. The magic fire was let burn low, the boys were laid on their couch of leaves, and all hands rolled themselves in their rugs or blankets and slept.

Towards five o'clock I was roused, partly by the cold mountain air, my fire having burned out, and partly by old Umbara's nasal song not far away. When I told him of this afterwards, he said, "When I snore, that is the time I dream and am walking about." Making up my fire, I sat by it thinking of the strange scenes of the past twenty-four hours, till, as the first signs of the dawn were showing in the east, Yibai-malian woke and instantly rushed to the Talmaru, shouting "*Bau! bau!*" that is, "Hallo! hallo!"

The whole camp woke up at once, and by the time he had lit up the fire the other fires were burning at the several camps, and the men were either having an early smoke, or were warming up tea left from the night before. As the light came stronger a song was raised in the Bega camp about the dawning, which was sung for some time. As it died away the Wolgal singer commenced a song about the bat, and as we sat by the fire Umbara explained it to me as being about "that miserable little fellow flying about."

He then sang a song about "the clear space in the tree tops through which the dawn shines." Then the laughing-jackasses commenced their cackling laughs, and one and all joined in singing a song about the *Kakoberi*, that is, the laughing-jackass. By this time it was daylight, and the pots and "billies" were boiling for breakfast, the younger men having fetched water up from the creek for the others. I

had gone there also for mine, and I broke the rule which forbids washing the person during the *Kuringal* ceremonies.

After breakfast the dances recommenced vigorously. The sequence was *Katir* (dance), *Yiramil* (teeth), and a pantomimic dance for which the men covered themselves with boughs. It was called *Ngadjigar* (bushes), and was followed by a magic ring, in which the *Gommeras* danced and exhibited their *Joïas*. Then occurred one of the periodic rushes of these men to the novices, and the transference of the magical influence to them, followed by the three emphatic words, "*Wah! Huh! Wah!*" with the downward motion of the outstretched hands.

The novices were told to go and sit down by their fire. The day's ceremonies had been commenced and the old men had a consultation as to the further course to be pursued. One of the principal old men had had a dream in the night. It was that the Kurnai had arrived since our departure, and that as we had left and commenced the *Kuringal* without them, they would follow the old law and "kill our women." This seemed to impress some of the others, and a discussion arose. One man said that he was sure that the dream was true, because his nose had been itching all night, which was a sign that strangers were coming to the camp. Another man said that during the night a log on his fire had "sung out," which is one of the omens with these people foretelling the arrival of strangers.

The arranged programme was that we should remain in camp another day, go out hunting for food, and in the evening repeat the programme of the night before. Then on the next morning we should finish and return to the camp, or rather go to the new camp, which the women were to make. Such being the case, I said that, as my time was short, we would finish the ceremonies that day, and return in the afternoon to the new camp.

This being settled, we recommenced with the Crow dance, after which all the men formed a ring round the Talmaru fire, and shouting "*Yah! Yah! Yah! Prr! Prr! Prr! Wah! Wah! Wah!*" scratched leaves, sticks, rubbish, earth over it till it was completely covered up.

Then they stamped on it, danced on it, and finally sat down on it, till they were fully satisfied that it was quite extinguished. Then they stood over it and uttered the usual formula, "*Yah! Huh! Wah!*" concluding with downward motion of the extended hands.

Before the fire was extinguished, one of the *Kabos* had cut six pieces of dry bark from a dead tree, each piece being about eighteen inches long and four wide. These were tied two and two, and small leafy twigs were tied round one end. The other end was then lighted at the Talmaru, and one of these fire-sticks was given to each boy to carry with him, and he was to light his fire with it when, at the final close of the ceremonies, he commenced his life of probation in the bush. If this is omitted, the belief is that it will cause a terrible storm of wind and rain.

All being ready to start, Gunjerung standing apart, leaning on his staff, said, "Go!" and moved off followed by all, the *Kabos* and the novices being last. Yibai-malian and my messenger remained with me, and when the procession had disappeared down the steep eastern side of the mountain we sounded the two bull-roarers, and then having carefully wrapped them up so that they could not be seen, followed the party.

The Yuin believe that the *Gommeras* leave things lying on the Kuringal ground filled with evil magic; but if this is done, these are probably poisoned pieces of sharp bone, which, penetrating the bare foot of a blackfellow or a woman, might produce blood-poisoning. Such at any rate seems to be a fair explanation of a case which happened. Two men were crossing a *Bunan* ground which had been used some little time before, when one of them trod on something sharp. His friend picked it out of his foot for him, and found it to be a piece of fish bone. That night the man was in great pain, and in a few days he died. The Yuin attributed his death to some *Gommera* having left something behind in the form of a *Joïa*, by which the man was "caught" by evil magic.

When we overtook the *Kabos* and the novices we found them seated on the hill-side, a little way from the other men,

who were on a small level clear space. Brupin and another man were carefully clearing a small piece of ground, and with pointed sticks dug out a figure of Daramulun, leaving it about twelve inches in relief. It was in the attitude of the magic dance, and was provided with pieces of wood for teeth, and a mouthful of quartz fragments as *Joïas*, the male member being much exaggerated. According to ancient usage, a collection of the implements and weapons used by the Yuin should have been placed round the figure, but, as most of these are not now used by the Murring, they were omitted. When completed the figure was nearly life-size. The men then disguised themselves with boughs over their heads, and formed a close row across and in front of the feet of the figure. The novices were now brought down by their *Kabos* to the rear of the men who were dancing, and who then formed a ring, danced five times round the figure shouting the name *Daramulun* in time to the dance. Another dance to the name *Ngalalbal* followed, and the novices were then led to the figure. Gunjerung discoursed to them about it. What he said I gathered first from a rapid explanation by Umbara, and then from what Gunjerung said to the Wolgal boy in English: "That is the *Biamban* you have been told about, who can go anywhere and do anything. If you make a thing like that when you go back to the camp, or speak of it to the women and children, you will be killed." The boughs were now thrown on to the figure, and the whole covered up as had been done with the foot-holes and the Talmaru.

FIG. 32.—EARTH FIGURE IN RELIEF OF DARAMULUN.

The joking was now recommenced, the novices being told, "Now we are going to catch some fish—yah!" and other such sayings as we moved down to the creek, crossed its course amongst dense masses of tall sharp-edged sedges, from the flower stems of which spear-points were formerly made, and followed down the valley till the old men found a pool which would suit their purpose for the last ceremony before returning to the new camp.

Although it was now between ten and eleven o'clock, the sun had only just peeped over the high mountain-side of the valley into which we had descended, and shone through the tall mountain ash and stringy-bark trees which clothed it. Although the hill-sides were sunny and warm where we sat down to rest, the bottom of the valley was still in deep shadow, and dank with the moisture of the night's rain.

Another important ceremony had now to be performed before the final one of which the men had jokingly said that they were going to "catch fish." While Gunjerung and his section of the party rested by a fire, which they had lit, and the *Kabos* and the novices rested by another, which they lighted with the fire brought from the Talmaru, Yibai-malian and Brupin prepared for the next ceremony. Some of the men under their direction prepared a new stock of bark-fibre decorations, while others dug a grave. There was now a discussion as to the way in which it was to be done. Brupin said that it must be dug in the manner in which the body is buried in a sitting position, with the knees drawn up and the arms across the chest, but Yibai said that as he was to be buried, he would have the grave made as in the case where the body was to be laid out at length on its back. Two men therefore set to work to excavate it with digging-sticks in the friable granitic soil, while he went off to superintend the costuming of the other actors.

Sheets of bark were again beaten into fleeces of fibre, and we dressed up six performers, this time completely covering them from head to foot, so that not even a glimpse of their faces could be seen. Four of them were attached to each other by a cord of stringy-bark fibre fastened to a tuft left on the back of the head of the first, the cord then

tied to the tuft on the head of the second, and so on to the last. Each man had a piece of bark twelve inches long and four wide in each hand. The two remaining actors were not tied to any one, and each walked nearly bent double by the weight of supposititious years, resting on a staff—this indicating a great age and, as they represented two medicine-men, also great magical powers.

By this time the grave was completed, and leaves having been laid on the bottom as a couch, Yibai stretched himself out on them with a rolled-up blanket under his head, as if he were a dead man. In his two hands, which were crossed on his chest, he held the stem of a young Geebung tree,[1] which had been pulled up by the roots, and now stood planted on his chest several feet above the level of the ground. A light covering of dead sticks filled the grave, and on them were scattered dead leaves and grass, artistically levelled off with the ground, by sticking little tufts of grass, small plants and such like, to make the illusion complete.

All being now ready, the novices were led by their *Kabos* and placed alongside the grave, and the Wolgal singer perched himself on the bole of a fallen tree close by the head of the grave, and commenced a melancholy but well-marked song, called the "Song of *Yibai*."[2]

The words of this song are, as is often the case, merely suggestive of its meaning rather than descriptive of it, being the repetition of the words *Burrin-burrin Yibai*, that is, Stringy-bark Yibai. This song is said to have been handed down by their fathers at these ceremonies, and further, that it refers to the incantation by the medicine-men. It refers to Malian, that is eagle-hawk, in connection with Yibai, and *Daramulun* is also Malian. In this aspect the burial of the man Yibai has a new significance, he being of the sub-class Yibai and of the totem Malian.

To the slow, plaintive, but well-marked air of this song the actors began to move forward, winding among the trees, logs, and rocks. In accord with the time of the song the

[1] *Persoonia linearis.*

[2] That is, either the song of the sub-class *Yibai*, or of the individual *Yibai* who was thus fictitiously dead and buried.

four men kept step, at each step striking their two bark clappers together, and simultaneously swaying first to the one side and then to the other. The two old men kept pace with them, but a little to one side as became their dignity. This represented a party of medicine-men, guided by two *Gommeras*, proceeding to the grave of the medicine-man Yibai-malian and chanting an invocation to *Daramulun* under his synonyms. As they came near to the grave they wound round its foot and ranged themselves at the side facing the novices and the *Kabos*. The two old men stood behind them as the chant and dance still went on. Then there was seen a slight quivering of the Geebung tree, and the *Kabos* directed the attention of the novices to it, saying, "Look there." It quivered more, was then violently agitated, then the whole structure fell to pieces, and to the excited dancing of the actors, to the song of Yibai, the supposed dead man rose up and danced his magic dance in the grave, showing the *Joïas* in his mouth, which he is supposed to have received from *Daramulun* himself.

I found afterwards that this song of Yibai is known to the Wiradjuri in their *Burbung* ceremonies.

This being ended, the trappings of the actors and the Geebung sapling were thrown into the grave, and the whole covered up by scratching rubbish over it as in the cases of the other sacred representations.

It was now noon, and we all rested and cooked and ate our mid-day meal. After that the bundles were again tied up and the "fish-catching ceremony" commenced.

Properly speaking, every one ought to have gone into the water and have washed off all traces of the charcoal dust, which is the covering appropriate to the *Kuringal* ceremonies. But it had become so cold that a considerable number of the men compounded by only washing their faces, heads, and arms. The other more punctilious men went into the water up to their middles and washed themselves thoroughly, shouting while they did so, "We are going fishing —yah!" The novices were led to the edge of the pool and plentifully sprinkled with water by the men, who then danced, and, as in former cases, passed the magical influence to the

novices. Then they came out of the water and put on clothes, and with them they put on also their usual demeanour.

The novices were led away ahead of the party, being now "completed" and made "*ngai*" so as to "please *Daramulun*."

The intention of this washing is that everything belonging to the ceremonies shall be left behind with the charcoal, which is the indication of them. To use their own expression, "Everything belonging to the bush work is washed away, so that the women may not know anything about it."[1]

The novices are forbidden, during their period of probation, to wash themselves, or to go into the water, especially if running, lest the influence with which the ceremonies have filled them should be washed off. The men had "gone to catch fish" full of buffoonery, with the word *Yah!* on the tip of their tongues; when they came out of the pool, having left behind them all I have described as peculiar to these ceremonies, they resumed their usual quiet and impassible demeanour. The bundles were picked up and we started on our way to the new camp. When we had almost reached the crest of the range we overtook the *Kabos* and the novices. Gunjerung called a halt, and the bull-roarers were produced from the bundles and swung loudly. The novices were brought back to us, and Gunjerung spoke to them about these things, showing them the tooth-stick, the mallet, and the *Mudthis*. Finally, turning to the Wolgal boy, he said, pointing to the bull-roarers, and especially to the one which had been sent to him: "These are what made the noise you heard, and this one was very strong, it brought me all the way from Moruya." I may mention here that the head *Gommera* takes care of the *Mudthis* from one *Kuringal* to the other.

We now started again, the "young men" no longer being led by their *Kabos*, but walking by themselves alongside the other men.

The whole of the secret ceremonies were now completed,

[1] Dr. Lorimer Fison tells me that this cleansing exactly corresponds with the Nanga ceremony in Fiji.

having been, by stress of circumstances, condensed into about one-third of the time usually taken for them. The three boys had been made men, probationers certainly, but ranking with the men, and for ever separated from the control of their mothers and the companionship of their sisters.

All the boys who are made men at the same time are in the relation of *Mudthi*. All who have had a tooth knocked out are *Gumbang-ira*, that is, "Raw-tooth."

When we reached the summit of a rocky spur which jutted out from the mountain, we overlooked the distant river valley. Then, about half a mile farther on, we halted on a small peak above a steep descent, and here the young men were divested of their blankets and carefully painted with yellow ochre by their *Kabos* in lines and dots. Three bands were drawn across the face, and the legs from the knee down were wholly covered with ochre. The belt of manhood was carefully wound round the waist, and the two *Burrain* were hung thereto, before and behind. The head-bands and the arm-bands completed their costume.

The two elder boys took it all with the greatest equanimity, but the younger one, who had shown an utterly unmoved demeanour, except when his tooth was being knocked out, through all the ceremonies of nearly thirty hours, was now scarcely able to contain himself, as he stood and admired his costume. His face was radiant as he looked down first on one side and then on the other.

This having been done, we were ready to start, but first of all a signal was made to learn whether the women were ready to receive us. This was done by one of the men uttering a shrill cry three times like "*Trr, trr, trr*," and then all joining in a great shout of "*Yau ! yau ! yau !*" This was repeated three times with intervals of listening, until at length a shrill answering signal of the same kind came up from the distant forest below.

We now descended the remaining part of the mountain ; and at its foot, when about a quarter of a mile from the new camp, we halted, and, the bundles being put down, the men broke off boughs or young trees, and formed a close group bearing them, within which were the *Kabos*, one of

each pair carrying his boy on his shoulders. Old Gunjerung alone did not carry anything; but, as the *Biamban*, walked apart a little at one side and in the rear. Holding boughs high up so as to conceal the newly-made young men in a moving forest, we all walked slowly to the camp, in front of which was constructed the semblance, made of boughs, of a double hut such as is used here. It had been made large enough to hold ten or a dozen people, and at the farther opening and inside stood four women, the three mothers of the boys and the sister of one of the former, that is, a tribal mother of the boy. These women had each a band of white clay across her face as a sign of mourning.

As we came to this simulated camp, the leading men entered and the *Kabos* placed their boys on the ground before the women. The oldest woman then carefully scrutinised them, as if to find out who they were, and then turning one of them with his face in the direction in which he had come, struck him lightly on the back with two boomerangs which she held in her hand. The men then shouted to the boys to run, and opening a lane, they having been instructed by their *Kabos* what to do, raced off at the top of their speed to the place where the bundles and their *Talmaru* fire-sticks had been left. All the men followed fast after them, and when I came up with them more leisurely, found them recovering their breath after their race.

The three novices had now to go and live by themselves in the bush, on such food as they could catch, and which it might be lawful for them to eat. They were still under the charge of the *Kabos*, who would visit them from time to time, continue to instruct them, and see that they followed the rules laid down for them. In the case of the elder of the three, the period of probation would be shortened, because he was employed as a stock-rider on a cattle station. But in all the cases the *Gommeras* would not consent to either of them taking his place in the tribal community until they were satisfied as to his conduct. For instance, he would not be allowed to take a wife for possibly several years.

Among the things which are told to the novice by his

Kabos, is his *Budjan*, that is his totem name. These names are not much used, and a person does not know much of the *Budjans* of others. It is the personal name which is used, not the *Budjan*. The personal name is a tribal one given to an individual in childhood, and the use of the totem name is avoided, lest an enemy might get hold of it and do him an injury by evil magic. In this there is a difference between the Yuin and other tribes, in which the totem name is used, and the personal name strictly kept secret. The rule is that during the period of probation the novice is absolutely prohibited from holding any communication with a woman, even his own mother. He must not even look at one, and this prohibition extends to the emu, for the emu is Ngalalbal, the mother of *Daramulun*.

The food restrictions in connection with these ceremonies are that the *Gumbang-ira* (raw-tooth novice) may not eat any of the following: emu, because it is Ngalalbal; any animal, *e.g.* the wombat, which burrows in the ground, and therefore reminds of the foot-holes; such creatures as have very prominent teeth, such as the kangaroo, because they remind of the tooth itself; any animal that climbs to the tree-tops, like the koala, because it is then near to *Daramulun*; any bird that swims, because it reminds of the final washing ceremony. Other food forbidden is spiny ant-eater, common opossum, lace-lizard, snakes, eels, perch, and others.

Thus the young man during his probation is placed in an artificial state of scarcity as to food, although perhaps surrounded by plenty. Included in the forbidden is the *Budjan* of the novice, although this rule is becoming more and more disregarded in the younger generations.

The novices were told that if they eat any of the forbidden animals, the *Joïa* belonging to it would get into them and kill them. But not only is there an immaterial *Joïa* which acts magically, but also a special magical substance which belongs to each such animal. In fact, these magical substances are some of the *Joïas* which the medicine-men exhibit at the *Kuringal*. As each *Gommera* has a totem name, his *Budjan* and the magical substance belonging to it are his special *Joïas*.

It is the evil magic of the *Budjan* that in great measure commands obedience, but there is also the belief that the *Gommera* can see in dreams the actions of the novices, and punish them by *Joïa*. In the old times a novice, known to have broken the food rules after initiation, would have been killed by violence.

The strictness with which these food rules are observed by the old men affords a measure of their force in the olden times. The old man whom I have mentioned as the Wolgal singer, and who seemed to be about seventy years of age, told me, when we were speaking of these rules, that he had never eaten of the flesh of the emu. He said that he had never been made free of its flesh, by some one stealthily rubbing a piece of it, or the fat, on his mouth.

When the *Gommeras* are satisfied that the youth is fit to take his place in the tribe, he is allowed to return. In one case known to me, it was between five and six months before the old men were satisfied as to this. For some reason they were dissatisfied with the novices, and after a meeting was held of the old men, some of them went out to and told the novices that they must not let the women see them stripped of their rugs for some months after coming in.

After the novice is allowed to come into the camp, and till he is permitted to marry, the *Gommeras* can order him to do things for them, and he obeys them.

The ceremonies being now completed, there remained nothing for the people to do but gradually to return to their own districts. The tooth would be carried by the *Gommera* of the place most distant from that of the youth it belonged to. He would then send or hand it to the Headman of the locality next to him, and thus it would pass from group to group of the inter-marrying community which had attended the *Kuringal*. It conveys its message, which is that so-and-so has been made a man. Finally it returns to its owner.

I took on myself, as being in their eyes a "*Gommera* of the Kurnai," and as having joined in causing the *Kuringal* to be held, to carry off two of the teeth, which were fastened

with grass-tree gum one to each end of a piece of twisted fibre. An old man, the father of one of the boys, begged me not to put the teeth into my "*Joïa* bag," and Yibai, who was present, said that he would by and by fetch them back.

Some twelve months after, I was surprised by the arrival at Sale, in Gippsland, where I was then living, of the

FIG. 33.—1 AND 3, WOODEN IMPLEMENT USED TO EXTRACT TEETH AT YUIN KURINGAL; 2, TEETH WHEN EXTRACTED ATTACHED TO TWISTED FIBRE BY GUM. $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

man who had acted as my messenger during the ceremonies. In the usual secret manner in which anything relating to the *Kuringal* is spoken of, he whispered to me that one of the boys had been taken ill, and that the old men feared that I had placed the teeth in my bag with *Joïas*, and had thereby caused his sickness. The old men had therefore sent him to ask me for them. I relieved his mind by showing him the teeth carefully packed in a small tin box by themselves, and sent him off with them on his return journey of some two hundred and fifty miles.

THE NGARIGO CEREMONIES

In one of the talks which I had with the old men at their *Wirri-wirri-than*, I asked them what would be done if a woman saw a *Mudthi*. The consensus of opinion was that if a woman found a *Mudthi* and showed it to a man, he would kill her. If a man showed a *Mudthi* to a woman or a child, he would be killed, and not unlikely those belonging to him also. If a woman were seen in the little *Bunan* ground, she would be killed.

I have mentioned that some of the Bemeringal attended the Yuin ceremonies, but the "true Bemeringal," according to the Yuin, are the Ngarigo of the Manero tableland. Their ceremonies are almost precisely the same as the *Kuringal*, but the following details may be added.

During the time that the novice (*Kuringun*) is away in the mountains after the ceremonies, he is in the charge of some old man, or more than one. He may be absent more than six months, and during this time he is not allowed to touch cooked food with his hands. The food is put into his mouth by the man who has charge of him. *Tharamulun* is believed to be watching him, and his dread is very great. During the time when the novices are at the *Kuringal* before they are shown to their mothers, their food is brought by women who have not any boys to be made men. When the tooth is taken out, it is fastened to a piece of *Kaiung*, the woman's apron, and is sent round to Tumut in a bag with some kangaroo teeth and red ochre. The bag is made of the skin of small wallaby called *Kulbut*.

THE WOLGAL KURINGAL

The initiation ceremonies of the Wolgal were described to me by Yibai-malian and the old Wolgal singer, with diagrams drawn in the sand to explain matters. They said that the ceremony is also called *Kuringal*, and the boys who are made men at it are called by that name. There is the earthen mound with a path leading to a small enclosure

at some distance. Huts are made at a little distance from the mound, in which the boys and their mothers sit. When the ceremonies commence, in the same manner as with the Coast Murring, the boys are placed on the mound before a great fire, and behind each boy stands his mother. All the other women are at the camp covered with boughs and skin rugs, or blankets, as the case may be. The principal medicine-man, or, in the instance which Yibai described to me, the two medicine-men, stood just inside the ring, a little way from the fire, but so as to be able to prevent the boys from shifting before the medicine-men think they have been sufficiently put to the test.

The dances described when speaking of the *Kuringal* of the Yuin were used here, and the novices were attended by their *Jambis*, who are in the same relation to the boys as the *Kabos* are in the Yuin.

The boys are covered with rugs in the same manner as at the *Kuringal*, and are led along the path to the small enclosure, where there are the same figures and emblems as described for the *Bunan*, and the saplings along the path are bent down to form arches, under which the boys have to stoop or even crawl, to make them obedient. The magic dances are those described, and in the small enclosure two holes are dug in which the novice stands when his tooth is knocked out by one of the medicine-men. During this operation the men sing in a loud voice to make the tooth come out easily. If the tooth holds fast, the old men say it is because the boys have had improper relations with the women.

The ceremonies last for three or four days, during which the songs and dances are the same as at the *Kuringal*. The novices are instructed by their *Jambis*, and admonished to obey the rules laid down for their conduct. They are also told about *Tharamulun*, and that he watches what men do.

The novices are forbidden to eat opossum, bandicoot, and, above all, emu eggs. They are told that if they eat forbidden food they will become ill by the magic of the creature eaten. But they are allowed to eat kangaroo, ring-tail opossum, fish, and other things.

The boys, having been properly instructed, are taken to where the women are, where a hut has been built, in which the boys' mothers are with a smoky fire in front. The boys, seeing their mothers in the smoke, run off into the bush with some of the men.

The bull-roarer is called *Marangrang*.

While the people are waiting for the arrival of the contingents there is singing and dancing each evening. The contingents when they arrive perform their songs and dances for the amusement of the others. New dances are brought by them and taught to the makers of the *Kuringal*. In these dances the novices take part with the men.

The teeth knocked out are put in a bag with kangaroo teeth and red ochre, and sent away by the medicine-man who extracted them round to the places from which the contingents came—for instance, as far off as Lambing Flat. With the teeth are sent a boomerang, a club (*nulla-nulla*), and a shield for club-fighting.

Before his tooth is out a boy is called *Bruebul*; afterwards he is *Nurmung* or *Kuringun*.

THE YA-ITMA-THANG CEREMONIES

The Ya-itma-thang tribe of the Omeo tableland attended the initiation ceremonies on the one side of the tribes on the Upper Ovens River, and those of the Wolgal and Ngarigo on the other. I was not able to learn anything at first-hand as to these ceremonies, excepting that *Mallur* came down from the sky to knock out the tooth of the boy when he was made a man. As this was the statement of an old woman who had survived all her tribes-people, it merely tells us what was told to the uninitiated by the medicine-men of that tribe. However, as the Theddora branch of the tribe went to the *Kuringal* of the Ngarigo, we may fairly infer what the ceremonies of the Theddora were.

The bull-roarer of this tribe was about four inches in length, and with notched edges, being fastened by a string to a short stick. Such a one was shown to one of my correspondents, secretly, by a Theddora medicine-man in the

very early days before Gippsland was settled. He was told that the women and children might not see it.[1]

The best, indeed the only account which I have seen of this tribe is that of Mr. Richard Helms,[2] which I quote from to make my remarks more complete. He says as follows :—

" At about fourteen to sixteen years the young man was made *Kurrong* by knocking out one of his front teeth. This removed him from the care of his mother and the influence of the women, and, so to say, raised him from boyhood to youth. At eighteen to twenty, when his beard had started to develop properly, he was made *Wahu*. All the hair of his head was singed off gradually, the women being excluded. When the hair was removed, the men ran up and waved green boughs over his head. After this the men would run some way, returning swinging the boughs, with a swishing sound, in a certain direction, mentioning at the same time the name of the district towards which they were pointing. This was repeated three times for each of the various directions they might point to. Each name mentioned was preceded by the emphasised exclamation of ' *Wau ! wau !* ' —for instance, ' *Wau ! wau ! Tumut !* ' If the *Wau* was followed by an exclamation or malediction, it meant that the *Wahu* might go to the one as a friend ; or that in the other direction lived tribes with whom he would have to carry on the hereditary feud. He was now considered to have been raised to the position of a warrior."

As soon as the initiation was completed the women were again admitted to the presence of the men, and dancing and corrobborees were held for the benefit of the visitors present on these occasions.

A newly-made *Wahu* might choose any woman of the tribe he liked, his blood relations excepted, for the night. But such a privilege was for the night only.

THE YOOHLANG CEREMONIES OF PORT JACKSON

According to the Yuin, the *Kuringal* extended up the coast northwards as far as the Hunter River, and therefore

[1] J. Buntine. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 387. 1895.

included the now extinct Port Jackson tribe. Collins, in his work, *An Account of the English Colony of New South Wales*,[1] gives particulars of the ceremony of initiation, which he saw, at least in great part, in the year 1796, and which was called, by the native tribes which inhabited Port Jackson, *Yoolahng*, from the cleared space in which the ceremonies were held. The people who assembled at the *Yoolahng* were apparently not only the Geawe-gal of the southern shores of Botany Bay, and the Cam-mer-ray-gal, who lived on the north shore of Port Jackson, but also "wood-natives and many strangers." The place selected for the *Yoolahng* was Farm Cove, where the ceremonial ground had been prepared. It was of an oval figure, twenty-seven feet by eighteen.

The Cam-mer-ray-gal stood at one end; the boys to be initiated, with their friends, at the other. The Cam-mer-ray-gal advanced from their end of the *Yoolahng* with a shout peculiar to the occasion, and the clattering of shields and spears, and raised a dust with their feet that nearly obscured the objects around them. One of them stepped forward, and, seizing one of the boys, placed him in the middle of his party. Fifteen boys were thus taken and placed at the upper end of the *Yoolahng*, where they sat, each holding down his head, his hands clasped and his legs crossed under him. In this manner they were to remain all night, and until the ceremonies were ended they were not to look up or take any refreshment whatever.

One of the *Carrahdis* then suddenly fell on the ground, a crowd of natives dancing round him and singing vociferously, until he produced a bone which was to be used in the ensuing ceremony. Another then went through the same ceremony, producing another bone, the boys being assured that the ensuing operation would be attended with little pain, and that the more the *Carrahdis* suffered, the less would be felt by them.

It being now perfectly dark, Colonel Collins left, with an invitation to return early in the morning.

On the next morning he found the Cam-mer-ray-gal camped by themselves, and the boys lying also by them-

[1] Pp. 353-372.

selves. Soon after sunrise the *Carrahdis* and their party advanced in quick movements towards the *Yoolahng*, one after the other, shouting as they entered it and running twice or thrice round it.

The boys were then brought to the *Yoolahng*, hanging their heads and clasping their hands. On being seated in this manner the ceremonies began, the principal performers being about twenty in number, and all of the Cam-mer-ray tribe.

The exhibitions were numerous and various, and all in their tendency pointed towards the boys and had some allusions to the principal act of the day which was to be the concluding scene of it.

Shortly, the different parts of the ceremony are as follows. There was a dance in which the performers represented dingoes, and during it the boys continued perfectly still and quiet, never moving from the position in which they were placed, nor seeming in the least to notice the ridiculous appearance of the *Carrahdis* and their associates.

The next was the carrying by two men of a kangaroo made of grass, and also of a load of brushwood, which were laid respectively at the feet of the boys, other men singing and beating time to which the two men walked.

In the third some men dressed to represent a flock of kangaroos, other men pretending to steal on them and spear them.

The next appeared to be a pendant to the preceding one. The men disguised as kangaroos, divesting themselves of the disguises, each caught up a boy and placing him on his shoulders carried him to the last scene of the ceremony. The account is here imperfect, Collins not having been, as it seems to me, permitted to see all. From the description of what he saw, it may be conjectured that it was one of those representations which at the *Kuringal* are intended to impart qualities to the boy such as will make him a more worthy member of the community to which he is to be admitted. The men who lifted the boys on their shoulders were most likely the analogues of the *Kabos*.

The ceremony of knocking out the tooth is fully described. The gums were lanced with the bone which the night before had been apparently produced from his inward parts by the *Carrahdis*. The tooth was extracted by means of a wooden chisel made from a piece of a spear-thrower, a large stone being used to strike with. The gum was closed by the boy's friends, who equipped him in the style in which he was to appear for some days. A girdle was tied round his waist, in which was stuck a boomerang. A head-band was tied on, in which were stuck slips of the grass-tree. The mouth was to be kept shut and the left hand was placed over it, and for that day he was not to eat.

During the whole operation the assistants made the most hideous noise in the ears of the patients, who made it a point of honour to bear the pain without a murmur. The blood that issued from the lacerated gum was not wiped away, but suffered to run down the breast, and fall upon the head of the man on whose shoulders the patient sat, and whose name was added to his.

Collins says that the boys were also called *Ke-ba-ra*, which has reference in the construction of the "singular instrument" used on this occasion, *Kebar* signifying a rock or stone. He does not explain what the singular instrument was, but I assume it was the stone used for striking the chisel.

The extracted tooth would be, it may be inferred from the context, sent to the Cam-mer-ray tribe, who it is said in one place had the privilege of calling the people together for these ceremonies, and also "to extract a tooth from the natives of the other tribes inhabiting the sea-coast."

THE CEREMONIES OF THE GEAWE-GAL TRIBE

In connection with the ceremonies of the Geawe-gal tribe of the Hunter River, a wooden booming instrument was whirled round at the end of a cord. It was used then, and then only. A particular coo-ee and a particular reply to it, were made known to the young men when they were initiated. Among the symbols used were the form of the

cross moulded on the earth, also a circle similarly formed, and sinuous parallel lines with other marks on the trees surrounding the site of the ceremony; which sites the women and children were never allowed to approach. The *Murramai*, or rock crystal, was first seen by the young men at their initiation. It was held in reverence. "Think of the defeat of tribal reverence which was brought about, when a white man put a station close to one of these secret places and it became a thoroughfare!"

A European who had gained the confidence of the tribe might be permitted to be present at the ceremonies of initiation; and a knowledge of them might be a safe passport for a traveller in a strange tribe, if by any means he could communicate the fact of this initiation. The wonder and the readiness to fraternise shown by strange blacks to an initiated white man seen for the first time by them are very great, accompanied by the earnest entreaties not to reveal anything unlawful.[1]

The Ceremonies of the Gringai Tribe

The following particulars relate to the Gringai tribe, which also inhabited country on the Hunter River. A large assembly is called together to celebrate the ceremonies of initiation. The boy to be made a man is painted red all over, and is then taken to the centre of an earthen ring, where he sits facing the track which leads to another ring about a quarter of a mile distant. The women with their faces covered lie round the large ring. An old man steps up to where the boy is sitting, and blowing in his face bends his head down. Two other old men then take him by the arm and lead him to the other ring, where he sits down, all the time keeping his head bent and looking on the ground. The women now rise up, and having sung and danced, go away to another camp and take no part in the ceremonies till their termination.

Trees which grow near to both of the circles have been carved, and the boy is taken to each of them. He looks at

[1] G. W. Rusden.

them for a moment, when the old men give a great shout. He is then taken away to a place some miles distant, still keeping his face to the ground, even when he is eating. Here a large camp is made, and the boy learns dances and songs, and is for the first time allowed to look up and see what is going on. He is kept here in this manner for about ten days, being placed by himself in lonely and secluded places, while at night the men make hideous noises at which he must not show the least sign of fear, on pain of death. After this time they take the boy to a large water-hole, where they all wash off the red paint, and on coming out are painted white.

When the men return to the new camp, the women are lying down by a large fire with their faces covered. The old men who took the boy away bring him back at a run towards the fire, the other men following clattering their boomerangs, but not speaking or shouting. The men form a ring round the fire, and one old man runs round inside the ring beating a shield (*hiela-man*). At this signal the boy's mother, or failing her, some other woman, comes out of the company of women, and taking the boy under the arm lifts him up, rubs her hands over him, and then goes away.

The fire has by this time burned down to red coals, and the men, including the novice, extinguish them by jumping on them with their feet. The boy now camps in sight of where the women are and is allowed to eat food which was before forbidden to him, such as kangaroo, snake, etc.

The bull-roarer is called by the Gringai *Torikotti*, and is used in these ceremonies.

The young man is not allowed to marry till three years after the ceremony.[1]

Another statement has been made to me which has a bearing on this ceremony, and may be added to it. At Port Stephens the blacks when making a *Bumbat*, that is, when initiating a boy, remove a tooth, by one of the old men placing his bottom tooth against the *Bumbat's* upper tooth, and by giving a sudden jerk snaps the boy's tooth off.[2]

An extraordinary mystery attaches to the large quartz

[1] K. W. Boydell, *per* Dr. J. Fraser. [2] A. Hook.

crystal in these tribes. They are possessed by the *Koradjis* or medicine-men. The *Bumbat* is presented on his initiation with one, which is wrapped up with the greatest solemnity, caution, and secrecy, and concealed in his belt. If a woman by chance saw one of these, her brains were knocked out, and women were therefore in great dread of seeing one of them by any chance.[1]

The Ceremonies at Port Stephens

A description of what was certainly part of the initiation ceremonies at Port Stephens has been given me by an eye-witness, who accidentally came across it and was permitted to see the final part.[2] I quote his own words:—

"A number of blacks were camped at the foot of a hill, the camp being in the form of a half-circle, round an oval cleared space, about thirty or forty feet in area. The edges of the space were raised about nine inches. This cleared space was connected with the top of the hill, and another cleared space by a narrow path. The women were not allowed to go up this path or to approach the top of the hill at all. When going to the creek for water they were careful to look another way. On more than one occasion when riding past the camp I heard most extraordinary noises proceeding from the top of the hill, a kind of bellowing or booming sound, continuing for a long time, then sinking away at times, and then swelling out as loud as ever. The blacks would not tell me what it meant, so I determined to see for myself. I therefore rode carefully round the hill, and up the other side from the camp. I found that a conical fire was burning in the centre of a cleared space, similar to the one at the foot of the hill. Round this fire, radiating from it like the spokes of a wheel, and painted like skeletons, were a number of naked blacks on their faces. Within the cleared space, and on one side of it, was a rough figure painted red, made of wood, formed by a stake driven in the ground with a cross piece for arms and the top dressed up with grass and bark, in the

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay. [2] W. Scott.

style used by the blacks when prepared for hunting. The blacks were so absorbed in what they were doing that I sat some time unobserved. When they did see me, they seemed much annoyed. One of our own blacks came to me and said that he did not mind, because I was '*Gimbai*,'[1] but the up-country blacks would not go on with the ceremony while I remained. I then rode away, but in a few days after he told me that I could see the great finishing ceremony. I rode to the camp at the foot of the hill and saw a large fire burning in the centre of the large cleared space. The booming noise from the top of the hill was also going on, and grew louder and louder, and at last was succeeded by great shouts and yells. Then about two hundred painted blackfellows appeared over the brow of the hill. They were all armed with boomerangs, shields, and spears, which they clashed together in time as they ran. They were in two divisions, and kept crossing and recrossing the path, interlacing as they met at a run, while descending the hill, and yelling at the top of their voices. The effect was very startling, especially to my horse, who took fright. Arriving at the foot of the hill, they threw their weapons on the ground, and springing on to the clear space, danced on the fire with their bare feet till it was extinguished, all the time bearing up amongst them the youths who were being made *Bumbat*.

FIG. 34.—ROUGH FIGURE USED AT THE PORT STEPHENS CEREMONIES.

[1] *Gimbai* is used here as "friend," but it evidently means more than that, because the tree-creeper is at Port Stephens one of the sex totems, and is called their *gimbai*, that is, "friend."

"This part of the ceremony being over, the Port Stephens blacks, accompanied by the *Bumbats*, ran up the trees like monkeys, and breaking off small branches, threw them down on the ground, where they were eagerly scrambled for by the women, who put them in their nets. The up-country blacks took no part in the branch-breaking, and one of them told me that they never did that sort of thing in his part of the country. This concluded the first part of the ceremony, and the women were not allowed to see the next part. They were made to lie down and were covered with blankets and bark, and a blackfellow was placed over them as a guard, waddy in hand. At this stage of the proceedings some of the up-country blacks objected to my being present with a gun, for I had a small one with me. One of our blacks asked me to give it up, and it would be all right, but I did not do so and went away."

THE CEREMONIES IN THE DUNGOG DISTRICT

The following account relates to the ceremonies of the tribe which occupied the country about Dungog, and which appears to be part of the great group to which the Gringai belong. I follow my informant's words in describing what he saw, and also ascertained, about the ceremonies.[1] The juvenile males of this tribe were, from the age of about twelve to eighteen, allowed to accompany their parents and friends in hunting excursions, and assisted in the incidental fagging necessary about the camps, and then in the course of time were thoroughly disciplined and properly trained. When they are considered ready to be made full members of the tribe, the elders hold a convention, and decide on a *Bumbat* being held, generally when there are three or four youths to be initiated.

Messengers are despatched to summon the tribes far and near; and on their return, full preparations are made for the celebration, a place being selected and a day appointed. As part of the ceremonies, the aspirants undergo the ordeal of having an upper front tooth either bitten or knocked out

[1] Dr. E. M. M'Kinlay.

with a stick prepared for the occasion. It is said that the youth's mother is the custodian of the tooth, and takes much care of it. As everything relating to these ceremonies is kept very secret, this is only hearsay. White men are not allowed to be present at this great ceremony, but by bribing one of the leading men my correspondent was permitted to be present at part of the performance, on the condition that he did not come so near to the ceremony as to annoy the assembled tribes. On the eventful morning (about the year 1844) he went to the place indicated, where he found about two hundred of the tribesmen differently but tastefully painted in red, white, and yellow, and armed to the teeth. They were in groups here and there in a little valley. On riding about he noticed a large gum-tree deeply carved with hieroglyphics, which he was informed was a record to future generations that a *Bumbat* had been celebrated in that locality. A circle of eighty to ninety feet in diameter was dug, or scratched, on a level piece of ground, leaving a space of four or five feet undisturbed to enter the circle by. In the centre of this circle there was a fire of moderate dimensions, and attended to by one of the men. Shortly there was a stir when a detachment entered the circle, and with dancing, yelling, and gesticulations, and brandishing of arms at intervals, all made a rush to the fire, yelling and jumping on it, until it was quite extinguished, when they retired. The spot where the fire had been being now cool, the embers and ashes were levelled, and boughs were brought and disposed of in the middle of the circle. Then two men proceeded to the camp of the females, two or three hundred yards' distant, and marched them and the children with their heads prone to the circle, where they were made to lie down and be covered up with boughs, rugs, bark, and whatever was at hand. This being done, the whole force of the assembled tribes came up, running, shouting, and striking their shields with their clubs, and using a roarer which produced the most fearful and unnatural sounds. A sort of warlike pantomime was then enacted, and the women and children, closely covered up, were frightened out of their wits, and cried out lustily. Suddenly the fearful noises ceased,

and all the men rushed out of the ring and seemed to be engaged in a fearful fight, spears and boomerangs flying about in hundreds. This, he was told, was the end, but to me it seems clear that was but the beginning of the ceremonies, being the time when the contingents have arrived, and before the final part when the boys who are to be initiated are taken from their mothers.

THE KABBARAH CEREMONIES

I have met with a notice of these ceremonies in Breton's work,[1] dating back to 1830, and I extract it to make more complete the fragmentary account which I have been able to piece together of the ceremonies of initiation of the tribes of the Hunter River country, which include the blacks of Port Stephens; and to the same great group those of Port Macquarie may be added.

Breton says: "There is a remarkable ceremony performed at Port Macquarie. It is called *Kabbarah.* The summit of a low hill is chosen for the scene of this singular rite. The surface is carefully cleaned from grass, and the bark of any trees that may be near is carved into rude representations of different animals. After this, a fire is lighted in the centre, and the youth who is to be initiated is held by the heels, while the natives dance round him uttering loud shouts. A man called the *Cradji*, or 'doctor,' then bites out the upper front tooth on the left side; or, if he fails, it is knocked out. After the extraction of the tooth the youth is supposed to have arrived at the age of manhood, and is then at liberty to steal a woman from another tribe. No female is permitted to be present at the celebration of the rites, nor may she approach within several hundred yards of the spot, and any attempt on the part of a woman to witness the ceremony would be punished by instant death. The *Kabbarah* always includes several tribes, some of whom come from a distance of some hundreds of miles, and probably much farther. As a preliminary to the meeting, two messengers are despatched

[1] *Excursions in New South Wales during the years* 1830-31-32-33, by Lieut. Breton, R.N.

from each tribe intending to be present; and these men, together with the leading men of the Port Macquarie natives, form a council by whose authority wars are proclaimed, boundaries are settled, and the tribes prevented from interfering with or encroaching on each other."

The author says that Corborn Comleroi are present at the meeting. This means that the Port Macquarie tribe and the Kamilaroi intermarried, and that therefore they met at the initiation ceremonies, just as the tribes enumerated by me met at the *Kuringal.* He further says that while the meeting lasted the tribes attending it were on the most friendly terms.

I have unfortunately no information farther north than Port Stephens. But that which I have been able to record of the tribal ceremonies so far north of the Yuin country confirms the statements of the old men of that tribe, that the *Kuringal* ceremonies extend "at least as far as Newcastle," that is, as far as the Hunter River, and the tribes of which the Geawe-gal is one. The evidence of Mr. W. Scott as to the tribe at Port Stephens makes it clear, to my mind, that what he saw was part of the initiation ceremonies exactly of the *Bunan* type. The figure described by Mr. Scott is the analogue of *Daramulun;* the division of the men present shows the two moieties of the intermarrying community, whether of the social or the local organisation I have no means of knowing. But since the Kamilaroi attended the *Kabbarah* at Port Macquarie, it may be that the "up-country blacks" mentioned by Mr. Scott were of that nation. If so, there must have been some common organisation which admitted of intermarriage.

The account which I have quoted from Lieutenant Breton is valuable, because it was written when the olden-time customs were still in full strength.

The statements as to the Gringai and other tribes of the Hunter River are evidently from native informants, who told all that it was lawful to tell to an uninitiated person. What Mr. Scott says is from observation of occurrences, parts of ceremonies which were of such a character that a blackfellow would not reveal them to an outsider. It is perhaps hardly

necessary to say that the roaring and booming noise which Mr. Scott heard was the sound of the bull-roarers at the lesser enclosure, which is the equivalent of the lesser *Bunan* of the *Kuringal*. No better description could be given of the uproar made by near a score of bull-roarers, as I heard it at the Kurnai *Jeraeil*.

I feel no doubt that the equivalent of the Yuin *Kuringal* extends up the coast, northwards, as far as Port Macquarie.

Before proceeding to describe the *Burbung* of the Wiradjuri, which is the analogue of the *Kuringal*, I shall complete what I have to record as to the ceremonies of tribes on the east coast, leaving to a later part an account of those of the tribes on the coast of southern Queensland.

I have not been able to obtain any information as to the initiation ceremonies of the tribes along the great extent of coast from Port Macquarie to the boundary of Queensland, where we find the Chepara tribe.

Ceremonies of the Chepara Tribe

Its initiation ceremonies were held when the principal Headman, after consultation with the other men of importance, sent his messenger (*Buira*) (usually his *Kanil*, that is, sister's son), who carried with him two objects which certified his message. One was the message-stick called *Kabugabul-bajeru*, the markings on which are always the same, and are well known to the Headmen as calling the people together. The other is the *Bribbun*, or bull-roarer. This latter is kept very secret and hidden by the Headman until wanted for the ceremonies. It is held to possess a mysterious and secret power. Women and children are not permitted to see it, and if seen by a woman, or if shown to one by a man, the penalty is death, in the latter case to both.

The messenger goes the whole round of the tribe, carrying with him not only the message-stick and bull-roarer, but also a spear, to the point of which is attached a bag containing small quartz crystals. These emblems he shows to the Headmen of the several clans, who in due course bring their people to the ceremonies.

These ceremonies are the occasion of a gathering, not only of the Chepara clans, but of outlying tribes, as, for instance, those of the Richmond River, across the border of New South Wales.

As the messenger has to go the round of all the Chepara clans, it takes a long time before the whole of the community is gathered together. On arriving at a camp he approaches it at sundown, and concealing himself at a little distance, he sounds the bull-roarer. The men hearing this, jump up, holding their spears and shields aloft, and raise a great shout. The women gather in a circle and sing a song which is always used at this time, drumming on their rolled-up skin rugs held between their thighs.

The men go out, in reply to the *Bribbun*, to where the messenger is concealed, simulating sleep or a sort of trance. The bull-roarer is exhibited by him to the Headman, and they return to the camp, taking the messenger with them.

FIG. 35.—(1) BRIBBUN OF THE CHEPARA TRIBE. (2) WABULKAN OF THE CHEPARA TRIBE. × ½.

The following morning the men, being painted and

decorated with feathers and dingo tails, the women being also painted, start with the messenger for the trysting-place.

While the contingents are being collected, those who are calling them to the *Bora* prepare the ground. A space of ground of nearly a mile in circumference is prepared by stripping the bark from the trees, and marking them, as well as clearing away the bushes. Within this the women and children are not permitted to enter, and therefore the camps are situated at a distance from it. When a contingent arrives near the *Bora* ground, it being arranged that it shall be about sundown, the messenger goes on ahead, so as to arrive about half-an-hour before the party. He sounds the bull-roarer, on hearing which the men at the *Bora* camp raise a great shout, and the women drum on the skin rugs and sing. Here again the messenger sits down as if in a trance, while the arriving party is received by the men who have gone out from their camp, and kneel in a row at one side of the *Bora* ground. The new arrivals approach in a crouching attitude, their women making as much smoke as possible with fire-sticks. On reaching the outside of the *Bora* circle, they are received with a great shout, and a ceremonial dance performed by those who have arranged the ground.

The initiation ceremonies take place in the cleared ground, and extend over many days, during which panto-mimic performances take place. The first commencement of the *Bora* itself is marked by the boys to be initiated being taken from the women and painted red in a line straight down the back, front, and sides. Each one sits down with his head covered with his rug, and he is told that he must look down on the ground. During this time the women and children silently leave the camp, and the boys then being told to look round are surprised to find them gone.

The boys are now called *Kippers*, and are under the control of certain men, who see that they keep their heads covered and obey orders. They are only permitted to speak to these men when they require something, and then only in a subdued voice. All the time during the ceremonies,

they are kept in a crouching position, and with their heads covered and their eyes cast down.

The various ceremonial performances, which are held both in the daytime and at night, are arranged while the *Kippers* have their heads covered; and when told to look round they are expected to show surprise, which no doubt they feel.

In the middle of the clear space in which the ceremonies take place, a small tree is taken up and placed with its roots in the air, and around it saplings, peeled of their bark, are placed, the whole being tied together with strips of bark, thus making a sort of small enclosure. The saplings are painted with ochre. On this structure one of the medicine-men stands with a cord hanging out of his mouth. He is said to represent a supernatural being called *Maamba*. The medicine-men are called *Bujerum*, and the one just spoken of is the principal one of the tribe, and is believed to ascend at night to the sky to see *Maamba* about the welfare of the tribes-people. During this part of the ceremonies the initiated men sit round the upturned tree and chant a song in low tones, which is only used at this time, and which it is forbidden for the women to hear. A woman who was found to have listened to this song would be killed.[1]

My valued correspondent, Mr. Tom Petrie, tells me that he knows of this ceremony as being used by tribes beyond the Turrbal, and he confirms the statement that women who heard this low chant were killed.

At one part of the ceremonies the men, while the *Kippers* are lying down, make a long and narrow fire, on one side of which they sit, while the boys, who have been roused up, sit on the other in a sleepy state. The men pretend that it is stormy, and that it rains, making noises to represent the wind. Then a number of the men hop about and croak like frogs. Finally the men all dance and then extinguish the fire by jumping on it with their feet. In the darkness the *Kippers* are led back to their camp.

Among the pantomimic representations by the men are

[1] J. Gibson.

those of flying-foxes on the branches of the trees, of bees flying about, of curlews, and of many other creatures. It seems to me that in these we may see the survivals of the totems which have otherwise disappeared in this tribe; and this doubtless represents a still more advanced stage towards the obliteration of the social organisation than is shown by the totems of the Kurnai and Yuin.

Besides these representations of animated creatures there are others. For instance, the men twist ropes of grass and make disguises of them. Mounds of grass are also built up in the centre of the cleared space, round which the men dance. Another is that the men stand in a row with fire-sticks in their hands, and wave them about. The *Kippers* are told that the whole country is on fire.

At the later part of the ceremonies, the *Kippers* are no longer covered up but walk about, being now initiated, and accompany the men to the new camp where the women and children are, and which has been made at some place fixed upon beforehand. Here there is a ceremonial fight between the several clans of the tribe, which the *Kippers* see, but do not take a part in.

The last ceremony of all is that a large circle is made on the fighting ground, with a fire in the middle of it, to which the *Kippers* are brought. There they find all their mothers (own and tribal), each with a branch in her hand, dancing together. On seeing them, the women throw the branches down, and each rubs down the back of her son with a bunch of grass, and goes away. The man who, as the *Bujerum*, has charge of the *Bribbun*, comes and shows it to the boys for the first time, also giving to each one a small one called *Wabulkan*, which is a sort of warrant to them and others that they have been initiated. It is supposed to possess, but in a smaller degree, the magical power and virtue of the larger one, the *Bribbun*, and is carefully concealed by the owner.

At one part of the ceremonies the *Bujerum* holds up a large quartz crystal and makes it flash in the sunlight. The *Kippers* are told that it came from *Maamba*, and that those who swallow a piece of it will be able to fly a long

way out of sight, that is, to become medicine-men, and go up to the sky like the *Bujerum*.

This it seems was the only part of the ceremonies which approached to the magical practices of the more southern tribes, nor was there a tooth knocked out by the Chepara. The *Kipper*, after the ceremonies, was prohibited from eating female opossums, and indeed the only food that he might eat during the period of his probation was kangaroo, male opossum, native bear, and honey. If he disregards any of these restrictions, and is found to have eaten forbidden food, he is first warned by his kindred, and if he still continues to do it, is killed by others not related to him.

After a young man has been to three of these ceremonies, he may eat of the forbidden food, and then takes part in the tribal combats which follow the ceremonies ; is in fact a full man and may take his promised wife.

THE WIRADJURI BURBUNG

Before speaking of some other Queensland tribes, which have four sub-classes and descent in the male line, it will be convenient to consider the *Burbung* of the Wiradjuri and others, who have ceremonies which are intimately related to the *Kuringal*.

My account of the Wiradjuri ceremonies is derived mainly from the statements of the man *Murri*-kangaroo before mentioned.

When a Headman of one of the great local divisions of the tribe finds that there are a number of boys ready for the *Burbung*, he consults with the other old men, and if they are all agreed, he sends out a messenger (*Duran-duran*) to gather the people together. The messenger is of the same sub-class and totem as the sender, as must be also the person to whom he is sent. Thus, supposing that the Headman were a *Kubbi-butharung* (flying-squirrel), the messenger and the old man to whom he was sent would both be the same. The messenger carries a bull-roarer (*Mudjigang* or *Bobu*), a man's belt (*Gulir*), a kilt (*Buran* or *Tala-bulg*) made of

kangaroo-rat skin, a head string (*Ulungau-ir*), and a white head-band (*Kambrun*).

On arriving at the place he is sent to, he gives the message to the Headman, who then assembles the initiated men at the council-place (*Ngulubul*). The messenger shows the bull-roarer to the old men, and delivers his message, which is impressed on his memory by markings cut on a message-stick given him by his sender, or by the strands of the man's kilt, which are used for the same purpose.

The recipient of the message then sends the message on by a *Duran-duran* of his own, to the Headman of the next great local group, together with the articles above enumerated. So the message travels through the whole tribe, and also the adjoining tribes, who attend the *Burbung*. In the instance given, it would pass through the whole community by means of the *Kubbi* sub-class and the *Butharung* totem ; and its members make it known to their fellow-tribesmen. It must be remembered that a class, or sub-class, or a totem, cannot initiate its own boys, but calls in those of the intermarrying class, sub-class, and totem to assist in doing it. Having reached the further limit, the messenger returns, bringing with him the emblematic articles, and accompanied by the tribes-people, who join the party on its way back to the chosen *Burbung* ground, where each contingent camps on the side nearest to its own country.

Meanwhile the originators of the *Burbung* have prepared the ground, the circular mound, and the path to the *Gumbu*, which is the same as the lesser *Bunan* of the Yuin. It is also called by the Wiradjuri, *Pataguna*, and it is lawful to speak of it at the *Burbung*, also of the *Tarumbul*, or track, which leads from the *Burbung* to the *Pataguna*, by those names. But it is not lawful to speak of the latter place by its secret name *Gumbu*, in the public camp or near women and the uninitiated. The ceremonies, as a whole, are spoken of as the *Guringal*, that is " belonging to the bush," or, in other words, the forest, or open country.

When the whole community has arrived at the *Burbung* ground, the ceremonies are commenced by the men carrying

boughs, headed by their principal man, running from the council-place to each of the separate camps and gathering the women and children together. The men then shout out the name of each place from which a contingent has come, and the women, as they are collected, sing one of the songs belonging to the *Burbung*. At the main ceremonies the boys are seated on the mound, each with his guardians (*Muriwung*) behind him. They are in front of a structure made of green boughs, and behind this the women crouch together, closely covered with boughs and blankets.

Meanwhile the younger initiated men who have been hidden in the scrub about a quarter of a mile off run up shouting, headed by the medicine-man (*Ngoura-turai* or *Wulla-mulla*), who sounds the bull-roarer, to which he is believed to have imparted great power by means of magical quartz crystals (*Ngalun*) brought up from his inside. In order to increase the din, and thus to frighten the women the more, each man carries a long strip of bark in his hand, with which he strikes resounding blows on the ground as he runs.

The boys are now seized by their guardians and hurried off to the forest, followed by the men, one man remaining to see that the women do not look after, or follow them. Each boy is now rubbed over with red ochre, and clothed with a rug or blanket, which conceals the whole of him except his face, over which the upper part hangs like a hood.

The ceremonies are marked off into various stages by particular representations. For instance, the men strip off from a tree near the *Gumbu* a spiral piece of bark round the bole, from the limbs to the ground, which represents the path from the sky to the earth, and they cut on the ground the figure of *Daramulun*, who is not the Supernatural Being of the Yuin beliefs, but the "boy," or son, of *Baiame*. He is always represented as having only one leg, the other terminating in a sharp point of bone. There is also figured on the ground the tomahawk which *Daramulun* let fall as he slipped down from the tree before mentioned to the ground; then two footprints of an emu a little distance from each other, made when trying to escape from *Daramulun*.

Finally there is the figure of the emu where it fell when he killed it.

At each of these stages there is a magic dance in which the medicine-men, who are rubbed over with powdered charcoal, exhibit their powers and show things which they appear to bring up from their insides. At the figure of *Daramulun* a special song is called *Wondung*.

At the most sacred of all these places, namely the *Gumbu*, there is the magic fire called *Gudji-wirri*, which is one of the words which it is not lawful to speak out of the *Burbung* ground, the common term for fire being *we*. The medicine-men and the other men dance at the *Gudji-wirri*, and these dances are also called *Wondung*.

During this time the two guardians have been instructing the boy in his duties: not to take notice of anything that is done to him or to show surprise or fear at anything, not to tell lies or to play with children, but to behave himself as becomes a man. Above all, not to go near women, and especially not to reveal anything that he has seen or heard at the *Burbung*, under pain of being killed.

At the place where the tooth is knocked out the boy is placed with his feet in two holes. One of his guardians stands behind him and holds him fast by the arms, which are placed down his sides, while the other stands at his right side and holds his head back, so that his eyes look upwards and he cannot see what goes on. In front and all round are the medicine-men dancing quite naked. Some old medicine-man pushes the gums back from the upper incisor of the central pair, and placing his lower incisors against it, he jerks it violently upwards. If it will not come out without being punched out, it is said that the boy has been too much with the women and played too much with the little girls.

Murri-kangaroo said that his tooth came out at the first jerk, but that of the boy next to him had to be knocked out by the medicine-man, who some time before at the camp had looked earnestly at him and said, "You have been too much with the women, and some of their *Gumilga* (waist fringe) has got into you." He then rubbed the boy's legs and

produced some pieces of a woman's skirt from them. When he found at the *Gumbu* that the tooth would not come out by jerking it with his own, he proceeded to rub the boy's neck, and again produced a lot of *Gumilga*, which he said "held the tooth fast." The tooth, when knocked out, was taken care of by one of the medicine-men.

Among the spectacular representations at the *Burbung* there is one in which the head medicine-man goes away for a time, and then returns dressed up in bunches and tufts of grass, saying that he had been for them to *Baiame's* camp.

After a great number of pantomimic representations, the secret ceremonies being then completed, the men return to the main camp with the boys. On the way back the latter are severely cautioned against telling anything about the ceremonies to women or persons not initiated, and to enforce this the medicine-men strike the ground with pieces of bark to imitate the bursting of stones heated in the fire, with which the boys are told *Daramulun* will injure or kill them if they tell any of the secrets.

The two last stations on the way back to the camp are, first, a halt to paint and dress the boys as men; and second, for the men to wash off all the charcoal powder used in the ceremonies.

When they are nearing the camp their approach is heralded by shouts of "*Yau!*"

Meanwhile the women have formed a new camp at a place fixed on before the ceremonies, and at several miles' distance from the former camp. They prepare there a place called *gud'l*, that is, a camp or hut of boughs with a fire in front of it. In it the boy's mother and sisters stand, and when his guardians take the novice into this place, these women look at him as if looking at a stranger; then they strike him with boughs, and on this he runs off into the bush, accompanied by his guardians.

After three or four days, these guardians return, bringing the novices with them, who are placed on a long embankment, called *Mim-bam-mumbia*, made of logs and bark, beyond which are all the women watching them. After sitting on the embankment for about five minutes, the novices are

surrounded by the men shouting "*prr! wau!*" and are taken away again, having been finally shown to their mothers.

They remain away in the bush for as long as twelve months, not being allowed to approach the camp or to come near a woman. They are forbidden during their probation, indeed even after it, until permitted by the old men, to eat, among other things, the emu, spiny ant-eater, female opossum, kangaroo-rat, bandicoot, etc. The emu is *Baiame's* food. Among many restrictive observances, they are not permitted to go to sleep at night until the Milky Way is straight across the sky.

When the old men are satisfied that the probation has been sufficient, and that the boys have duly observed the restrictions, one of them goes out and tells them that if they act properly and do not speak to women for a little longer, they will be permitted to come to the camp. It is at such visits that the old men gradually relax the food rules, for instance by rubbing the boy with the fat of the female opossum, which makes him able to eat that animal.

THE BURBUNG OF THE WONGHIBON

To the north of the Riverina branch of the Wiradjuri, whose ceremonies I have now briefly described, there is the Wonghi or Wonghibon tribe, described to me long ago by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron, and since reported on in his valuable paper "On Some Tribes of New South Wales."[1] I now quote his more complete description of the *Burbung* of that tribe.

The ceremonies of initiation are secret, and at them none but the men of the tribe who have been initiated attend with the novices. At the spot where the ceremonies are to be performed a large oval space is cleared. The old men of the tribe conduct the ceremonies, and the medicine-man of the tribe is the master of them. Part of the proceedings consist in the knocking out of a tooth, and giving a new designation to the novice, indicating the change from youth to manhood. When the tooth is knocked out, a loud

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* vol. xiv. p. 344.

humming noise is heard, which is made by a bull-roarer. Women are forbidden to be present at these ceremonies, and should one by accident or otherwise witness them, the penalty is death. The penalty for revealing the secrets is probably the same.

When everything is prepared, the women and children are covered with boughs, and the men retire with the young fellows who are to be initiated to a little distance. It is said that the youths are sent away a short distance one by one, and that they are each met in turn by a being called *Thurmulun*, who takes the youth to a distance, kills him, and in some instances cuts him up, after which he restores him to life, and knocks out a tooth.

This account may be divided into two parts: the first, which contains matters which it is not unlawful for an initiated man to reveal to a stranger; the second, giving an account of matters the true nature of which it is unlawful to reveal to an uninitiated person. The account of *Thurmulun* and his dealings with the novice is just what is told to the women and the children.

It shows very well how impossible it is for an outsider to obtain full information as to these ceremonies. Mr. Cameron has been acquainted for many years with the Wonghibon tribe, and yet the men have carefully kept from him the real secrets of the *Burbung*.

I have spoken before of the sequence of the groups of tribes along the course of the Murray River from Wentworth upwards. I need not again enumerate them, but merely point out that the Ta-tathi are situated farthest down-stream, being on their western boundary in touch with the tribes of the River Darling, of which the Wiimbaio are my example. The Baraba-baraba are the farthest up-stream, with the Bureppa-bureppa akin to them, as speaking a dialect of the same language, on the Lower Loddon River in Victoria. On the Victorian side of the Murray the sequence of tribes, having the two-class system with the names Mukwara and Kilpara, commences with the Burra-burra about Reedy Lake, who adjoin the Bureppa-bureppa, whose class names are those of the Kulin tribes, namely Bunjil and Waang. The

tribe lowest down-stream on the Victorian side is the Grangema, who adjoin the Wiimbaio.

Through all this great stretch of country the tribes with the class-names Mukwara and Kilpara have the same social organisation and ceremonies of the *Burbung* type.

THE TA-TATHI PURBUNG

As an illustration of this statement I take the Ta-tathi, whose ceremonies were attended by some of the Wotjobaluk people on one side, and the Wathi-wathi tribe near Balranald on the other.

About 1870 the Ta-tathi sent a messenger to the Wotjobaluk to call some of them to attend their *Purbung*, near Euston. Among those of the Wotjobaluk who went were my informant and his brother, and the son of the latter, who was taken there by them to be initiated by the Ta-tathi. On reaching Euston under the guidance of the messenger, the old men of the Ta-tathi decided that the *Purbung* should be commenced the next day. Before day-break the people were all ready, and there were present Ta-tathi, Wathi-wathi, Leitchi-leitchi people, with others, and they waited for the sun to rise. Three boys were to be initiated, each of whom sat in his camp with his mother and father. The old men and the other initiated men were at their "talking-place." When the sun rose they all ran to the camp shouting, and each boy was seized by his *Ngierup*,[1] who dragged him by the arm into the crowd of men. The boy's father remained in the camp,[2] where the mother was covered by a rug. The other women were collected together in one place.

THE WATHI-WATHI BURBUNG

I add to the account of the Ta-tathi *Purbung* a condensed description of the ceremonies of the Wathi-wathi

[1] Sister's husband or wife's brother.

[2] I omitted to inquire why this was done. Possibly the boy's father had not been initiated.

as described by Mr. Cameron.[1] It will be remembered that my Wotjobaluk informant said that among those who were at the Ta-tathi *Purbung* were the Wathi-wathi.

When there is a sufficient number of youths old enough for initiation, the Headman sends messengers to the different sections of the tribe to inform them that a *Burbung* is to be held at a certain time and place. To each messenger there is given an instrument called *Pupanderi*, which is made of the fur of opossums twisted into yarn, plaited in a circular form and fixed on a piece of thin flat wood. When the messenger arrives, he shows the *Pupanderi* to the men, and announces his mission. But he is careful not to allow it to be seen by women and children or uninitiated youths. The following day they depart, and on arriving near the place of meeting, advance towards the camp in a sinuous manner, and with many pantomimic gestures. When the whole of the tribe is assembled at the *Burbung* ground each messenger produces his *Pupanderi* and places it in his forehead-band. On seeing this, many of the youths who know what it is the signal of, attempt to escape, but are immediately seized by their *Waingapuis*, that is to say, the men who have the charge of them during the initiation. Each youth is invested with a belt made from the twisted fur of the opossum, and a fringe made of strips of skin of the same animal is hung in front of it. After the adjustment of this belt no further attempt to escape is made.

On the day following, the women and children are made to lie down, and are covered with boughs, while at the same time each of the youths is seized by his *Waingapui* and hurried off to the scene of initiation, which is generally in a scrubby place two or three hundred yards from the camp. Here they are all laid on the ground in a row, covered with opossum skins, and left in that position for an hour or so, while the men discuss matters connected with the coming ordeal.

They are then raised up, but the rugs are kept over their heads, and they are kept for an hour or more in this position. Should a youth require anything, the *Waingapui*

[1] *Op. cit.* 358.

attends to his wants. Two holes are made, each about a foot or fifteen inches deep, and into these holes the feet of the youth are inserted and the holes filled up. This is done to keep him steady and prevent him struggling. The *Waingapui* stands behind the youth, and a man who is accustomed to the office advances with a mallet and a small wooden wedge, which is driven between the teeth for the purpose of loosening them. The tooth is then knocked out and kept by the *Waingapui*.

During this operation one of the tribe, who is concealed in the scrub at some distance, whirls the humming instrument round his head. This instrument is supposed to have a wonderful magic influence, and is called *Kalar*. After the *Burbung* it is usually given to some unmarried man, who either carries it about with him, or conceals it in some safe place.

After the knocking out of the tooth is complete, the boys are brought to the camp, and are shown to the women. They are then taken by the *Waingapuis* into the bush, where they remain secluded from women for two or three months. During this time the *Waingapuis* live with them; and their return to the camp is gradual. Thus the young men will return to the camp first at night, and each time of returning will prolong their stay. At the initiation the names by which they are known are changed.

Everything connected with the *Burbung* is considered as sacred, and there is no doubt that any woman found prying into its mysteries would be severely punished, probably killed. It is said that should a *Waingapui* ever touch a woman in any way while the *Burbung* is going on she would become seriously ill.

Initiation confers many privileges on the youths, for they are allowed in due course to eat articles of food which were previously forbidden to them. They also leave the camp of their parents, and join that of the young men, and after a time are permitted to take a wife.

I have now spoken of the tribes which have ceremonies either quite the same as those of the Yuin *Kuringal*, or in principle the same, extending over a large part of South-

east Australia. The *Burbung* extends from Wentworth eastward to the boundary of the Kamilaroi tribes, and from the southern boundaries of the Baraba-baraba tribe to the extreme waters of the Macquarie River. The *Kuringal*, which is practically the same as the *Burbung*, extends certainly, although under a different name, from Twofold Bay along the coast to Port Stephens. Thence it appears to range to the Hastings River, and the ceremonies of the Chepara tribe show some marked resemblances to it. These ceremonies extend inland to varying distances. Roughly speaking, it may be said that in the south they join the *Burbung* of the Wiradjuri, then farther northward the ceremonies of the Kamilaroi, which are known as the *Bora*. As, however, the *Bora* is based upon similar principles with the *Burbung*, in which *Baiame* is the central figure of magical tradition and power, it will be found when the two types of ceremony, the *Burbung* and the *Bora*, are critically compared that they are substantially the same, differing merely in what I may perhaps be permitted to speak of as ritual.

One thing is quite clear to me, namely, that a man who has been initiated in the ceremonies either of the *Kuringal*, the *Burbung*, or the *Bora*, would be accepted as one of the initiated by any one of them if he could make himself known to the tribes-people in question. My own experience is in point. Thrice I have met blacks who were strangers to me, but who, after I had satisfied them that I was one of the initiated, have at once accepted me in that character as to their own ceremonies.

I have no personal knowledge of the *Bora* ceremonies of the Kamilaroi tribes, but from what I have learned they resemble those of the Wiradjuri.

THE BORA CEREMONIES

The following particulars relate to the *Bora* as it was about the year 1830. Any section of a tribe might hold a *Bora*. The fathers of families, say at Murrurundi, might tell their Headman that they had sons ready to be initiated, and he would order the *Bora* to be held. It took place at

the time of full moon, and usually at the same spot, in the several districts, near water and, if possible, on level ground, for convenience in sitting or lying down. At these spots the trees were marked with curious devices right up to the limbs. These markings are traditional.

When the Headman had determined that the *Bora* should be held at some one of the usual places, notice was given to that effect some weeks before, so that all young men might be assembled.

The greatest *Bora* of all the Kamilaroi tribes was always held at Terryhaihai. All the Headmen were there, and the oldest was the principal, or president of them, and he could carry some decisions by his own voice.

At the time and place, only the Headmen come together; the youths to be initiated are brought to them later on. They are then instructed in the rules relating to food, the support of the aged and infirm, and their duties to those who have large families. Old and infirm people stand first for their share, then those who have large families.

Hitherto the youth has been *Wonal*, that is, only allowed to eat certain animals, and only the females of these; but he is now allowed to eat the males of some one animal, say opossum, but not the males of any other. The males of these others which he may find and kill he must bring home to the camp and lay at the huts of those who from sickness or infirmity cannot hunt, or who have large families. He is also told that he may eat the "sugar-bag," that is, the honey from one particular kind of tree.

The penalty for disregarding these food rules is death. At his first *Bora* he is shown the bull-roarer, and is cautioned on pain of death not to divulge this instrument to women or children. The Kamilaroi belt was worn after the last *Bora*.[1]

At the *Boras* following the first, the youth is advanced step by step until he can eat of all animals and all "sugar-bags"; and after his last *Bora* he can take a wife. All the lads go through the same grades and the same experience.

No woman or child is allowed to come near the *Bora*

[1] C. Naseby.

ground. No tooth was knocked out by the Northern Kamilaroi, but was by the blacks of Maitland and Newcastle.[1]

The Kamilaroi tribe at the Gwydir River used a bull-roarer made of Brigalow wood,[2] or the Brimble, and it is said to be about eight inches long by four wide. A sinew is tied to it, or sometimes put through a hole in the small end. The young of both sexes are forbidden to eat of the following foods: snakes, emu eggs, body of lace-lizard (they might eat the tail), honey from a gum-tree, and some other things.[3]

I am unable to say where it is that the ceremonies of the *Bora* type are replaced by others, but it probably is where the Kamilaroi class system ends with the Bigambul, and is replaced by those of the Ungorri and Emon tribes. This is somewhere about the Condamine River.

The ceremonies of the tribes of Southern Queensland, which are held at the great tribal meetings, for instance at the triennial harvest of the fruit of the Bunya trees, may be illustrated by those of the Turrbal tribe, and of the tribes within a radius of fifty miles of Maryborough. I take the former in the first place.

THE KURBIN-AII CEREMONIES

The Turrbal represented a large group of allied tribes, and occupied country on the Brisbane River. It is now extinct; but in 1852 it numbered about four hundred men and women.

The initiation ceremonies are called *Kurbin-aii*, and the youths admitted thereby to the status of manhood are called *Kippur*. Several tribes assembled at these ceremonies. The old men fixed the time for holding them when there was plenty of food, as when the sea-mullet came in, or when the fruit of the *Bunya-bunya* was ripe. Messengers were sent to the various tribes which attended the *Kurbin-aii*; for instance, tribes came from Maryborough and from Ipswich, and brought with them new songs to teach to the others at the festivities attending the ceremonies.

[1] Cyrus E. Doyle. [2] *Acacia glaucescens*. [3] Cyrus E. Doyle.

Several tribes assembled at these ceremonies, and the men of one tribe initiated the boys of the other. They are ordered not to speak on pain of death, and in the old times this penalty was certainly inflicted. During the night the boys were made to lie down in a circle, surrounded by boughs, and each boy slept with his head on the hip of the next one. During the day they sat with opossum rugs over their heads. To ask for anything was strictly forbidden. If they desired to scratch themselves, they had to do it with a stick.

Armed sentries were placed over them prepared to spear any boy who might be tempted to look up or laugh. The old men tried the self-control of the boys by telling them that their mothers were calling them, or by working upon superstitious beliefs or fears.

The camp where the boys were kept by day was surrounded by a circle of boughs. At night they were taken to another camp about two hundred yards away. All the ceremonies were conducted during the night. Trees about the place had rude figures cut into the bark.

Two bull-roarers were used in the ceremonies; one, the larger of the two, was called *Bugerum*, the other was called *Wobblekum*, and was about four inches long by an inch wide, and perforated. The *Bugerum* made a louder and deeper-sounding roar.

The unearthly sounds made by the bull-roarers were believed by the women and children to be made by the medicine-men when swallowing the novices during the ceremonies, and a woman who attempted to spy out the ceremonies would have been certainly killed.

The boys were taught to respect the old men, and to obey all the teachings imparted to them at the ceremonies, and these were enforced by the magical arts which the medicine-men exhibited thereat. The *Kurbin-aii* lasted for a long time; never less than three weeks, and often much longer.

The boys after initiation were called *Kippur*, which has now passed among white people as a name for any young blackfellow.

The *Kippurs* were not allowed to eat the flesh of the female of any kind of animal nor the roes of fish, nor any kind of eggs. All the best of the food was prohibited to them, the old men receiving it and all the dainty pieces.

The ceremonies being concluded, the boys were taken into the bush about four or five hundred yards away by one of the men of the other tribe, and dressed in tribal fashion. Dogs' tails and snakes' skins were tied round the head; ropes of opossum fur crossed over the shoulders like a soldier's cross-belt; long tails of opossum fur hung down from the head to the waist; and strips of kangaroo skin round the arms completed, with a white fillet of braided bark and fibre round the head, the costume of a man. Faces and bodies were painted black, except the nose, which was coloured bright red with grease and ochre. The hair was well greased, and decked with bright parrot feathers.

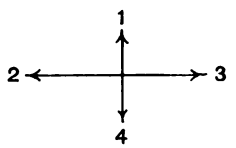
Each *Kippur* was armed with two small spears, two boomerangs were stuck in his belt, and he held a small shield and a club called *Tabri*.

They were then arranged in a row, each with a fringe of green boughs round the waist. The women and girls waited their coming in some small open space near the camp. Stuck in the ground in front of each woman was a digging-stick (*Kulgore*), with a bunch of leaves tied on the end something like a broom.

When the *Kippurs* were painted, leaves were stuck under their belts, and they held boughs under their arms. All the people were painted according to the customs of their respective tribes. The Ipswich tribes painted white all down the one side, and red on the other; the coast tribe, black on one side and yellow on the other; the face was also painted yellow, with whiskers made of the feathers of the blue mountain parrot. Some of the men had feathers stuck on them down their sides. The medicine-men wore the yellow crests of the white cockatoo on the top of their heads, and were naked all but a fringe round their middles. Widows, and the women who had recently lost relatives, were painted red with white faces, being in full mourning. They held digging-sticks, with boughs tied to the end.

As the *Kippurs* came dancing round, each one took branches from his mother's stick, or from that of some female relative, and put them under his arms. After dancing three times round the women, they separated, each one going to his own tribe, who stood facing one of the others in lines about one hundred yards apart, armed with spears, clubs, and boomerangs. The old men retired a little back, and the men commenced to throw spears and boomerangs at each other, the old men and the women looking on. As soon as some one was speared, the blacks rushed towards each other and fought furiously, men with men, and women with women.

They then separated, and each party rested at the side nearest to its country, as in the following diagram :—



Each figure represents a company of blacks. Say that a man of No. 1 runs out and shakes a spear at the men of No. 4, then a man of No. 4 rushes out and shakes his spear at No. 1 ; then No. 2 does the same to No. 3, and No. 3 as to No. 2, and each one says something offensive to the company opposing his, on which some of each party throw spears at each other, and this melée lasts for some time. After a lull, a man comes out of one of the parties with spears, a club, and boomerangs, and is faced by one of the other party. The spears being stuck in the ground about forty yards apart, the clubs are thrown at each other, then the boomerangs, the women sheltering behind trees while these are thrown, the boomerangs not being of the returning kind. These ceremonial combats may last three or four days.

The *Kippurs* commenced the fight by attacking each other with spears and clubs, the older men looking on. This fight might last for two minutes, after which the serious business of the day began.

The *Kippurs* drew off, and the seasoned fighting-men

commenced. The former had been fighting in solemn earnest, burning to distinguish themselves; but the older men too had many an ancient feud to satisfy, or they remembered many an ancient tale of murder, or abduction of women, to be revenged, and the fight was sure to be a severe one. Spears flew fast, and sounding blows fell on shields, or even on thick skulls, and the women, behind the fighting-men, hurled sticks and abuse at the opposite fighting-line.

Little harm was, however, done, although the fighting might last for some hours. In parts of the battle-field picked champions began the fray, and were followed by others from each side.

Due time was allowed for hunting, or for seeking other food, so that this fighting might last for perhaps a week.

Single combats also occurred on such occasions, when, if one gave the other several severe cuts, and thus became the victor, he had to allow the friends of the vanquished opponent to give him several cuts to equalise matters.

A man who was killed in this fighting was eaten, and such a catastrophe was the signal for the cessation of hostilities.

After the fighting was all over, the *Kippurs* were considered to be able to fight for their own hands.

But they were not allowed to go near the women for about three months, each night going into the bush to camp by themselves, and taking with them their respective *Wobble-kums*, which they sounded, making with them sounds like the barking of dogs.

THE DORA CEREMONIES

The tribes within fifty miles of Maryborough attended the same ceremonies, which are called *Dora*. These would be decided on by some old man announcing that he had had a vision of the *Murang*, that is, the eagle-hawk, which is the fighting-bird, and therefore the *Dora* must be held. He proclaims things to the whole camp — men,

women, and children. The vision seen gives him the position of the leader of the ceremonies, but the general conduct of the *Dora* is governed by the council of the old men. For instance, the old men, having heard the account of the vision, will send messengers to the neighbouring tribelets, telling them that they are going to start a *Dora*, and asking them to join with them, so that they may be strong enough to have a good fight with their enemies.

I may mention here that there are no ceremonies at night at the *Dora*, as at the *Kuringal*, *Burbung*, or *Bora*. The medicine-men do not take any special part in these ceremonies; but, being all old men, and especially because of their calling, their opinions carry weight. My informant spent several nights in the camp at the different *Doras* he attended.[1]

All the men set to work to make the *Dora*, which is a circle of logs and earth about four feet high and fifteen inches wide at the top. It may be six or seven, or up to twenty-five yards in diameter. It is made not far from some thick scrub. On the side which faces the scrub there is an opening, and a track is cleared from the enclosure to the scrub, which is not more than two or three hundred yards from it. A space is cleared in the scrub, the trees only being left, among which there is a platform made of tough vines and runners of scrub plants, strong enough to bear the weight of several men standing on it. The old man who had the vision is the leading spirit in the affair, or, for shortness, the Headman. He asks for volunteers to carry messages to the other branches of the tribe, and from six to ten are chosen from those who stand out as volunteers. They may be of any sub-class or totem. These form a party under the direction of one, or perhaps two, of the old men who know the country they have to go to. These messengers are called "speech-carriers" (*Thungkwa-komwathi*). They travel light, without rugs or blankets or fire-stick, only carrying tomahawk, spear, boomerang, and club. If a fire is wanted, one is made, but is carefully extinguished when done with, in order that no indication shall be given of their

[1] Harry E. Aldridge.

approach. When the camp of the people they are sent to is found, they sneak round near to it and paint themselves; then when night comes they approach within hearing of the camp, and one of them strikes two boomerangs together. The people in the camp know at once what it means, and answer the signal by a shout something like our *Hurrah*. The old men go out and make a fire at a convenient place, generally close to a scrub, for these blacks usually camp close to a scrub, if one is near.

The messengers, seeing this, come up to them and stand in a row in perfect silence before the old men, who are at the opposite side of the fire. After about a quarter of an hour one of the old men puts the established question, "You have brought the *Murang?*" The answer is "Yes"; then, "Who has seen it?" The principal messenger then gives the name of the man who has seen the vision, for instance "*Bunda*,"[1] also giving the name which he had received at the *Dora*. Then he is questioned as to where the *Dora* is to be held, who are coming to it, and so on. After this the conversation becomes easier and less ceremonious.

The messengers do not camp with the people to whom they are sent, but at some place near by, which has been pointed out to them, and always at that side of the encampment which is towards their own country.

Meanwhile other parties of messengers are carrying the *Dora* to the other divisions of the tribe, and when they have delivered their messages they return home. During this time the people at headquarters have been commencing the *Dora* by holding the preliminary ceremonies.

At daylight they are all roused up, and the men turn out duly painted and armed, grouping themselves at the entrance to the ring, which is from fifteen to twenty feet wide. They all stand there, facing towards the interior of the ring. One man then commences to run round it, and the others follow him, till they return to the part from which they started, where they now stand facing the path, in the attitude of attack, and three times shout a defiance.

Then another man runs into the ring and the performance

[1] *Bunda*, one of the sub-class names of these tribes.

is repeated, and this continues for about an hour, till the Headman says, "Enough." On this all the men rush into the ring and run round it, then through the entrance along the path to the clearing in the scrub, where they dance, one of them singing and the others joining in. The words are nonsensical; for instance, "I have seen a fish, a nice little fish." Then one of the men mounts the platform and says, "What was it like?" The singer gives some fantastic name, and they all shout. This goes on for half an hour, when the ceremony is ended for the time, and the men go out hunting. At sundown the ceremony is repeated, but it is not compulsory for all the men to be at it, as is the case in the morning. These ceremonies continue till all the outside portions of the tribe are collected at the *Dora* camp. Then, all the tribe being present, it is decided to conclude the preliminary ceremonies. It is at this time that messengers are sent off to tribes with which they are at feud outside the boundaries of this community, that is to say, beyond the limits of the *Dora*. By these messengers they are informed that a *Dora* is being held, and they are summoned to bring their young men down to fight. Such a tribe is one with which they do not marry except by capture.

The initiation ceremonies now described were the occasion of a gathering of distant tribes, among which were the Chepara before spoken of.

When all those who are to take part in the *Dora* have arrived, the camp is broken up on the day following. This is decided on at a general council, at which the Headman who saw the vision is the principal. The old men form the council, but the young men are present, listen to what is said, but do not speak. The women are also present. The boys who are to be initiated are gathered together, and they are discussed—who they are, where they come from, and so forth. Each boy has a *Quonmie*, or guardian, who is a relative or great friend of his. It does not matter of what sub-class the *Quonmie* is, and a boy may have several *Quonmies*, both male and female. The boys are now taken by the *Quonmies* to a place apart from the camp and receive a vast amount of instruction as to their behaviour and duties. They are told

not to be frightened, and that the *Quonmies* will take care that no one hurts them.

When the morning star rises, the whole tribe is on the move, and all the women have their things packed up for removal. The *Quonmie* women go with them, but the *Quonmie* men go in charge of the boys. All the others go to the *Dora* ring, each woman carrying a fire-brand, and this is the first time that they have been permitted to be there. The boys now leave their camp to go to the ring, several of the old men asking, in a rough tone of voice, "Where are the boys who wish to be made men?" The boys are told to close their hands and not to open them till they get their new names, under all kinds of fearful penalties. They are now ordered by the old men in fierce tones to move off, and the men, duly painted and armed, surround and take them to the ring. All this very much alarms the boys, but they are reassured by the *Quonmies*, who say, "We will see that no harm comes to you."

When the women arrive at the ring, they drop their burdens and all covering, and stand naked, and packed together as close as possible on the top of the mound, each holding a fire-brand in her hand. This is the first time that they have been permitted to approach the ring, and step on to the mound from the outside, for no woman is allowed to go into the enclosure. The men stand at the entrance where the path is. The men of that part of the tribe which called the *Dora* together now run into and round the enclosure; but instead of running out and along the path, they face round towards the interior of the circle and give a great shout. The Headman now says "Finished," and the women throw their fire-sticks into the middle of the circle and go away, taking a road to the new camp which is to be formed, other than that taken by the men. These have gone off in batches of fifty or more, who form ambuscades along the direction the boys are to be taken by their *Quonmies*, accompanied by a small band of fighting-men.

As the boys come up to each ambuscade the concealed men rush out and pretend to attack them, taking good care, however, that the weapons which they throw do not hit any

one. The *Quonmies* tell the boys to stand still and not to be frightened, for they will not be hurt, while their escorts often run off for a short distance as if in fear.

This sort of thing continues for some miles, for the purpose of trying the fortitude of the boys, whom they attempt to intimidate in every possible manner. For instance, some of the old men who accompany them, and who take the lead, will suddenly jump aside crying "*Murang*," which also includes the meaning of snake, and at the same time shout out the name of some snake, as if there were really one there. The *Quonmies* on all such occasions reassure the boys. After travelling a few miles, some ten to twenty men are left in charge of the boys, who are told to rest while the men spread themselves over the country, to hunt and catch game. At this halt the boys have to crouch down and are fed by the *Quonmies* with bits of cooked meat and drinks of water, for the boys have their hands closed and may not help themselves in any way. All they can do is to sit down, get up, go on, or stop, as they are told. Nor may they speak, being only permitted to nod or shake their heads, in reply to questions put to them by the *Quonmies*.

In this manner they make several days' journeys, which are so arranged that on the afternoon of a certain day they may be within reach of the tribe which is being called upon to meet them. At night the boys are laid on the ground close together, like sardines in a tin, their *Quonmies* lying at their heads or their feet, but so as not to keep the warmth of the fire from them. The old men keep the fire up; and when the morning star rises, the fire having been allowed to go down, they rouse the boys by climbing up the trees and making all kinds of hideous noises and by beating the ground with bark near the boys' heads. This is done to frighten the boys, who however are expected to take no notice of it, and to appear as if still sleeping. After this, a great fire is lit and the men dance.

The other tribe, having received due notice, is camped in the neighbourhood, but at such a distance that it can meet the other party a little before sundown, for the favourite time for fighting is at sunrise or sunset. The rest of the tribe to

which the boys belong having also arrived, the boys are led by their *Quonmies* to where new names are given to them by the old men. These names are supposed to enable them to catch fish or animals, or to do something relating to hunting, better than other people. For instance, the name *Buna-wunami* means "a long while come out," and refers to diving for turtle or fish. *Paraing-thuma* is "high catch" (or hold), referring to catching flying-foxes, or climbing trees after birds, and so on with other names.

The Headman calls the *Quonmie* to bring his boy to him; and, this being done, steps out and recites in a sing-song tone the words, "*Burrum-burrum burro, nolla-wurro,*" which have no meaning in their language, and which no one could explain to my informant, who was present, and who spoke their language. The Headman says several times, "What will your name be?" then he speaks the name and says "Shout!" and all the assembled people set up a great shout, and repeat the name. Hereupon the *Quonmies*, who have been getting ready while the naming has been going on, slip a spear, shield, and boomerang into the hands of the boy, and he now, for the first time since the ceremonies commenced, opens his hands and looks up from the ground and lifts his head up, having previously kept it bent. In the afternoon the boys are painted and instructed how to fight and defend themselves.

The boys of the other tribe have also on their side passed through the *Dora* and have been named. The old (child's name) is dropped from this time forth.

Late in the afternoon two tribes approach each other, and the respective lots of boys are placed facing each other and are told to fight, under the tuition of the old men behind them, and this they do for some three-quarters of an hour. Then the old men join in, and the fighting is very severe. Five men were killed in one such fight, and the wounded and maimed were very numerous.

The two tribes then camp within hearing of each other, but not within sight. As a rule, they hunt in different tracts of country, so as not to meet; but if the nature of the country is such that they must hunt near each other, there

will be left a narrow strip of neutral ground over which neither party will cross.

The party who sent the challenge travels into the country of the other tribe. In one case the challenging party travelled some seventy miles, that is to say, some thirty miles into the enemy's country. The radius from which people came to that *Dora* was fifty miles, and about three thousand attended, it being on the mainland opposite Frazer's Island.

When the two tribes are travelling to meet each other they have a practice for several days before they meet of burning the grass and everything they can set fire to, as a defiance to each other. The bull-roarer called *Pundunda* was used after the fight, the boys and the *Quonmies* going into the thick scrub, within hearing of the camp, and sounding it. The women, when they hear this, run away out of the camp, being told that if they remain and listen to it they will lose their hearing, and if they look back they will become blind. The noise is not continued long. The women are not allowed to see the *Pundunda*. After the fight and the corrobborees which follow it there is the capturing of women, which has been already described.

When the meeting is over and the people return to their homes, the boys are not placed under any restriction as to the food which they may or may not eat, that is to say by reason of the *Dora*, but there are general rules which prevent the younger men from eating certain articles of food, which are reserved for the old men. For instance, boys are not allowed to eat emu eggs, nor even to touch them, but they must give them to the old men.

Although the youths on returning from the *Dora* are accounted as men, they are not permitted to take wives until their beards are grown. Should a youth attempt to take his promised wife before that time, he would be told, "Go away! What do you want with a wife, you beardless boy?"

To the southward of the tribes whose *Dora* I have described, there are those tribes of which I have taken the Kaiabara as the example. Their ceremonies were held

whenever there were a sufficient number of boys approaching puberty to be made men.[1]

THE KAIABARA CEREMONIES

The ceremonies were held at a place where a circular mound had been made, in the centre of which a hole had been dug in the ground, in which one of the old men was concealed, under a sheet of bark. The boys were brought into the ring, and lay on their faces on the ground, covered by their opossum rugs. They were then taken to the place where the old man was concealed, and he gave a name to each. The name was repeated aloud by another old man, and the men standing round shouted the name and danced.

For a time the boys were kept on short commons, and were not allowed to eat female opossums, which were given to the old men, nor iguana, kangaroo, mullet, turtle, grubs, scrub-turkey, emu, and other things.

But they might eat male opossum, wallaby, bandicoot, yams, and honey.

These particulars, though scanty, suffice to show a general similarity to the *Dora* ceremonies.

I have greatly regretted that my correspondent in the country of the Wakelbura tribe did not avail himself of the opportunities which offered themselves for seeing the initiation ceremonies of that and other kindred tribes. He was invited to go to them, but did not do so, and when I drew his attention to the great interest attaching to those ceremonies, he had to rely for information on the blacks with whom he was on friendly terms. This, however, did not suffice to justify them in revealing secrets, which can only be made known to those who are within the arcana of these mysteries.

THE UMBA CEREMONIES

The ceremonies are called *Umba*, and can only be held by Malera or Wuthera men, not by both combined. Thus if there are Kurgilla and Banbe boys to be made men, it

[1] Jocelyn Brooke.

would be the Wuthera men who would hold the *Umba*, that is to say, the men of the one sub-class Kurgilla initiate the boys of the other sub-class Banbe, or *vice versa*. This is a remarkable innovation on the rule which, so far as I know, is universal in the tribes of South-eastern as well as of Central Australia, that the men of one moiety of the tribe initiate the youths of the other moiety. As I have before pointed out, the reason of this seems to be that it is only when the youth has been admitted to the rights and privileges of manhood in the tribe that he can obtain a wife. As his wife comes to him from the other moiety, it is the men of that moiety who must be satisfied that he is, in fact, able to take his place as the provider for, and the protector of, the woman, their sister, who is to be his wife. In this connection one can therefore see why it is that the future wife's brother, who is also his sister's husband, is the guardian of the youth in the ceremonies.

But in the Wakelbura case it is not the men of the other intermarrying moiety who initiate the youth; for if so, it would have been Malera and Wuthera men who would have respectively initiated each other's sons. So far, this has not received any explanation, further than it is probably connected with food rules, and the food animals which belong to the respective classes; and as the Wakelbura tribe is now practically extinct, it cannot be elucidated.

The *Umba* ceremonies relieve the individual from certain food restrictions. According to what I have been able to ascertain, the individual receives a new name at each *Umba*. These names denote accomplishments or qualities, as quick sight, courage, being a good fighter, or a skilful medicine-man. Some of the men received as many as four different names. The tendency of the restrictions is to reserve the best of the food for the older men, and only to admit the younger to the same privileges as they acquire age.

The *Umba* ground is always made at a sandy place, where there is loose soil, which is banked up, by means of boomerangs and feet, into a ridge, which encloses a square with several interior divisions. At one end there is an opening for the men to go in and out, and it faces the

direction from which the visitors have come. It is the men called *Tarrima* who make the mound, and indeed they do most of the work in making the *Umba* ground.

During the ceremonies the novice has to climb a straight young tree free from branches, without a tomahawk or any aid whatever. The bystanders utter simultaneously "*Yeh!*" or "*Wah!*" at each step he takes in climbing. On his reaching the top they give one united shout. The same exclamations are made at each step of his descent, and when he reaches the ground the same shout is raised.

The youth is called *Walba* until initiated; after that he is called *Kaula*, and he also at the same time receives a new personal name, and his former personal name is never afterwards mentioned. To mention his *Walba*, or boy name, would be a serious cause of offence. To avoid this, and indeed to avoid the mention of the personal name of any one, a young man would be spoken of as *Kaula*, a man of mature years as *Minda* (old man), and an uninitiated youth as *Walba*. Relatives use the term of relationship proper to each. The children of the same mother are spoken of according to age, after the fingers of the hand. Thus the oldest is addressed as *Teling*, that is thumb, the next in age is *Burbi*, the forefinger, etc.[1]

THE INITIATION CEREMONIES OF VICTORIAN TRIBES

The Victorian tribes were so broken down during the early gold discoveries that when I commenced a critical investigation of their social and local organisation and customs, I found that the tribal customs had almost died out, together with many of the tribes themselves. But I was able here and there to rescue some facts from surviving old men, which may enable me to indicate the sort of ceremonies by which the youths were admitted to the privileges and subjected to the obligations of manhood.

As to the Kulin nation, the practice may be illustrated by that of the Wurunjerri, for according to Berak the initiation ceremonies were substantially the same in each of

[1] J. C. Muirhead.

the tribes, from the Wudthaurung at Corio Bay to the Mogullum-bitch at the Buffalo River. From other native informants I have learned also that the range of these ceremonies was also from Port Phillip Heads to Echuca.

When a boy was about ten or eleven years old, that is to say, when his whiskers were beginning to appear, his parents or relations, or even other people, would remark that it was only decent and proper that he should no longer run about naked. Then his *Guritch*, sister's husband, would tell him that he must be made *Jibauk*.[1] But some time before this, his parents sent him to live with the young men in their camp, which was always at a distance from the camps of the married men.

The Jibauk Ceremonies

The *Jibauk* ceremonies were held periodically where Melbourne, Geelong, Bacchus Marsh, Seymour, Bendigo, the Delatite River, Benalla, the Buffalo River, Echuca, and other places now are.

When the ceremonies were held by the Wurunjerri, a screen of boughs was made some two or three hundred yards from the main encampment, with a large fire in front of it. The boy's *Guritch* or his *Kangun*, that is, his mother's brother, took him there, having first covered him with a rug, the corner of which hung over his face. Having joined the others who were to be "made men," a number of men's kilts (*Branjep*), which had been collected from the men at the camp, were tied round his waist. His hair was cut quite short, excepting a ridge, like a cock's comb, along his head from front to back. Mud was thickly plastered over his head and shoulders, and a wide band of pipe-clay was painted from ear to ear, across his face. Another band was from the *Branjep* in front over his head to that hanging behind.

He carried a bag slung roung his neck, in which was a live opossum which he had caught, and from which he had

[1] This word is pronounced usually as I have written it, but it really is *Jiba-gop*.

plucked the fur as if for cooking. He never moved away from the *Jibauk* place without a fire-stick and this bag containing the opossum. When one died he had to go away and catch another to replace it. The *Jibauks* were not allowed any clothing other than the kilts, and they slept round the fire by the bough enclosure. All the young men of the encampment, together with the guardians of the *Jibauk*, kept them company. The lads obtained their food by going the rounds of the camp with their *Guritches;* and opening their bags, they said to the people they called upon, "Have you anything to put in here?" The food thus obtained was all they got, and it was not much. It was considered a joke to ask a *Jibauk* what he had caught when out hunting.

When the boy's hair had grown about two inches in length, his probation was over. The *Jibauk* camp was shifted on successive days nearer and nearer to the encampment, until it was quite close. During this time the *Guritch* had been preparing an opossum rug, which he now gave to the boy under his charge, who, being dressed in the full male costume, was led by his guardian from camp to camp of the married men, where he was received with expressions of rejoicing. The *Jibauk* was thus introduced to the community in the character of a man. Several evenings of singing and dancing concluded the ceremonies.

The *Jibauk* was not specially instructed during this time in the tribal laws and beliefs, because this was done previously by his father, father's brother, or his father's father, but he was told what animals he might or might not eat. The forbidden food included emu, black duck, musk duck, flying tuan, iguana, spiny ant-eater. He might eat the common opossum, ringtail opossum, bandicoot, wallaby, kangaroo, wombat, native bear, swan, teal, and all fish. From time to time the young man was made free of the forbidden food by having a piece of the cooked meat given him to eat by one of the old men. Sometimes it was handed to the *Jibauk* on the point of a stick. As he grew older, he, so to say, acquired the freedom of eating other animals. When about thirty to thirty-five, he became

entitled to eat emu, by some of the fat being rubbed unexpectedly by some old man on his naked back.

The *Wirrarap* (medicine-man) also in this tribe exercised supervision over the youth who had been made *Jibauk*. He could dream of his actions. But the novice was also under supernatural penalties if he broke the food laws or rules of conduct laid upon him. Thus the Kulin of the Goulburn River, who were the neighbours of the Wurunjerri, and nearly allied to them, believed that if the novice ate the spiny ant-eater or the black duck, he would be killed by the thunder. If he ate of the female of the opossum or native bear, he was liable to fall when climbing trees.

Protector Thomas speaks of this ceremony in a report to Governor La Trobe [1] on the "Ceremony of Tobbut," and his remarks probably apply not only to the Wurunjerri, but also to other tribes within his immediate knowledge. He says "that there are strips of old rags, string, strips of opossum skin and old rope, and all the variety of stripes with which a fringed apron girdles him round" (*sic*). He is not allowed to have a blanket to cover him, or anything else, night or day, and it is generally the winter season which is selected for this purpose. He goes through the encampment calling out "*Tib-bo-bo-but*." He has a basket under his arm, which contains all the filth he can pick up, not even omitting soil. He frightens and bedaubs all he meets with some of the beastly commodities contained in his basket, but must not touch any who are in their *mia-mias*, or *lubras* on their way getting water, but in any other case he is at liberty to annoy and frighten all he meets.

The Talangun Ceremonies

In the Bunurong tribe the equivalent of the *Jibauk* was called *Talangun*. All that was done was that the boy was taken by some of the men, who dressed him in full male attire, and he was made free of the forbidden food animals as soon as the men could catch them. According to *Berak*, who knew that tribe well, there were no other ceremonies of

[1] *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, p. 99.

initiation of any kind. Similar statements were made to me by the survivors of the Thagunworung and Jajaurung tribes, who all knew the Bunurong people. The fact that in this tribe the bull-roarer, which is elsewhere regarded with reverential awe, was a child's plaything, seems to be strong corroboration that they had no secret rites of initiation. What they had was clearly only a survival of ceremonies such as the *Jibauk*, and it seems to be a case in which they were approaching the condition of the Krauatun Kurnai, who had not even the traces of former ceremonies.

THE JAJAURUNG CEREMONIES

In the Jajaurung tribe the ceremonies were somewhat fuller than those of the Wurunjerri, and also illustrate them.

Before a boy was grown up and had whiskers, he was taken by his *Guritch* to his camp, where he rubbed him over with red ochre. When the *Guritch* went out hunting, or was travelling, he took the boy with him, and carried him when he was tired. He sounded the bull-roarer continually, to make the boy strong, and he sang this song:—

Pata	*mamunya*	*jira-runga.*
Wait a while	don't touch it	growing up.

This song also makes the two front teeth easily removable when the boy is being initiated. When the boy has grown somewhat older, so that his beard has come, his *Guritch* and the old men take him away to be made a man. He is laid down on the ground and all the hair on his face and his pubes is plucked out. If it comes out easily and without blood showing, they say, "He is a good young man," and rub him over with red ochre. The song above mentioned is then sung, and the medicine-man (*Barn-bungal*) forces a pointed stick between the teeth to loosen them. If any blood comes from the gums either now or when the teeth are knocked out, it must not be spat out or let fall on his breast; but he must swallow it, otherwise his legs would become crooked, and he would be lame. He then goes away with his *Guritch* and the old men. For a time he

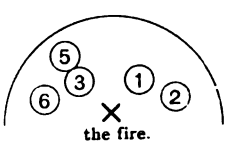
remains quite naked, and is rubbed with red ochre, until his oldest *Guritch* brings him an opossum rug.

If, however, blood comes when the hair is plucked out, the youth is said to have "been too much with the women," and is painted white from the waist over the head, down the back to the belt on which he wears a *Branjep*, before and behind, and he is called *Jibauk*.

The Jupagalk Ceremonies

The Jupagalk adjoined the Jajaurung on the north-west side. In that tribe, when a boy was old enough to be made a man, two of his *Ngierep* (sister's husband) took him away for a time and kept him with them until he had been initiated. The boy was dressed in the full dress of a man, with a belt of opossum cord round his waist, a row of kangaroo teeth round his forehead, and a reed necklace. In front and behind a *Branjep* hung from his belt. Red ochre and grease was rubbed over him, and a ligature of kangaroo sinew tied round his upper fore-arm, from which the boys are called *Ganitch*, that is, "tied." The *Ngierep* kept the boy in their camp for two or three months, and did everything for him. When they went out hunting, one of them carried him on his shoulders. The boy was not allowed to do anything for himself. In one case of which I had some knowledge, the boy was *Garchuka* (white cockatoo), and his *Ngierep* was *Wurant* (black cockatoo). The boy was not allowed to eat the male of any animal.

The subjoined diagram shows the manner in which the



inmates of the camp of such a *Ngierep* slept round the fire at night.

1 is the *Ngierep*, 2 is the boy, 3 wife of the *Ngierep*, and 5 and 6 their children.

THE WOTJOBALUK CEREMONIES

The ceremonies are called *Ganitch* by the Wotjobaluk, also by the Mukjarawaint, and in both tribes the procedure was the same as that of the Jupagalk, with the exception that with the Wotjobaluk the boy, when he was taken away by his *Guritch*, was placed before a great fire, and, as they put it, was "roasted."

CEREMONIES OF THE TRIBES OF SOUTH-WESTERN VICTORIA

In the tribes of South-Western Victoria[1] a youth is not considered to be a man until he has undergone a probation, during which he is called *Kutneet*, which is really best translated as "hobbledehoy." Should he have "brothers-in-law" they come and take him into a hut (*Wuurn*), and dress him and ornament him, and remove him into their own country, where he is received with welcome by his new friends. During his term of probation his wants are liberally supplied. He is not allowed to do anything for himself, and when he wants to go anywhere he must be carried by the men who brought him from his own country. The women of the tribe must also wait upon him with every mark of respect, and should any disobey the order, he has the right to spear them. At the end of twelve moons, his relations call and take him to the first great meeting of the tribes. Before leaving, they pull out all the hairs of his beard, and make him drink water mixed with mud, which completes his initiation into manhood. The knocking out of a front tooth is unknown in these tribes.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Dawson made use of the term "brother-in-law," which includes several relations, which are individualised by the native tribes. But I conjecture that he may be the "sister's husband" (*Kuurwee*), which would be in accord with the universal practice.

In the Jajaurung practice a distinction appears between the novice who has kept to himself and him who, to use the

[1] J. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 30.

usual phrase, has been "too much with the women." This distinction occurs in all cases where the tooth is extracted, but the *Jibauk* practice of the Jajaurung is the only one I know in which a special treatment follows this social offence. Usually in such cases the tooth ostensibly cannot be removed, and this causes great pain and suffering to the offender. Thus at the Yuin *Kuringal* the *Gommera* took good care that the tooth of the novice, who was known for his practices with the women, should only be extracted after a dozen blows. But the Jajaurung went still further: not only did the tooth stick fast, but the novice became a *Jibauk*, and underwent a series of more than personal inconveniences as a warning to others.

One of the results of the ceremonies of initiation is, in most cases, to place the novice *inter alia* under inter-sexual restraints. This is shown by his removal from the "fire circle" of his parents to the camp of the young men, and also the breaking off of the intimate association with his sisters which existed while he was a boy. This is shown very clearly by the Kurnai *Jeraeil*. The *Jibauk* practice, as seen among the Jajaurung, appears to have been in the nature of a punishment; with the Wurunjerri it is not so clear, as it applied apparently to all, while with the Bunurong the practice seems not to have existed.

The ceremonies of all these tribes of Victoria seem to me to have been in a state of decadence, and it is difficult to decide from the survivals what their original form may have been.

THE KURNAI JERAEIL

The initiation ceremonies of the Kurnai were in principle the same as those which I have described as the *Bunan*, *Burbung*, and *Bora*. But in details they differed much from them, either retaining practices which had become obsolete elsewhere, or having developed new details independently. Both, however, may have co-operated in producing the *Jeraeil*, for the Kurnai, in consequence of their country being shut in by dense scrubs and forests in the

west, and by the Australian Alps and their spurs in the north and east, were very much isolated from the tribes beyond those boundaries.

The word *Jeraeil* means leafy, or having leaves or twigs, being connected with *Jerung*, a "branch" or "twig." It is therefore analogous to the Murring word *Kuringal*, which may be translated as "of the forest."

At the *Jeraeil* which I attended, and which I am about to describe, the old men had decided that, being short-handed, the Krauatun Headman and one other should be permitted to help. This distinction between the words "help" and "participate" marks the fact that neither of these men had been formally initiated, that is to say, they had not passed through the stages of *Tutnurring* and *Brewit* to *Jeraeil*. Moreover, although the Kurnai were short-handed on this occasion, and had only six boys to be initiated, they absolutely refused to allow any half-castes even to be present, giving as their reason, "these half-castes have nothing to do with us." This is a well-marked illustration of the view by this tribe as to the derivation of the child.

All the Kurnai being assembled, the Headmen decide when the ceremonies shall commence. In the *Jeraeil* which I attended the ceremonies were, according to the statements of the old men who conducted them, the exact reproduction of the *Jeraeil* of their fathers, at which they themselves had been initiated, and made the depositaries of the ancestral knowledge. After the occupation of Gippsland by the white people in 1842, these ceremonies were held at intervals for some twenty years. They then fell into disuse, and were only now revived in response to the message which I had sent round.[1] The old men said they were glad to receive my message, and to hold the *Jeraeil*, for the reason that the Kurnai youth "were now growing wild. They had been too much with the whites, so that now they paid no attention

[1] Those to whom the message goes accompanied by the *Tundun* must obey the call. Two of the Brayaka clan failed to attend after being summoned, having remained at one of the missions for a wedding. The old men were very indignant, and said, "When that *kalk* (wood) goes to a man he *must* come, he *cannot* stop away." In olden times this non-attendance would have had serious results for the two Brayakas.

either to the words of the old men or to those of the missionaries."

The Preliminary Ceremony.—In the afternoon of the day on which the first ceremony of the *Jeraeil*, called *Telbing*, or "wattle-bark," was held, the oldest woman,[1] the wife of the second Headman, called the other women together near the camp; and, having then summoned to her the *Tutnurring* (novices),[2] proceeded to drill them, as also their *Krauun*,[3] in the performances. It was, in fact, a rehearsal. The boys were seated cross-legged in a row with their arms folded, and were told by the old women to keep their eyes cast down, and not to stare about; also to mind and keep good time to the drumming by the women. The *Krauun* were placed in a row just behind the *Tutnurring*, and were instructed to copy their movements exactly. The women now commenced to drum slowly on their folded rugs, and in accord with the time the two rows of seated figures moved their bodies sharply first to one side and then to the other, at the same time reclining the head almost on the alternate shoulders. One boy, who was not quite quick enough in his movements, was told by the old woman to "move more sharply, as if some one were tickling him." After some practice the old woman thought the performance satisfactory, and told the boys to go away and rest themselves.

During the day the *Jeraeil* ground had been selected by the Headman in an open space about a quarter of a mile from the camp. All the little bushes were chopped up, and the ground cleared of sticks and rubbish.

About sundown, the Headman gave the word to commence, and walked off into the forest, followed by the men. The old woman walked to the *Jeraeil* ground, followed by the women and by the novices, who were attended by one of the *Bullawangs*.[4] This man being a cripple was

[1] *Gweraeil-Kukut*; *Kukut* = woman.

[2] The novices are called *Tutnurring* during the ceremonies; afterwards they are *Brewit* (young men) or *Jeraeil*.

[3] The *Krauun* is one of those women who stand in the relation of "sister" to the *Tutnurring*. For instance, she is his "tribal," if not "own," mother's brother's daughter. In other words, she is the "tribal," if not "own," sister to the *Bullawang*. See following note on "*Bullawang*."

[4] The *Kurnai* name for the Australian robin (*Petroica multicolor*). Pointing

unable to take an active part in the ceremonies, and had therefore been assigned specially to watch and instruct the *Tutnurring*.

On reaching the ground, the *Tutnurring* and the *Krauun* were seated in two rows, as at the rehearsal, the pairs being allotted to each other in accordance with their group-relationship. The mothers of the boys stood in a row behind them, each bearing a staff surmounted by a tuft of eucalyptus twigs.[1] The *Gweraeil - Rukut* acted as mistress of the ceremonies. When the arrangements had been completed, and the boys were sitting silently with their eyes cast down on the ground, a distant noise was heard of rhythmical shouts, accompanied by dull, muffled-sounding blows. These coming nearer, a procession of men came in sight led by the Headman. The performers were smeared over with charcoal powder,[2] and bound round with strips of white bark across their bodies like shoulder-belts, round their waists, legs, and arms, and in coronets round their heads, from which rose tall waving tufts of grass. Similar bunches of grass were thrust from each side through the nose-perforations. Each man held a strip of bark, about three feet in

FIG. 36.—HEAD OF BULLAWANG SHOWING THE CHARACTERISTIC MARKINGS.

to one of these birds, an old man said to me, "That is the policeman who looks after the boys." The birds *Bullawang*, *Yiirung*, and *Djiilgun* are said to be three of the "*leen muk-Kurnai*" ("real Kurnai ancestors").

[1] These staves should properly have been "yam-sticks," but these implements are no longer used by the *Kurnai*, flour having replaced the former food of roots or tubers. The bunches of leaves which play a part in these ceremonies are called "Jerung"—branches, boughs, or twigs.

[2] Both in the *Kurnai* and in the *Murring* tribes the use of charcoal powder belongs to these ceremonies and to magic.

length and four inches wide, in each hand. In the olden times —forty odd years back—the men were entirely naked during these ceremonies, but now civilisation has so far modified their customs, even in the *Jeraeil*, that they wore their trousers, and some of them their shirts also. The line of men came rapidly forward from the bush in a series of short runs, following and imitating the actions of their leader, who came on in a serpentine course, shouting "*Huh! Huh!*" beating the ground in time with his strips of bark, first on the one side and then on the other. After every fifteen or twenty paces the men stopped, and raising their strips of bark, set up a loud shout of "*Yeh!*" (Hurrah!).

As soon as the men appeared, the women began to beat their rugs, the mothers kept time by stamping their yam-sticks on the ground, and the seated rows of *Tutnurring* and *Krauun* swayed in perfect unison alternately to right and left. The men, having run in a winding course once or twice past the boys, formed a semicircle in front and near them; and, kneeling down, struck the ground violently with their bark strips, shouting "*Huh! Huh! Yeh!*" This continued some little time, and then the men walked off to the camp, after having stripped off their disguising costumes.

This preliminary ceremony ended the proceedings for the day. The *Jeraeil* has now commenced, and by it the initiated men have claimed the boys from their mothers, and have shown their intention of making men of them.

"*Laying the Boys down to sleep.*"—This second stage in the ceremonies commenced at a little before sundown on the following day. In the afternoon the men had prepared the place in which, as they said, the *Tutnurring* were to be "laid down to sleep." A curved screen of boughs had been made, about three feet in height, twenty-five feet wide across the opening, and ten feet deep. The space thus partly enclosed was filled about six inches deep with freshly plucked eucalyptus twigs, so as to form a couch.

The same ceremonies were now repeated that had been gone through on the previous evening. At their termination the men retired into the bush to prepare for the next ceremony. The boys were placed standing in a row with

their faces toward the camp, the *Krauun* being in another row behind them, and behind them again were the mothers. It was now strongly impressed upon the boys by the *Bullawang* in charge of them that, when the men returned, and offered rods to them, or threw rods on them, they were on no account to touch them, but must let them fall unheeded to the ground, otherwise the *Jeraeil* would have to be recommenced from the beginning. The reason of this caution is that the rods which are offered to the boys are afterwards gathered up by the women, and this would be unlawful for them to do if any of the *Tutnurring* had touched them with their hands. From the commencement of the *Jeraeil*, there is an increasing separation of the *Tutnurring* from the women, until they are mutually tabooed after the "sleeping" ceremony. For either then to touch the other would be something very like pollution, and would, as the Kurnai believe, be followed by serious bodily illness to one or both.

After a short time of waiting, we heard in the distance a curious rattling sound accompanying the words "*Ya! Wa! Ya! Wa!*"[1] At intervals there was a pause, followed by shouts of "*Yeh!*" The men came in view, led by the old Headman, slowly marching in line. Each man held a bundle of thin rods, called *Teddeleng*, in each hand, which he struck together to the words "*Ya! Wa!*" Several men carried other bundles slung round their necks to supply the women and the *Krauun* who join in this ceremony. Having marched round the two rows of *Tutnurring* and *Krauun*, they then passed between the two rows and encircled the boys, thus severing them finally from the *Krauun*, and from their mothers. As they halted, each presented his bundle to one of the boys, and then proceeded to launch the rods one by one into the air over them, so that a continual shower fell on the *Tutnurring*, and thence to the ground, where they were carefully collected by the *Krauun*.

This part of the ceremony marks, as I have said, the separation of the boys from the women from this time forward, until the novice has been readmitted by the old

[1] No meaning can be given for these words. I was told in reference to them, "Our fathers always said and did thus to make the boys into men."

men into the community; but, even then, the young man does not stand on his former footing. He no longer lives in the same camp with his parents and sisters, but in the camp of the *Brewit*, or young unmarried men. So strict is the rule as to the rods that, had a *Tutnurring* touched one of them, the *Krauun* would have dropped all those they had collected, and would have returned to the camp with all the women present. The *Jeraeil* would have had to be recommenced from the beginning, and the boy who had caused this serious break in the ceremonies would have been severely punished. Probably in the olden times he would have been speared.

The *Krauun*, having collected the rods, reformed their line behind the motionless *Tutnurring*, and the *Bullawangs* formed a third line facing them. There were three of these to each boy. The *Bullawang* is the *Tutnurring's* "own," or "tribal," mother's brother's son, and belongs to that local group of the tribe with which the *Tutnurring's* father's group intermarried. These *Bullawangs* had been selected after careful consideration, the old women taking a prominent part in the genealogical discussion which occurred; for, owing to the diminution of the tribe, it was necessary to trace out "tribal relations," as there were not enough "own relations" to supply the required number of *Bullawangs* to each boy. I heard the old *Gweraeil-Rukut* ask two of the boys which part their "mother's father" belonged to; and it was by this knowledge of the locality and of the individual that the particular *Bullawang* was allotted.

With loud shouts of "*Huh!*" and the rustling of bunches of leaves, each group of three *Bullawangs* raised their boy several times high in the air, he extending his arms towards the sky as far as possible.[1] The women now raised and shook their leaf-topped sticks, and the men their handfuls of leaves, over the boys. Immediately following this, the *Bullawangs* were raised into the air,

[1] I was much struck by the similarity of this raising the hands towards the sky, to the pointing upwards of the Murring at their *Kuringal*; but I could not learn that it had any reference to *Mungan-ngaua*, who is the equivalent of the Murring *Daramulun*.

each one by his fellows, and with his face turned towards his own country. As each one was raised aloft, the men crowded round rustling boughs and with loud shouts of "*Huh!*"

The last scene of this part now took place. It is considered most important that it be carefully carried out according to the ancestral rules. The *Tutnurring* are to be laid to sleep as boys, in order to be awakened as men.

Each one was led by three old men to the enclosure wherein the couch of leaves had been prepared, and was there carefully laid down with exclamations of "*He! Nga!*"[1] The novices were laid on their backs side by side, with their arms crossed on their breasts. Each had a bundle of twigs under his head for a pillow. The old men now carefully and completely covered them with rugs, a few leaves having been first sprinkled over their naked bodies. They were so completely covered up from head to foot that not a glimpse of any one of them was visible, nor could they see anything.

A large fire was then lighted at their feet, and the women made another at the back of the highest part of the bough screen. While this was being done the old men were admonishing the boys as to their conduct while lying down. They were neither to move nor to speak. If one of them wanted anything, he was to signify this to his *Bullawang* by chirping like an Emu-wren (*Yiirung*).[2] They were finally reminded that from this time forth they were no longer to consort with children, but to behave themselves as men. Moreover, they were carefully to listen to and remember the instructions of their *Bullawangs*.

These boys were now said to be put to sleep. In the olden days, and, indeed, at all times when time was of no object, this part of the *Jeraeil* would have continued without intermission till morning. But on this occasion, as time was short, the proceedings only continued till about midnight, in view of the ceremonies which had to take place

[1] "*He!*" may be translated here "Well," or "Good." The aspirate has a nasal sound which cannot be represented in writing. "*He!*" is also used affirmatively as we use the sound "*Hm!*" *Nga* = yes.

[2] *Yiirung*, the totem of the *Kurnai* males, as *Djiitgun* is that of the females.

next day. This was because I could not remain beyond a certain date, and also because the beginning of the *Jeraeil* had been delayed by the late arrival of some of the Kurnai. As it was, the *Jeraeil* extended over five days. In olden times it would have taken two or three weeks.

The two fires having been lighted, and the *Tutnurring* formally instructed, the important proceedings commenced. Two *Bullawangs* crouched down at the boys' heads, in order to be ready if their aid were required. I was amused at this time, and during the night, in watching the men and listening to what they said to any of the boys who, wanting something, uttered the chirp of the Emu-wren. The *Bullawang* had first to stoop down and ask the boys in the neighbourhood whence the chirp came, "Is it you? Is it you?" until he questioned the right one, when an affirmative chirp replied. Then he had to find out what the boy wanted, which he could only do by a series of questions, the boys not being allowed to speak. Several times he was completely posed; and, after a number of ineffectual queries, such as "Are you too hot?" "Is there a stick sticking into you?" "Do you want to be moved?" "Do you want to drink?" he had to wait, and scratch his head, in the hope of thinking of the right question.

The ceremony commenced by the *Gweraeil-Rukut* standing up at her fire with a bundle of rods in each hand, and slowly beating them together to the words "*Ya! Wa!*" and "*Yeh!*" at intervals. All the women joined in, and the Headman, with all the men, followed suit at their fire. After this had gone on for perhaps a quarter of an hour, the old woman moved off, and marched round the enclosure to the tune of "*Ya! Wa!*" followed by the women, and these were followed by the men. This went on for hours, the only sounds being the soft tramp of the people walking round the enclosure, the regular rattling of the rods, and the monotonous utterance—I cannot call it chant—of the words "*Ya! Wa! Yeh!*" This was sometimes varied by the words "*Yirung!*" and "*Kaiung!*"[1] instead of "*Ya!*"

[1] *Kaiung* is the women's apron, which in the old times was worn by the

and "*Wa!*" but the expression of exultation "*Yeh!*" was in all cases used at intervals. Anything more monotonous than this part of the ceremony I cannot conceive; but the Kurnai seemed to derive great satisfaction from it, and to think it very powerful in infusing manly virtues into the boys. It is supposed to have the effect of putting them to some kind of magic sleep, not like the ordinary sleep of mankind, from which they may waken into manhood.

About midnight the old woman gave the signal for rest by ceasing her march, and subsiding into her opossum rug by her fire. The women all followed her example, the men lay down round their fire, and all were soon asleep. Just before dawn the old Headman woke, and called out to the *Gweraeil-Rukut* to rouse the women. Very soon the proceedings recommenced just where they left off the night before. The slow marching round to the monotonous beating of the rods, and the cries of "*Yiirung! Yiirung! Yeh!*" went on for about half-an-hour, when the women ceased, leaving the men standing in a crowd at the feet of the prostrate, motionless *Tutnurring*, still beating their rods to the same old song, and invoking *Yiirung*, the "men's brother," for the last time.

The *Tutnurring* had been put to sleep the night before as boys; they were now to be awakened from their sleep as men. In order that this should be done in a proper manner, the old Headman and the "doctor"[1] took it in hand.

The women left the *Jeraeil* ground, and went to the camp; for the ceremonies which are now held are those at which it is unlawful for the women or the uninitiated to be present. At these, the women are told, *Tundun* himself comes down to make the boys into men; and they are assured, and so far as I know they believe, that were they to be present, or even to see or hear what goes on, he would kill them. So strong is this feeling against the women knowing anything of the secret rites that, even now, after

Krauun after this ceremony until she married, when it was discarded. I believe that *Djiitgun*, the female totem, the "women's sister," ought also to have been invoked during the marching round. I noticed its omission, but neglected at the time to inquire the reason, and I have not since had a chance of so doing.

[1] *Mulla-mullung* is the blackfellow doctor, the medicine-man.

nearly half a century of occupation of Gippsland by the white men, one of the Headmen said to me, "If a woman were to see these things or hear what we tell the boys, I would kill her." Whether this would now be really done I cannot say—perhaps not—but it might be, and I am certain that, at the time, the old man meant what he said.

The two Headmen, and the *Mulla-mullung*, who by virtue of his office had, in addition to the charcoal powder, a band of white drawn across his face from ear to ear, now began to uncover the *Tutnurring* at one end of the row. He seemed to be in a deep sleep; and the old men, raising him up into a sitting posture, made curious grunting noises, for the purpose, as one of them told me afterwards, of wakening him. He, being placed sitting on the couch of leaves in front of the fire, had his blanket drawn over his shoulders and head like a hood. In this manner all the boys were roused up, and seated in a row, having then additional rugs drawn over them all, so as to screen them from the cold. These boys, having lived so much among the whites, were thought by the old men to have departed too much from the good old ancestral virtues, and it was therefore necessary that the white man's influence should, if possible, be counteracted. It was thought that the lads had become selfish, and no longer willing to share that which they obtained by their own exertions, or had given to them, with their friends. The boys being all seated in a row, at each end of which was one of the Headmen, the doctor proceeded to exercise his magical functions. He stooped over the first boy, and muttering some words which I could not catch, he kneaded the lad's stomach with his hands. This he did to each one successively, and by it the Kurnai supposed the "greediness" of the youth would be expelled.

It is at this time that the *Tutnurring* are invested with the belt of manhood,[1] the kilt,[2] the armlets,[3] forehead-band,[4] nose-peg,[5] necklace,[6] in fact with the full male dress.

From this time the youths are constantly supervised and

[1] *Barun.* [3] *Piboro.* [5] *Gumbart.*
[2] *Bridda-bridda.* [4] *Jimbrin.* [6] *Takwai.*

instructed by two of the *Bullawangs*, all of whom take this duty in turn. A camp is formed in which the *Tutnurring* sit, or sleep, and which they are not allowed to leave unless accompanied by a *Bullawang*. So strictly are the novices looked after and drilled, even as to the manner in which they are to sit in their camp, "covered with their blankets like men, and not behaving like boys," that an old man of the now almost extinct Wurunjerri tribe, who attended this *Jeraeil* with me, after seeing this going on all day, said confidentially to me, "This one all the same like it Lockup." This part of the ceremonies being satisfactorily concluded, the men went away to their camps to get their breakfasts, to rest and to sleep, or to go out hunting till the afternoon.

During the morning an incident occurred which was very significant of the profound feeling of secrecy in regard to the central mysteries which is felt by the Kurnai. One of the Headmen came to me, and intimated that the old men, before proceeding further, desired to be satisfied that I had in very deed been fully initiated by the Brajerak blackfellows in their *Kuringal*. I caused them all to come to me in the recesses of a thick scrub, far from the possibility of a woman's presence, and I there exhibited to them the bull-roarer, which had been used at the "Brajerak" initiations previously attended by me, and which I had brought back with me. After I had shown them the Murring bull-roarer, I also produced the smaller one of two which are used by the Chepara tribe. They at once pointed out to me, after inspecting it, that there ought to be another, and a larger one; and they seemed much pleased when I informed them that they were correct in their surmise, and that I had both. I also fully satisfied them that I had witnessed all the ceremonies of the *Kuringal*. It was remarkable that, long as the Kurnai had known me, and intimately as I had known some of them, especially the Headman Tulaba, these special secrets of the tribe had been kept carefully concealed from me by all but two, one of whom was now dead, and the other absent from the *Jeraeil*, ostensibly through sickness, but really from consciousness of tribal treachery, and fear of the consequences if it were brought home to him. The

old men were very urgent to know what "wicked man"[1] had betrayed to me the secrets of the *Jeraeil*, and especially of the *Tundun;* but they were silenced, if not satisfied, when I said that the man who first told me was dead.

FIG. 37.—THE TWO BULL-ROARERS OF THE KURNAI TRIBE—(3) IS THE CROSS-SECTION OF (1). ×⅛.

"*Showing the Grandfather.*"[2]—This is the cryptic phrase used to describe the central mystery, which in reality means the exhibition to the novices of the *Tundun*, and the revelation to them of the ancestral beliefs. It is used, for instance, by the *Bullawangs* to their charges, as in telling them "This afternoon we will take you, and show your grandfather to you."

The Kurnai have two bull-roarers, a larger one called "*Tundun*," or "the man," and a smaller one called "*Rukut-Tundun*," the woman, or wife of Tundun. The larger one is also called "Grandfather," *Wehntwin*, or *Muk-brogan*.[3] In this the Kurnai differ from the Murring, who have only one bull-roarer, but they agree with several other Australian tribes. I think, but I cannot be sure, that where two bull-roarers are used, it indicates ceremonies in which the women take a certain part, whereas in tribes where there is only one, as the Murring, the women are totally excluded.

While the novices were thus under tutelage during the

[1] *Dindin* = bad, wicked.

[2] *Wehntwin* = father's father, or father's father's brother.

[3] All those who are initiated at the same *Jeraeil* are *Brogan*, or Comrade, to each other. *Muk-Brogan* is the *Arch-Brogan*, if I may so put it.

day following the sleeping ceremony, and while most of the men were out hunting, the Headmen and several others went away to prepare for the great ceremony of the grandfather. The spot chosen was, as I afterwards ascertained, over 2000 paces distant from the camp of the *Tutnurring*. While sitting there, talking to the *Bullawangs*, I several times heard the peculiar screech of the "woman *Tundun*," when the men who were making them tried one to see if it was satisfactory. When they were ready, about an hour before sunset, word was brought to the *Bullawangs*, who took their charges to the appointed place under the pretext "Let us go for a walk. You must be tired with sitting there all day."

On reaching the place, which was at the edge of an extensive and dense scrub of Ti-tree (*Melaleuca*), with a little open plain of some fifty acres in front, the novices were halted, and made to kneel down in a row, with their blankets drawn closely over their heads, so as to prevent their seeing anything. One of the *Bullawangs* knelt before each, and another stood behind. The principal Headman stood near, holding his throwing-stick in his hand. This being arranged satisfactorily, the ceremony commenced. The second Headman emerged from the scrub at about a hundred and fifty yards' distance, holding his bull-roarer, a "man *Tundun*," in his hand, which he commenced to whirl round, making a dull-sounding roar. The man immediately following him had a "woman *Tundun*"; and in this way sixteen men came slowly forward, each one, as he came into the open, whirling his instrument and adding to the roaring and screeching din. By the time the last man had marched out into the clear ground, the leader had gained a point on the opposite side of the kneeling *Tutnurrings*, and the performers then halted in a semicircle, and produced a finale of discordant sounds. When this ceased, the Headman ordered the novices to stand up, and raise their faces towards the sky. Then, pointing upwards with his spear-thrower, the blanket was pulled off the head of each boy by his *Bullawang*, and the eyes of all the novices being directed to the uplifted throwing-stick, the Headman said, "Look there! Look there! Look there!"

successively pointing first to the sky, then lower, and finally to the *Tundun* men. Two old men now immediately ran from one novice to the other, saying in an earnest manner, "You must never tell this. You must not tell your mother, nor your sister, nor any one who is not *Jeraeil*." In the olden times spears were held pointed at the novices at this juncture, to emphasise the threats that were made, should they reveal the mysteries unlawfully. The old Headman then, in an impressive manner, revealed to the novices the ancestral beliefs, which I condense as follows:—

Long ago there was a great Being, called *Mungan-ngaua*, who lived on the earth, and who taught the Kurnai of that time to make implements, nets, canoes, weapons—in fact, all the arts they know. He also gave them the personal names they bear, such as Tulaba. *Mungan-ngaua* had a son named *Tundun*, who was married, and who is the direct ancestor—(the *Wehntwin*, or father's father)—of the Kurnai. *Mungan-ngaua* instituted the *Jeraeil*, which was conducted by *Tundun*, who made the instruments which bear the names of himself and of his wife.

Some tribal traitor once impiously revealed the secrets of the *Jeraeil* to women, and thereby brought down the anger of *Mungan* upon the Kurnai. He sent fire (the Aurora Australis), which filled the whole space between earth and sky. Men went mad with fear, and speared one another, fathers killing their children, husbands their wives, and brethren each other. Then the sea rushed over the land, and nearly all mankind were drowned. Those who survived became the ancestors of the Kurnai. Some of them turned into animals, birds, reptiles, fishes; and *Tundun* and his wife became porpoises. *Mungan* left the earth, and ascended to the sky, where he still remains.

From that time, say the Kurnai, the knowledge of the *Jeraeil* and its mysteries has been handed down from father to son, together with the penalty for unlawfully revealing them, and for breaking the ordinance of *Mungan*—namely, destruction by his fire, or death at the hands of the men to whom his laws have been transmitted.

The novices, having been thus properly instructed,

were told to take the *Tundun* in hand, and to sound it, which they did with evident reluctance and apprehension.

Before the return to the camp, what is called the "opossum game" was played. A young tree was cut down and trimmed of its branches so as to form a pole about twenty feet long, and perhaps six inches thick at the lower end. This was placed in a hole dug in the ground, a large bunch of leaves being tied to the upper end. It represented a tree, and was held in position by as many men as could get at it, grasping it with one hand, and holding in the other a bundle of leafy twigs. Up this pole one after the other the *Bullawangs* climbed, touching it only with their hands and feet, imitating the actions of opossums, while the men below rustled their bunches of leaves and shouted "*Huh!*" This was supposed to represent an opossum hunt. It is interesting as being the only "animal game" in the *Jeraeil*, and it seems to be introduced without any reason or connection with the other ceremonies. It is, however, noteworthy that the Kurnai say it is done "to amuse the boys," and this is the reason given by the Murring for the performance of their numerous animal games and dances, which, like this one, take place immediately following the "central mystery." I regard this "opossum game" as most probably a survival from a time when the Kurnai had a class-system with numerous totems.

The men all now returned to their camps, and the *Tutnurring* to theirs under the charge of the *Bullawangs*. It was evident, however, that the novices were no longer under such strict supervision as before, they being now in the ranks of men though only so recently admitted.

At about eight o'clock in the evening the *Bullawangs* took their charges, each carrying a *Tundun*, for the purpose, as they put it, of "frightening the women." The women and children are always told that at the secret parts of the *Jeraeil*, *Tundun* himself comes down to "make the boys into men." The hideous sounds which the uninitiated may chance to hear from a distance they are told is *Tundun's* voice, and they are warned not to leave

their camp while he is about, lest he should kill them with his spears.

This "frightening the women" by the *Bullawangs* and the newly-initiated youths is done by walking slowly round the encampment at such a distance that there is no chance of their being seen, or their movements through bushes and over logs being heard by the women and children. They swing their bull-roarers as they go. *Tundun* is thus supposed by the women and children to be walking round the camp before returning to the place whence he came. At the *Jeraeil* I am describing the novices thoroughly entered into the fun of frightening the women; and, having got over their awe of the bull-roarers, they made an outrageous noise with them. The moment the roaring and screeching sounds were heard there was a terrible clamour of cries and screams from the women and children, to the delight of the novices, who now in their turn aided in mystifying the uninitiated. It sometimes happens that during this nocturnal perambulation one of the bull-roarers becomes detached from its string and is thus lost. If, perchance, it is afterwards picked up by a woman or child, their curiosity is satisfied by the statement that it is a "paddle belonging to *Tundun*," which he is supposed to have dropped in returning home. The shape of the bull-roarer is much that of the little bark paddle which the Kurnai use when sitting down in their canoes.

"*Giving the Boys some Frogs.*" — After the revelation of the central mysteries of the *Jeraeil*, the novices being now enrolled among the men, are not kept with such strictness as before. They are allowed to go out in company with their *Bullawangs* to seek for such animals as are permitted them for food; and this occasion is improved by their mentors, who deliver a peripatetic lecture on their lawful and their forbidden foods. When in camp the instruction continues generally as to the duties now devolving upon them by reason of their having reached manhood. I may now, as at a convenient time, notice what these rules of conduct are—the principal ones at least, for to enumerate them all would require an essay on the tribal and social life of the Kurnai. The youths are instructed:

1. To listen to and obey the old men.
2. To share everything they have with their friends.
3. To live peaceably with their friends.
4. Not to interfere with girls or married women.
5. To obey the food restrictions, until they are released from them by the old men.

Some of the rules which I heard impressed upon the *Tutnurring* are curious. They were not to use the right hand for anything, unless told to do so by the *Bullawang*. A breach of this rule, they were informed, would certainly cause *Gumil*, that is to say, some magical substance, such as *Bulk*, to get into the offending member, which would require the "doctor" to extract it. They were cautioned not to go near an enceinte woman, nor to let a woman's shadow fall across them, nor to permit a woman to make bread[1] for them, under the certainty that such acts would cause them to become "thin, lazy, and stupid." But a woman might cook an opossum for the novice, provided it were a male and the entrails had been extracted before she touched it.

The rules as to food animals are as follows: The novice may not eat the female of any animal, nor the emu, the porcupine, the conger-eel,[2] nor the spiny ant-eater;[3] but he may eat the males of the common opossum, the ringtail opossum, the rock wallaby, the small scrub wallaby, the bush-rat, the bandicoot, the rabbit-rat,[4] the brushtail,[5] and the flying-mouse. He becomes free of the flesh of the forbidden animals by degrees. This freedom is given him by one of the old men suddenly and unexpectedly smearing some of the cooked fat over his face.[6] The novice must not eat wattle-gum until some of the old men cook and give it to him. This is done soon after the ceremonies,

[1] This prohibition as to bread had been transferred from the prohibition as to the *Dura*, which was formerly much used, and which was cooked by baking in the ashes. [2] Noyang. [3] Kauern. [4] *Perameles lagotis*.

[5] *Phascologale penicillata*.

[6] One of the men attending this *Jeraeil* had never yet been made free of some food animal, I forget which, but it was the eating of which, for some reason or other, he believed would be injurious to him. Being very strong and active and always on his guard, he had managed to escape whenever the old men had tried to smear his face with its fat.

and indeed when in poor country the food rules are soon relaxed, as, for instance, at Lake Tyers, where flesh food is somewhat scarce. In what manner the *Tutnurring* become free to eat the flesh of the "old man kangaroo" I shall presently show.

The next stage after "Showing the Grandfather" is called "Giving the *Tutnurring* some *Frogs*." This is a cryptic way of referring, under the name of "Frogs," which are swamp-dwellers, to the *Dura*,[1] a food plant which grows abundantly in the lagoons and swamps of Gippsland. In this ceremony the women again take a prominent part. But the novices are now with the men, and not, as at first, together with the *Krauun*, under the direction of their mothers.

In preparation of this ceremony the women have gathered some of the rhizomes of the *Dura*, and baked them in the ashes as usual when preparing them for food. The *Tutnurring* having been painted by their guardians, each one with a band of red ochre down each side of the nose, were told to "come and eat some frogs." They were taken to the open space in the *Jeraeil* ground, and there placed in a row, the *Bullawangs* and other men being grouped behind them, holding branches in their hands. The women then came from the main camp, bringing with them the *Krauun*, whom they placed in a row facing the novices, but about a hundred and fifty yards distant from them. The mothers and the other women stood behind. Each *Krauun* held in her hands a pole about ten feet long, at the end of which was tied a bunch of the cooked rhizomes of the *Dura*. They shouted, "Come here, and we will give you your food." Each novice had been placed fronting his *Krauun*, and being instructed what to do, ran forward, seized the *Dura*, and throwing it down on the ground, ran back to the *Jeraeil* camp at the top of his speed. The men, who had raised shouts of "*Huh!*" and rustled their boughs, opened their ranks to let the *Tutnurring* through, and then followed them, shouting, to the camp. One of the *Bullawangs*, who had been told off for the purpose, gathered up the *Dura*, and

[1] *Typha angustifolia.*

brought it to the *Jeraeil* ground, where it was divided, and eaten by all present. The women returned to their camp.

"*Seeing the Ghosts.*"—At this stage the *Tutnurring* are told to come and see the *Mrart* (ghosts). For this ceremony it is necessary to procure a large "old-man kangaroo." At the *Jeraeil* which I am describing, two days were fruitlessly spent by almost all the men ranging over miles of country in search of the wanted *Brangula jira.*[1] I found out afterwards that all the "old men" had been shot for their skins by a party of kangaroo hunters (white men) who had been encamped for some time at a place near by. The *Jeraeil* therefore came to a standstill, until one genius suggested that a male wallaby should be substituted. The old men having approved, the difficulty was got over. This *Brangula*, having been shot and roasted, was cut up, and the pieces were laid on the top of a large fallen tree at a little distance from, but within hearing of, the camp, where the novices were still under the careful tuition of their guardians. When all was prepared, the men began to shout, as if driving game, to beat the logs and tree-stems with clubs and tomahawk-heads, and in fact to represent a "kangaroo drive." The *Tutnurring* being carefully shrouded in their blankets, were told to come and see where "the ghosts had caught a kangaroo." On reaching the spot where the men were still imitating the driving of game, the novices were placed in a row close to the log on which the game was displayed. The noise now ceased, and the Headman, holding his throwing-stick pointing to the sky, told them to look up; and their blankets being thrown off, he pointed successively three times to the sky, to the horizon, and to the meat on the log, saying, "Look there! Look there! Look there!"

The novices were now seated on the log, each one having a pile of meat beside him. The Headman gave some of this to them, and the rest was eaten up by the other men.[2]

[1] *Brangula*, "male"; *jira*, "kangaroo."

[2] This may perhaps be a survival of former ceremonies of totemism.

In this way the youths were made for ever free of the flesh of the kangaroo. It was explained to me that this ceremony is a most important one; for, were it not carried out, the youth would never be able lawfully to eat the flesh of the male kangaroo, as the necessary qualification can be acquired in no other way than by eating the flesh in common with all the men who are present at the *Jeraeil*.

After this the boys were dressed as men, with a red forehead-band, a nose-peg, reed necklace, armlets, and with their faces marked with *naial*—that is, red ochre.

The Water Ceremony.—After the "ghosts" had killed and eaten their kangaroo, the novices retired in company with their *Bullawangs* and some other men. All the rest of the people also left the camp, and went by another route to the place where the final ceremony was to take place. This ceremony is public; and not only are the women present, but the novices also, who, after it, become *Jeraeil*, and no longer *Tutnurring*, stop in the young men's camp[1] for the day, or until their guardians are ready to take them away.

FIG. 38.—TUTNURRING, SHOWING CHARACTERISTIC MARKING.

This final rite, which is the termination of the *Jeraeil*, was on the banks of a rather deep dry creek, running through the level country near the Thompson River. The mothers of the novices stood in the bed of the dry creek, each having a vessel full of water before her on the ground. The novices had encamped the night before some miles away

[1] The young men (*Brewit*) and the married men who have not their wives with them always encamp together at some distance from the camps of the married men.

down the river, and now, being led by their *Bullawangs*, followed up the winding bed of the creek in single file, and out of sight, until within a hundred yards of where the mothers stood. As they came up, each woman stooped to drink, and her son splashed the water over her with a stick which he held in his hand. She, appearing enraged, filled her mouth with water several times, and squirted it over his face and head. The novices then walked off to the young men's camp, and the women went to their own. One of them was crying at the loss of her son.

Though the "Water Ceremony" ends the *Jeraeil*, it does not terminate the probation which the youths have to undergo. They must spend a time, which may be of months' duration, away from their friends under the charge of their *Bullawangs* in the bush. In short, they must remain away gaining their own living, learning lessons of self-control, and being instructed in the manly duties of the Kurnai, until the old men are satisfied that they are sufficiently broken in to obedience, and may be trusted to return to the community. In the present instance, the old men had determined at the *Jeraeil* that the novices should remain at least a month away, for the reason that, as they expressed it, having been so much with the whites the lads had "gone wild." However, I have heard since that they relented, and permitted the youths to return at an earlier date. Under the strict rules of the olden time this would not have been the case. An old man said to me, "It is not much use forbidding them to eat things. They can get plenty of food—the *Jeraeil* has nothing to do with beef and damper."

The particulars given in this chapter as to the initiation ceremonies of the tribes of the south-eastern quarter of Australia, although scanty and incomplete in many cases, will suffice to show with sufficient clearness the principles on which they rest, and the procedure by which they are carried out.

Four principal forms of the ceremonies may be distinguished: the *Kuringal* of the tribes of the south coast of New South Wales; the *Burbung* of the Wiradjuri of

western New South Wales; the *Bora* of the Kamilaroi tribes; and the *Dora* ceremonies of the tribes of the south-eastern part of Queensland. In addition to them, there are to be appended the initiation ceremonies of the tribes who occupied the western parts of Victoria, and the *Jeraeil* ceremonies of the Kurnai of Gippsland. These ceremonies all exhibit principles common to all, but vary in the manner in which those principles are carried out. Those which are referable to the *Jibauk* of the Wurunjerri are probably survivals of ceremonies derived from tribes such as the Wiradjuri. The *Jeraeil* was probably brought by the primitive ancestors of the Kurnai, when they occupied Gippsland, from the west, that is, by the early Kulin ancestors.

It will be seen that the *Kuringal*, in its form as the *Bunan*, is almost identical with the *Burbung*, and apparently more or less so with the ceremonies of tribes situated between the coast and the Great Dividing Range as far north as Port Macquarie. This gives an extent of some four hundred and fifty miles along the coast-line of New South Wales. The *Burbung*, in its slightly varied forms, extends from near the junction of the Murray and the Darling Rivers northwards to the farthest waters of the Macquarie River, some three hundred and fifty miles, and eastward to the western bounds of the Kamilaroi tribes, some three hundred miles. These latter, with kindred tribes such as the Wollaroi, Unghi, and Bigambul, extend from the sources of the Hunter River northwards, between the Wiradjuri and the coast tribes, into Queensland, at least as far as the Condamine River, a distance approaching three hundred miles. These collectively form what may be termed the south-eastern type of the Australian ceremonies of initiation.

The intention of the ceremonies is evidently to make the youths of the tribe worthy members of the community, according to their lights. Certain principles are impressed upon them for their guidance during life—for instance, to listen to and obey the old men; to generously share the fruits of the chase with others, especially with their kindred;

not to interfere with the women of the tribe, particularly those who are related to them, nor to injure their kindred, in its widest sense, by means of evil magic. Before the novice is permitted to take his place in the community, marry, and join in its councils, he must possess those qualifications which will enable him to act for the common welfare.

As a hunter he is sent into the bush to find his own living, often for several months, and, under the prohibitions as to certain food animals which are imposed upon him, he is practically placed in a state of privation, while being possibly surrounded by plentiful but forbidden food.

The qualifications of the young men are tested in some tribes, especially those of Southern Queensland, by a ceremonial combat in which they take part.

The extraordinary restrictive powers of the food rules, and the powerful effect of the teaching at the ceremonies, has been shown in cases known to me by the serious and even fatal effects, produced by what one must call conscience, in novices who had broken the rules and eaten of forbidden food.

All those who have had to do with the native race in its primitive state will agree with me that there are men in the tribes who have tried to live up to the standard of tribal morality, and who were faithful friends and true to their word; in fact men for whom, although savages, one must feel a kindly respect. Such men are not to be found in the later generation, which has grown up under our civilisation, and is rapidly being exterminated by it.

In the ceremonies mentioned, with few exceptions, there is a similar mode of assembling the meeting for initiation, the making of a circular earthen mound, the removal of the boys from their mothers' control, the knocking out of the tooth, the investment in some tribes of the novice with a man's attire, the formation of a new camp by the women, and the showing of the boy to his mother, with the severance of her control over him by a formal act, and finally the period of probation under severe conditions. I have else-

where referred to the belief inculcated as to the existence of a great supernatural anthropomorphic Being, by whom the ceremonies were first instituted, and who still communicates with mankind through the medicine-men, his servants.

All this is more or less clearly shown in the ceremonies in Victoria and New South Wales, but less so in those of Queensland, where the food rules, for instance, seem to be made with the object of providing a plentiful and superior supply of food for the old men, and not, as in the before-mentioned tribes, to inculcate discipline, under which the novices are placed. Yet they also act in the same direction in making the participation in the better class of food dependent on age. Whether the rule of the Queensland tribes, or of those of New South Wales and Victoria, is the older one, is a difficult question to answer. In my opinion the former is probably the older, for it seems to be most likely that where the old men have the power to do so, they will impose rules which favour themselves, leaving the disciplinary rule to be the secondary object.

The universality of the practice that the guardians of the novice are of the relation to him of sister's husband, or wife's brother, is clearly connected with the almost universal practice of betrothal, and exchange of sister for sister, in marriage. As, moreover, the boy is initiated by the men of the intermarrying moiety of the tribe other than his own, those men of the group from which his future wife must come are naturally suggested as his guardians and preceptors in the ceremonies. Their selection would be acceptable to both moieties, that to which the novice belongs, and that from which his wife must come. As, moreover, the relation of *Kabo*, to use the Yuin term of relationship, is not merely an individual, but a group of men, the arrangement would have the strength of numbers, and a strong kindred behind it. Thus the novice, who is taken from the protection of his own kindred during the ceremonies, is placed in that of the kindred of his future wife, whose interest it is that no harm shall come to him.

One of the causes which act strongly in producing

uniformity of belief and of practice, is the fact that men come from a wide radius of country to the ceremonies, under what may be called a ceremonial armistice. The component parts of the several tribes which thus meet together are each, in their furthest limits, in contact with still more distant tribes, with whom they intermarry. I have referred to instances of a contingent from a distant locality being accompanied by people of another tribe, friendly to them, but strangers to the tribe which has convened the ceremonies. It is certain that in each contingent there will be leading men, probably medicine-men, who will take part with their fellows in the ceremonies they have come to see. When they return, they carry with them the sacred mysteries of this tribe, and will be able to introduce such new beliefs or procedure as may have recommended itself to them, and they may on their part have contributed something to those they visited. The effect of this intercourse, even if slight, must be to produce uniformity in the procedure of the ceremonies; and the period during which this may have been going on is not to be measured in years, that is, in view of the long-continuing isolation of the Australian aborigines, from any material outside influence. The fact that the ceremonies are the same in principle, even where they vary in practice, seems to me to strongly confirm the theory which I have suggested.

Such are the views which I have formed as to the initiation ceremonies of the eastern type. In the next chapter I shall consider those which form the western type. For the present I may point out the apparent range of the several classes of ceremonies, which constitute the two types, namely, those which have the rites of circumcision, with or without subincision, and those which are without them.

(1) Ceremonies like the *Kuringal*, *Burbung*, and *Bora*, which are characterised by the removal of a tooth, obtain in the extreme south-eastern part of the continent.

(2) The *Dora* ceremonies of the Maryborough (Queensland) tribes apparently indicate the character of those of the north-east part of Australia.

(3) To the westward of these are ceremonies which, like those of the Dieri, are marked by circumcision and sub-incision.

These latter may possibly extend over the greater part, if not the whole, of the western half of the continent.

CHAPTER X

INITIATION CEREMONIES, WESTERN TYPE

Location of the two types—The Kadri-pariwilpa-ulu, a Dieri legend—The Malku-malku-ulu, a Ngameni legend—The Yuri-ulu, a Urabunna legend—The Dieri ceremonies—The Karaweli-wonkana—Giving the "Man's name"—The Wilyaru ceremony—The Kulpi ceremony—The Wilpadrina ceremony—The rites of the coast tribes—The Yerkla-mining—The Parnkalla—The Warrara ceremony—The Pardnappa ceremony—The Wilyalkinyi ceremony—The Narrang-ga ceremonies—The ceremonies at Encounter Bay—The Narrinyeri ceremonies—Ceremonies of the Itchumundi—Comparison of the eastern and western ceremonies.

LOCATION OF THE TWO TYPES

FOR convenience I have taken a line, drawn from the mouth of the Murray River to the most southern part of the Gulf of Carpentaria, as defining the common boundary of the eastern and western types of initiation ceremonies. There are, however, between those of the *Bora* and those of the Dieri ceremonies which have a resemblance to both, but are more like those of the western type, and are therefore taken with them.

THE BANAPA AND BIDA TRIBES

A line drawn about east and west, some three hundred miles from Adelaide to the north, will separate the tribes who are circumcised from those who are both circumcised and subincised. The former are called Banapa, that is, circumcised, and the latter Bida, being both circumcised and subincised. The Bida are to the north of the said line. There also a marked change takes place in the language.

South of it the words *Kadla*, "fire"; *Kaui*, "water"; *Kadna*, "stone"; and *Kukanaui*, "watercourse," are pronounced as written, but from the above line northwards, the initial K before the vowel is dropped, and the words change to *Adla*, *Aui*, *Adna*, and *Ukana*.

The tribes on each side of this line are friendly, and when any mischief is in contemplation, they join in carrying it out.

The Banapa blacks are usually circumcised when about twelve years old. The operator seizes the prepuce with a kind of forceps, and then cuts off a part with a very sharp piece of flint. He puts the detached piece in his mouth, and then throws it to some of the other men. My informant did not know what was ultimately done with it. When approaching manhood, they are seized, and the urethra is slit down for about an inch. This is done by inserting a rounded piece of bone, and cutting down to it, with a sharp piece of flint, called *Yudla*. The Bidas look on themselves as being superior in race to the Banapas.[1]

The blacks here spoken of as Bidas evidently are part of that great section of the tribes which have the class names Matteri and Kararu, and which as the Parnkalla extend from Port Lincoln to beyond Port Augusta.

They are therefore connected with the Lake Eyre tribes, and I commence my description of the ceremonies of the western type with those of the Dieri tribe. These ceremonies are illustrated by legends, which are repeated at the ceremonies, and form the precedents for ceremonial procedure and practice. They purport to give an account of the origin of the ceremonies, and of the Mura-muras who established them. If you ask a Dieri, "Why do you do this?" he will reply, "Our Mura-muras did so," which is a final and conclusive answer.

The following legends have been obtained for me by the Rev. Otto Siebert, not only from the Dieri, but also from other tribes both to the north and south of them.

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay.

THE KADRI-PARIWILPA-ULU.[1] A LEGEND OF THE YAURORKA, YANTRUWUNTA, AND EASTERN DIERI

Two Mura-mura youths called *Kadri-pariwilpa-ulu* were out hunting pelicans at Peri-gundi.[2] They crept alongside the creek and threw their boomerangs at one which was swimming about. The right-hand one struck his mark, but the boomerang of the other flew wide, and as they were wading into the water to secure their prey, the boomerang swept past them, almost striking one of them on its return. The young men were determined to catch it on its next swoop, but its strength was such that they feared that no mere arm would be able to stop it. Then they procured a tree-stem, by which to arrest it in its next flight. It cut the tree-stem in two and, losing its power, fell into the water. One of the two young men dived for it, but struck against the boomerang, which was stuck in the bottom, and which had become sharpened and pointed by its flight through the air. Thus it circumcised him, and on rising out of the water he saw to his great joy that he had now become a perfected man. He secretly informed his companion of what had happened to him; and he also, diving for the boomerang, was likewise circumcised. Both boys said to each other, "What has happened to us, for we are now no longer boys, but men?" Being rejoiced at what had befallen them, they thought of their father, who, while they had become men, still remained a mere boy. They determined to make a man of him, and having provided themselves with a *Tula*,[3] they crept up to him while he slept in his camp, and circumcised him. The great loss of blood weakened him, and as he, notwithstanding the unhealed wound, continued to have access to his wife, *Mira*[4] came on and he died.

[1] *Kadri* in Yaurorka, or *Kaiari* in Dieri, is "river-course," or "creek"; *Wilpa* is the sky; *Ulu* is the dual form, "both." *Kadri-pariwilpa-ulu* is also the name of the Milky Way.

[2] *Peri-gundi* is a crooked, twisted place. *Peri* is a spot or place; *gundi*, or more properly *Kunti*, is "crooked" or "twisted." Lake Buchanan.

[3] *Tula* is the word for a flint knife used for circumcision, but is used also for any sharp flint used for cutting.

[4] *Mira* is "inflammation." This shows that while the Dieri attribute most deaths to evil magic, by "some one giving the bone," they also admit other

As soon as they had circumcised their father, they set out on their journey, everywhere circumcising youths and men. Coming to *Kunauana*[1] they found a number of people who had collected to circumcise some young men by means of fire. They approached quietly, and then, suddenly springing forward, they circumcised the youths with their *Tula* before the men knew what was being done. Seeking for those who had performed the operation so skilfully, and seeing the two Mura-muras enveloped in a mist, they shouted out, "*Kadri-pariwilpa-ulu.*" These now came forward, and showing the *Tula* to them, said, "In future make your boys into men with this, instead of using fire, which has caused the death of many; thus they will all remain living, for '*Turu nari ya tula tepi.*'"[2] Turning to the youths whom they had circumcised, they admonished them not to have access to women, or even to be seen by them, while their wounds were unhealed, nor to show their wounds to any one, otherwise they would certainly die.

The two Mura-muras wandered through all the land, carrying the *Tula* everywhere for circumcision, and were everywhere honoured as the benefactors of mankind.

THE MALKU-MALKU-ULU.[3] A LEGEND OF THE KARANGURU AND NGAMENI

A large number of people had assembled at Tuntchara,[4] for the circumcision ceremony, at which there was an old Mura-mura who had provided *Palyara*[5] for food, and who rejoiced over the sweet smell thereof as it was being cooked. In the evening, as they sat round the fire, singing the

causes. They say that long ago a great sickness came from the north and killed so many that when they woke in the morning one was alive and the other dead.

[1] Properly, *Kudna-ngauana*, from *Kudna*, "filth," "excrement," and *ngaua*, "light."

[2] That is, "Fire is death, and the stone is life."

[3] This is a Ngameni word, the Dieri equivalent being *Tippa-tippa-ulu*, meaning "the two with the *Tippa*," that is, a pubic tassel, made from the tails of the *Kapita*, the native rabbit (*Peragale lagotis*), and worn by the men for decency.

[4] This Ngameni and Karanguru word means "powdered human bones," and refers to a number of bones which are said to have accumulated there, by reason of deaths through the use of fire in circumcision.

[5] This is the long-snouted marsupial rat.

Malkara[1] song, the old Mura-mura scattered the fire about, so that all those who were sitting round it were burned by the hot coals. After a painful night, the men at early dawn were painting themselves for the ceremony, and the six young men who were to be initiated were brought forward.[2] For each youth four men placed themselves so that their bodies were bent outwards. On these men the youth was laid, and in this manner two of them were circumcised by means of the fire-stick. Then the *Malku-malku-ulu* came up, and instantly rushing forwards circumcised the four other boys with their stone knife before the people knew what they were doing, thus saving the former from imminent death. Then going to the astonished men they presented their stone knife to the *Woningaperi*,[3] and told them to use it in future, and thus preserve their boys from death.

Having done this, the Malku-malku-ulu went onwards, and at Kutchi-wirina[4] they saw, at a little distance from them, a *Kutchi* in human form suddenly disappear into the ground. In alarm they altered their former course and went in another direction.

Decked with the *Tippa-tippa*, the young Mura-muras[5] wandered onwards, hunting and seeking food as they travelled, killing a *Kapita* in one place, and in another finding a tract covered with *Manyura*,[6] on which they feasted. After resting here for some time, they travelled farther and found a kangaroo lair at Chukuro-wola.[7] Thinking that there might be a kangaroo in it, the one who had sharpest sight threw his spear into it, then also the spear of his comrade, who was one-eyed, but failed to

[1] *Malkara* is the word for the songs sung at these ceremonies.

[2] This description of the procedure at the ceremony of circumcision is part of the legend. For every custom and rite there is an equivalent in a Mura-mura legend. If, for instance, one asks a Dieri, "Why do you have this custom?" the reply is, "Our Mura-muras had that custom too, so we must follow them."

[3] *Woningaperi* is the equivalent of the Arunta *Atwia-atwia*, mentioned by Spencer and Gillen, p. 647. He is the man who performs the rite of circumcision.

[4] *Kutchi* is a spirit of the dead, a ghost; *wirina* is "to go in."

[5] Only the circumcised men can wear the *Tippa*. It is not only worn for decency, but is also by the men of the Pinya fastened to their beards. These, to show their anger, put the end of the *Tippa* in their mouths and bite it.

[6] *Manyura* is the *Claytonia Ballonensis*. (*Narrative of the Horn Exped.*)

[7] *Chukuro* is in Ngameni "kangaroo," and *wola* is "nest" or "lair."

find anything in the place. Immediately afterwards they found a lace-lizard, which they carried with them until it became stinking, and black on the under side. As they still wandered on they came to a large tract of country well covered with rushes, from which they made bags in which to carry their things. Then marching on they saw a kangaroo, at which the sharp-sighted one threw a spear, and then another, without hitting it. Then he threw all his companion's spears but one, which the latter had kept in his hand, who, then throwing it, killed the kangaroo, which they carried till they came to a place where they found water. Here they rested for a time; then lifting the kangaroo from the ground, and each holding it by one leg, they swung it round their heads, singing :—

Mina	*yundru*	*tayila*	*nganai*
What	thou	eat	wilt?
Tiuba-tiuba-tiuba	*yundru*	*tayila*	*nganai*
Tiuba[1]	thou	eat	wilt
Manakata-kata	*yundru*	*tayila*	*nganai*
Manakata-kata	thou	eat	wilt

Then they laid it on the ground; but no sooner had they done so than it jumped up and hopped away so swiftly that they could not overtake it. Before long, however, they killed another kangaroo. The one who had good sight sent the one-eyed one to fetch a *Tula* (stone-knife) so that he could flay off the skin. While he was seeking for a *Tula* the other began to remove the pelt. When the one-eyed man returned with the *Tula* the other replaced the skin over the carcase and pretended to try the *Tula* on it; then, saying that it was too blunt, he sent him to Antiritcha[2] to bring back a new one. During his absence he hastily skinned the kangaroo down to the hind legs, and when the other returned from Antiritcha and offered him the new *Tula*, he said, "Skin the kangaroo with it yourself." Beginning to do this, the one-eyed man found that the skin was

[1] *Tiuba-tiuba* and *manakata-kata* are both lizards.

[2] After careful inquiries, it seems that Antiritcha must be supposed to be a hill or mountain, on the upper waters of the Finke River, probably in the M'Donnell Ranges.

quite loose, and said, "Why have you cheated me in this way by almost removing the skin?" "Do not be angry with me," said the other, "I only wished to have a joke with you, and surprise you with an almost skinned pelt."

Having completed the skinning, they fastened the edges of the skin to the ground, and raised up the middle, thus forming the sky. Having done this, they said with satisfaction, "Now from this time people can walk upright, and need not hide themselves for fear of the sky falling."[1]

Pleased with their work, they turned homewards, and coming to a good pool of water, one jumped in, saying, "Let us bathe ourselves here," but in striking the water it made a cut, which caused subincision. When he showed this to his companion, the latter at once jumped into the water, and he also became subincised. Looking at himself, he said, "Now I indeed am a complete man, but it hurts me."

Having conferred on mankind the use of the *Tula*, they now introduced the *Dirpa*,[2] so that by it a young man becomes a completed man.

The Malku-malku-ulu are the benefactors of mankind, and it is said that they still live, and are even sometimes seen. They wander about invisibly, to relieve the distress of others. They carry lost children to their camp, and care for them till they are found by their friends. Such is the legend as told at the ceremonies.

The southern Dieri say that the Malku-malku-ulu wander far to the north of their country, and that their camps can be recognised by the luxuriant growth of the *Moku*,[3] a plant the fruit of which no one may eat, because it is the especial food of the Malku-malku-ulu.

One of these camps is said to be at Narrani,[4] not far from Cattle Lagoon on the Birdsville road. This place is celebrated, among the tribes, because it was where the Malku-malku-ulu left their shields when they commenced their

[1] The belief is that the sky was fastened down to the earth, and that mankind could not walk about freely.

[2] *Dirpa* is subincision, in Dieri called *kulpi*.

[3] Probably the *Cucumis trigonus*, Linn.

[4] *Narra* is an abbreviation of the Yaurorka word *Narrangama*, which is a shield, in the Dieri called *Pirha mara*.

wanderings; for, being the benefactors of mankind, they did not need any weapons. But the original site of their home is said to be Antiritcha, where lives Atarurpa. Who this was I have been so far unable to ascertain.

THE YURI-ULU. A LEGEND OF THE URABUNNA, KUYANI, AND SOUTHERN TRIBES

The Yuri-ulu travelled, coming from the north, through all the land, bringing in the use of the *Tula* in circumcision. Thus they came to the Beltana country, at a time when a youth was about to be made into a man. When the men were going to burn him with fire, the Yuri-ulu went into the earth, the one on his right and the other on his left, waiting for the moment when they could help him. When a man approached with a red-hot fire-stick to perform the operation, the two Yuri-ulu rose out of the earth, and instantly cutting off the foreskin with their *Tula*, sank back into the ground invisibly. The men who were present were astonished at the fresh wound, and saw that the boy had been circumcised. They questioned each other as to who had done it, but no one could say. The feeling was such, that they began to say to each other, "Didst thou do this? or thou? or who?" and to grasp their weapons, when he who was about to have done the operation said that he would find out the cause. Seating himself on the ground, and striking it with a club, he sang continuously that he who had circumcised the boy should come forth. Then the Yuri-ulu rose out of the earth biting their long beards, and each holding a *Tula* in his hand before him.

Then, properly painted and adorned, they danced, and having given the *Tula* to the men, whom they admonished as if they had been youths, they disappeared, followed by the praises of the assembled men.

After showing themselves in many places as life-givers, they turned back, and at Katitandra,[1] one went west, and the other went east and northwards, bringing the *Tula* to every tribe.

[1] Katitandra is Lake Eyre.

Thus they still wander, showing themselves at times as living, and as life-givers.

The following legend does not seem to have any direct connection with the last, but speaks of the Yuri-ulu as being boys who had not yet been circumcised, while in the other legend it speaks of them as being the originators of the practice. This is remarkable, because while the last legend belongs to the Urabunna, this one belongs to their neighbours, the Wonkanguru.

An old blind widower lived at Mararu[1] with his two sons the Yuri-ulu, who from their early youth had to provide him with food. As they grew older they went farther afield hunting, and delighted to kill young birds with the boomerang, and to cook them for their father when they returned in the evening to their camp. One evening on returning they observed that an old man had come to the camp, and had seated himself close to them. They informed their father, and he told them to call the stranger. They did so, but received no answer, and even when they went to him and invited him to come to their father, he still remained silent. Not troubling themselves more about him, they ate their food, and darkness having come on, they lay down and slept. In the early morning the boys went out hunting, and then the stranger, after having warmed his hands at the fire to strengthen himself, seized the blind man, wrestled with him, struggled with him, struck him on the face and breast, and scratched his face with his nails till the blood came. Then taking a piece of wood he scraped the blood off. By the struggling and the scratching the dimness of the old man's eyes had been removed, so that he could see better than before. As the stranger had done to him, so he now did to the stranger—struck him and scratched him, until the blood came, which he wiped off, and then recognised the stranger as his *Kami*. After they had recognised each other as *Kami-mara*,

[1] *Mararu* is to complete with the hand, to strike the *pirha*, that is, to strike the upturned wooden bowl, in a dance. *Mara* is the hand, and *ru* is the Wonkanguru causative termination, which in the Dieri is *li*, as *mararu*, *marali*. The place *Mararu* is said by our Wonkanguru informant to be not far from Birdsville, in a south-westerly direction.

[2] *Kami-mara* is the relation which a man bears to all those who are the

they sat down together, and the stranger told him that he had come to consult with him as to the circumcision of his sons. The two having decided that the boys should be circumcised, they commenced their preparations. Stone axes were sharpened, *Kandri*[1] melted, *Ngulyi*[2] collected, and the axes fastened afresh to their hafts with them. The boys were sent out early next morning to hunt, and to be out of the way while the old men were at work, so as not to see what they were doing. The old men went to a place where there was a Pirha,[3] that is, a great tree, which they cut down, separated a piece of the stem, and having taken off the bark, hollowed out the inside to make a great Pirha. Then they placed it in moist earth to soften, and kept its sides apart till it became cool.

The following morning they ornamented its sides with longitudinal markings, and, laying it on its back, the stranger struck it with his open hand. Listening, but hearing no reply, he struck it again harder, and there was an echo, which they thought was a reply by the women at a distance.

Early on the following morning, while the boys still slept, the stranger started homewards to Minka-kadi,[4] to call together the people for the ceremony at which the boys were to be circumcised. After a time he returned with them, bringing with him his two daughters, who, as he and his *Kami-mara* had agreed, should be the wives of the two boys.

Then while the two boys were out hunting, there was held a meeting of the old men, at which they consulted as to the manner of the ceremony. Towards evening, when the boys returned, a number of men were lying in wait for

children of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister. It is remarkable that in this legend the "fathers-in-law" are *kami-mara*, while with the Wonkanguru, as among the Dieri, it is the mothers-in-law who must be in that relation. Possibly the explanation may be that this legend had its origin in a tribe farther to the north, which like the Arunta has descent counted in the male line.

[1] *Kandri* is a cementing gum prepared from the *mindri* plant.

[2] *Ngulyi* is the kino of a Eucalypt.

[3] *Pirha* is a bowl, cut out of a block of wood. These natives speak of a thing as being already completed when they have the material ready. Thus a Dieri will say, when he has found a tree suitable for a pirha, "Nauda ngakani pirha," that is my pirha, and similarly as to things such as weapons. In the Waramunga tribe this bowl is called Pitchi.

[4] *Minka-kadi* is a hole or cave, of which there are said to be many, in the district to the east of Mararu.

them, and two who were *Kami* and *Kadi*[1] to them, respectively, sprang forwards and laid their hand on their mouths, as a sign that they should not thenceforward speak to any but themselves during the ceremonies. Then they took them apart to a place, where they built a break-wind (*Katu*), and taught them the Kirha song. Early the next day the women and children and the two boys were sent to a distance to hunt, so that the men might hold a council undisturbed. They collected the *Tula*, and selected the good from the bad. Then they decided what presents the boys should give to the *Woningaperi*.

In the evening, when every one had assembled on the ceremonial ground, the Yuri-ulu returned, and, as they approached, a few of the men joined them, then more, until by the time they had reached the ground they were surrounded by a great crowd, not counting the women and children. The *Yuri-ulu* were then taken behind their Katu (break-wind) to be decorated with emu and cockatoo feathers. This having been done, the boys were openly led to the ground, across which they marched. Each one, standing on a Kirha which rested on two spears, and supported by his *Kami*, grasped the Kalti[2] as high up as possible. Thus they remained for some time. Their *Ngandri* (mothers) were sitting in a row which extended from their Katu to the Kalti, having on each side the Katu of one half of the *Ngaperi* (fathers). The seated mothers, one after the other, rose and went to each of the boys, and with her open hands stroked him about the neighbourhood of the navel. When the last one had returned to her place, each boy was carried to his Katu on the back of one of his *Kami*, where his ornaments[3] were taken from him, and

[1] The *Kami* and *Kadi* have charge of the boy during the ceremonies, and lead him away after the operation has been performed. The *Neyi* and the *Kaka* provide food for him and accompany him. Men of these relationships are always chosen who are much older than he, in order that they may instil respect for the laws which they have to impress upon him. *Kadi* is the wife's brother, or the sister's husband, which is the same person. *Neyi* is the elder brother, *Kaka* is the mother's brother. It must be borne in mind that these are group relations, own and tribal.

[2] *Kalti* is a spear. It appears to be the *Nurtunja* of Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 122.

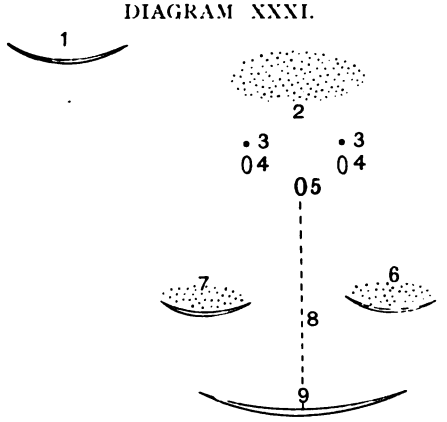
[3] Such ornaments are given to the boy by his *Ngandri*.

carried to his father to be given to those who were to perform the rite of circumcision on him. Then was heard the muffled sound of the Kirha being struck, and, shortly after, the sisters of the Yuri-ulu came forward, and commenced their dance in parties of four each, one of the elder girls and one of the younger. At the end of this the men carried each other about on their backs.

About midnight the women were driven away from the ground to their main camp, the *Ngandri* only remaining behind, at a little distance, forming a connection between the men at the ground and the women at the camp, but also keeping the latter quiet and seeing that none of them watched the ceremonies, the great Pirha was struck several times, and replied to by the *Ngandri* striking their stomachs with the open hand.

The boys were now taken to the camp of the *Ngaperi*, and there carefully watched by their *Kami* and *Kadi*, so that they should not sleep, being shaken up into wakefulness when they dozed off. Then the *Woningaperi* and the *Taru* (father-in-law) came up to them, decked with feathers, and three *Neyi* of each boy placed themselves together so that the boy could be laid on their backs, and there circumcised by their *Taru*. This being done, their *Woningaperi*, *Kadi*, *Kami*, and especially the *Taru*, were placed before them, and the last named gave to each a bundle of the hair of one of his daughters as a sign that she should be his promised wife. The boys were then taken back to their Katu.

DIAGRAM XXXI.



The subjoined diagram, which was drawn on the ground by the informant to explain his narrative of the legend, shows the positions of the places referred to.

1 is the Katu of the Yuri-ulu; 2, spectators, women and children; 3, the Kalti; 4, the two Pirha, each lying on two spears in front of a Kalti; 5, the great Pirha; 6 and 7, the Katus of the *Ngaperi;* 8, the *Ngaudri* sitting in a row; 9, the Katu of the *Ngaperi.*[1]

The Dieri Ceremonies

It is the *Pinna-pinnaru*, that is, the principal Headman of the Dieri tribe, who decides when the youths shall be passed through the several stages of the initiation ceremonies. When he finds that there are a sufficient number ready, he decides on the time. The matter is brought by him before the council of elders, but so far as relates to the time and place he decides, and also which youths are to be initiated.[2]

Knocking out the Teeth

The knocking out of the two lower middle front teeth is practised sometimes earlier than in tribes which have ceremonies of the eastern type, and is not confined to boys only. When a child is from eight to twelve years of age, the teeth are taken out in the following manner. Two pieces of the Kuya-mara tree, each about a foot in length, and chisel-shaped, are placed one on either side of the tooth to be extracted, and driven tightly. Some wallaby skin is then folded two or three times and placed on the tooth, and a piece of wood about two feet long being placed against the wallaby skin, is struck with a heavy stone. Two blows suffice to loosen the tooth, which is then pulled out by the hand. This is repeated with the second tooth. As soon as the tooth is extracted, a piece of damp clay is placed on the gums to stop the bleeding. The boy, or girl, as the case may be, is forbidden during the ceremony, and for three days after, to look at the men who were present, but who turned their faces away. It is thought that a breach of this rule would cause the child's mouth to close up, and that consequently it would not be able to eat afterwards. The teeth are placed inside a bunch of emu feathers smeared

[1] O. Siebert. [2] S. Gason.

with fat, and are kept for about twelve months, under the belief that if they were thrown away the eagle-hawk would cause larger ones to grow up in their places, which would turn up over the upper lip and thus cause death. The boy's teeth are carefully kept by the boy's father, and long after the mouth is completely healed he disposes of them, in the company of some old men, in the following manner. He makes a low rumbling noise, not using any words, blows two or three times with his mouth, and then jerks the teeth through his hand to a distance. He then buries them about eighteen inches in the ground. The jerking motion is to show that he has already taken all the life out of them ; as, should he fail to do so, the boy would be liable to have an ulcerated mouth, an impediment in his speech, a wry mouth, and ultimately a distorted face.[1]

This is another instance of the belief that there is an intimate connection between the teeth and the person from whom they were extracted, even at a distance, and after a considerable time. I have before referred to this belief.

THE KARAWELI-WONKANA

The *Karaweli-wonkana*,[2] or ceremony of circumcision, is performed when a boy is about nine or ten years of age. The proceedings are commenced by a woman walking up to the boy in the early part of the evening and quietly slipping a string over his head, to which is attached a mussel shell (*Kuri*). This is done by a married woman, who is not of his class or totem, or in any way related to him. This action usually brings about a disturbance, for neither the boy nor his father have been made aware of what was intended. Directly the boy finds the shell suspended round his neck he jumps up, and runs out of the camp. His father becomes enraged, for it is generally the case that fathers think their sons are too young to undergo the painful operation. He therefore attacks the elders, and a general fight ensues.

From the moment the boy runs out of the camp until

[1] S. Gason. [2] *Karaweli* is "boy," and *wonkana* is "to sing."

several months after the operation, no woman, excepting immediately after the ceremony, is supposed to have a sight of him. On the night preceding the circumcision the women see him, or he is shown to them, for a few minutes. At this time all the available tribes-people are collected, and for the time there is unrestricted intercourse between those who are in the relation of *Pirrauru* to each other. Nothing is said of this at the time, but it may cause sanguinary quarrels afterwards. It is not spoken of at the ceremony, because those who may be jealous dare not show their feeling at the *Karaweli-wonkana*, lest it should be said that they are attempting to undermine and tamper with the old-established customs.

Immediately before a boy is circumcised, a young man picks up a handful of sand and sprinkles it as he runs round the outside of the camp. This is to keep out Kutchi and to keep in the Mura-mura of the ceremonies.[1]

It is the *Kami* and the *Kadi* who lead away the boy after he is circumcised. The *Neyi* and the *Kaka* provide him with food, and later on accompany him. Above all, however, they must be elder people, so that their teaching shall be respected. For this reason, elder rather than younger members of the relationship group are preferred.[2]

As soon as the rite has been performed the boy's father stoops over him, and gives him a new name.[3] This name has been invented by him long before, when the boy was much younger. It might be that when he was lying ill and in pain, he said something to his wife, using the child-name of his son. She repeating what he has said, he adds to it something more, now using the *Matteri-tali*, or man's name, of his son, which his wife now hears for the first time. If he feared that he was going to die, he would hand over the name to his brother, the *Ngaperi-waka*, or little father, own or tribal, of his son. This is in order that he may be able to announce the boy's new name when he is circumcised. Such a name, so given to a man in charge, would be kept as a sacred trust.

Such a name is taken from the legend of the boy's

[1] S. Gason. [2] O. Siebert. [3] S. Gason.

Mura-mura. This is not inherited from his mother, as is his Murdu, but from his father.

The boy's name is not exactly a secret name, but a youth when he has been once honoured with his *Matteri-tali*, and has been announced by it as a man, is too proud to let himself be called a boy.

There are eight tribes which have separate *Karaweli-wonkana* ceremonies, and each has its particular *Karaweli-malkara*, that is, the song belonging to the ceremonies.[1] Of these, that of the Pirha and the Wapiya are mentioned in the legend of the Mankara-pirna-ya-waka (Appendix).

This inheritance of the legend of the individual's Mura-mura shows that the Mura-mura is in some manner the ancestor, and connects the Dieri beliefs with the legends of the Arunta, and the Alcheringa ancestors. So far, however, I have not any evidence that the Dieri hold the Arunta belief in the re-incarnation of the supernatural ancestor.

THE WILYARU

The next ceremony after that of the *Karaweli-wonkana* is called *Wilyaru*. A young man without previous warning is led out of the camp by some old men who are of the relation of *Neyi* to him, and not of near, but distant relationship. On the following morning the men, old and young, except his father and elder brothers, surround him, and direct him to close his eyes. One of the old men then binds the arm of another old man tightly with string, and with a sharp piece of flint lances the vein about an inch from the elbow, causing a stream of blood to fall over the young man, until he is covered with it, and the old man is becoming exhausted. Another man takes his place, and so on until the young man becomes quite stiff from the quantity of blood adhering to him. The reason given for this practice is that it infuses courage into the young man, and also shows him that the sight of blood is nothing, so that should he receive a wound in warfare, he may account it as a matter of no moment.[2]

[1] O. Siebert. [2] S. Gason.

The next stage in the ceremony is that the young man lies down on his face, when one or two of the other young men cut from three to twelve gashes on the nape of his neck, with a sharp piece of flint. These, when healed into

FIG. 39.—URABUNNA MAN, SHOWING WILYARU CUTS ON THE BACK.

raised scars, denote that the person wearing them has passed through the *Wilyaru* ceremony. A Dieri points with pride to these scars as showing that he is *Wilyaru*. Until the scars are healed, he must not turn his face to a female, nor eat in the sight of one.

Immediately after the *Wilyaru*, a bull-roarer, called by

the Dieri *Yuntha*, is given to the youth. It is from six to nine inches long, by two to two and a half wide, and one-eighth thick, and a string is attached to it, made of human hair, or of native flax, from ten to twelve feet in length.[1]

It was some time after the *Wilyaru* ceremonies were made known to Mr. Gason that a *Yuntha* was shown to him, and he was required to promise never to show it to women, or to let them know that he had seen it. When he was initiated in an actual knowledge of the ceremonies, and had been present at them, he was required to promise that he would keep all their secrets, and never, even by a tracing on the ground, show them to women.

A *Yuntha* which has been made use of at a *Wilyaru* is marked with a number of small notches on the side and at one end.

If by chance a *Yuntha* is lost, the finder examines it to see whether it bears any notches; and, if it does, he carefully secretes it, and acquaints the elders of his find. If there are no notches, he treats it merely as a plain piece of wood, and he may even carry it to the camp and make a joke of it. The *Yuntha* is one of the most important secrets of the tribe, and the knowledge of it is kept inviolate from the women. The belief is that if a woman were to see a *Yuntha* which had been used at the ceremonies, and knew the secret of it, the Dieri tribe would ever afterwards be without snakes, lizards, and such other food.

When a *Yuntha* is given to the youth after the *Wilyaru* ceremony, he is instructed that he must twirl it round his head when he is out hunting. The Dieri think that when the *Yuntha* is handed to the young *Wilyaru*, he becomes inspired by the Mura-mura of this ceremony, and that he has the power to cause a good harvest of snakes and other reptiles by whirling it round his head when out in search of game. About a week after the ceremony, and on some dark night, he approaches the camp and commences to whirl the *Yuntha*, so as to make a loud noise. When this is heard, the men, excepting the elders, go out to see him, carrying with them food, which the women have prepared.

[1] S. Gason.

They cheer up and encourage the young *Wilyaru* who, when he departs again, is accompanied by some of the young men, who keep him company till his wounds are healed. The young man is never seen by the women, from the time he is made *Wilyaru* till the time when he returns to the camp, after perhaps many months. Before he shows himself at the camp, all the blood which was caused to stream over him must be worn off, and the gashes must be thoroughly healed. During the time of his absence his near female relatives, *Ngandri*, *Kaku*, *Ngatata*, and *Buyulu*, become very anxious about him, often asking as to his whereabouts. There is great rejoicing in the camp when the *Wilyaru* returns finally to it, and his mothers and sisters make much of him. He is prohibited from speaking to any of the actual operators at the *Wilyaru* ceremony until he has given some kind of present to each. As he hands his present to one of the operators, he is told that he may speak. This custom is carried out strictly, and Mr. Gason said that he never witnessed the ceremony without afterwards receiving a present from the youth, and he was never able to induce one to speak till a present had been given by him.

THE MINDARI [1]

After the *Wilyaru* the next ceremony is that of the *Mindari*, which is held about once in two years, either by the Dieri or some one of the neighbouring tribes. When there is a sufficient number of young men in the tribe who have not passed this ceremony, and when the tribes are friendly with each other, a council is held, for instance by the Dieri, to fix on the time and place. This being settled, women are sent to neighbouring tribes, to invite them to be present, the preparations for which—building the huts and collecting food—is carried on, and generally occupies six to eight weeks. As soon as the first members of an arriving party come in sight, the *Mindari* song is sung, to show the strangers that they are received as friends. At length, when all have arrived, they wait for the full of the moon, so as to

[1] S. Gason.

have plenty of light during the ceremonies, which commence at sunset. Meanwhile at every sunrise, and at intervals, all the men at the camp join in the *Mindari* song.

On the evening of the ceremony the young men are carefully dressed. The hair of the head is tied with cord so as to stand straight up, and tails of rats (*Thilpa*) are fastened to the top. Feathers of the owl and the emu are affixed to the forehead and the ears, and a large girdle (*Yinka*), made of human hair, is wound round the waist. The face is painted red and black.

The ceremonies commence by the men, women, and children shouting at the full force of their lungs for about ten minutes. Then the women go a little way from the camp, to dance by themselves, while the men proceed to a distance of about three hundred yards, to a piece of hard ground which has been neatly swept, and on which a ring has been marked. The ceremonies are opened by a little boy about four years of age, who is decked out with the down of the swan and the wild duck attached to his head, and with his face painted red and black. He dances into the ring, followed by the old men, and this dance continues for about ten minutes, when the boy ends it by running out of the ring.

All the young men then go through a number of evolutions, and this is continued till the sun rises, when the ceremony terminates and all retire to sleep during the day.

The reason for holding this ceremony is to enable all the tribes to meet and to amicably settle any disputes that may have occurred since the last *Mindari*.

THE KULPI[1]

Connected with initiation, there is the *Kulpi* rite, now known to anthropologists as subincision. At the secret council at which the circumcision ceremony is determined upon, the Headman and the heads of totems fix upon the youths who are to become *Kulpi*. Certain men are fixed

[1] S. Gason.

upon to see this carried out, and they are responsible to the Headmen for the proper incision being made—clean, straight, and without any unnecessary violence.

No warning or notice is given to the young man. He goes out hunting with others as usual, when, on a signal being given by one of the party, he is suddenly pinioned from behind, and thrown down. He naturally struggles desperately, thinking that they are going to kill him, and calls out to his father and mother in most piteous terms, until his mouth is covered by some one's hand. Other men, who have been lying concealed, now rush up and tell him not to be frightened, for they are only going to make a *Kulpi* of him. If, however, he still continues to struggle, he is quietened by a blow on the head, but as a rule he submits quietly, finding himself in their power, and that moreover his life is not in danger. The old men and the bystanders encourage him by saying that he must not mind the pain, for it is nothing to what he has suffered during circumcision. The operation may last for twenty minutes, and many youths faint after it is over. In one such instance, which Mr. Gason gave me, the young man struggled violently, large drops of sweat broke out on his forehead, and tears flowed from his eyes; yet he did not make a sound or murmur, till the operation was over, when he uttered a deep groan, several sighs, and then gradually fell back into the arms of the men who were holding him. The wound was staunched with sand. Mr. Gason lost sight of him for several months, and when he saw him again he looked quite healthy, active, and smart, and the wound had completely healed. He presented Mr. Gason with a carved boomerang, making signs to him to accept it. He, knowing the custom in such cases, did so, and it was only then that the youth ceased to be *Apu-apu*, that is dumb, and spoke to him. A *Kulpi*, as is the case with the *Karaweli* and the *Wilyaru*, may not speak till he has given presents to those who were at the ceremony, either as operators or as witnesses.

It is thought that the presence at the operation of some distinguished man, such as a great fighting-man, or the

head of a totem, tends to give strength to the young man while he is undergoing it.

It is only when a young man has been made *Kulpi* that he is considered to be a thorough man, and in this sense *Kulpi* is the highest stage in the initiation ceremonies.

Professor Baldwin Spencer tells me that in all the tribes with which he is acquainted who practise subincision, all the men are subject to it. According to the information given me by Mr. S. Gason, twenty years ago, only a certain number of the men of the Dieri tribe were *Kulpi*.

From further inquiries which I have made I am now satisfied that the practice of Kulpi in the Dieri tribe was, and is, universal, and that Mr. Gason must have been in error in the above statement.[1]

THE WILPADRINA[2]

On the young women coming to maturity, there is a ceremony called *Wilpadrina*, in which the elder men claim, and exercise, a right to the young women. The other women are cognisant of it, and are present.

THE RITES IN THE COAST TRIBES

In the Yerkla-mining tribe the rite of circumcision is very strictly observed. For some time before a youth is circumcised no woman, married or single, is allowed to take food from him, nor are they permitted to see him take food from any one else, if they can avoid doing so.

When it is decided that a certain boy shall be circumcised, the medicine-men, having held a council, call upon some of the old men to assist in capturing him. He, being aware of their intention, has previously taken to the bush, living a watchful and lonely life. The natives call him *Kokitta-mining*, that is, wild man. If they can get on his track, he is easily surrounded, but he sometimes evades them for months. The time for circumcision is when the youth is about eighteen years of age, that is, after he has got whiskers.

[1] J. G. Reuther. [2] S. Gason.

A place is chosen for the ceremony which is not likely to be visited by any one, and three days are devoted to hunting and providing food.

The operation is performed by men of one of the neighbouring tribes, and the boy is taken away to a part of the tribal country fixed on by his male relations. There is little or no ceremonial observance, but some of the old men take the boy by the wrists, and pull him violently from one side to the other, uttering at the same time a kind of chant consisting of a series of "Eyah!" Whether through excitement, or anticipation of the ceremony, or by being swung about from one side to the other by the old men, the boy becomes somewhat dazed. Then the operator approaches, and suddenly seizes the prepuce, and cuts it off with a piece of flint. The wound is seared with a fire-stick.

String is made from opossum and wombat hair, with which the youth is decorated, particularly about the head; and a sort of apron is made with which he is covered till the wound is healed.

After a week or a fortnight, if he is sufficiently recovered, he rejoins the tribe, and there is a great feast and corroboree, at which both sexes join in the dancing.

The boy never sees who circumcises him; neither does he know the name of the man till the operation is over. Then he is taken away by his nearest male relation, who provides food for and looks after him.

No women are permitted to be on the ground where the circumcision is done, and must camp some distance away from the place, nor is it allowed for them to hear the matter spoken of. If any reference is made to the ceremony in their presence, they at once stop their ears with their hands.

If the boy is of the Wenung division, he is circumcised in the morning. Boys of the other classes are not, and they are left tied on the ground till the Milky Way is seen in the sky. Then the lad is asked, "Can you see the two black spots?" When he has seen them, he is allowed to go to his camp; and then the medicine-men tell him the following legend. A very long time ago a great bird came

and devoured all the people, excepting three men and one woman. These were one Budera, one Kura, one Wenung, and a Kura woman. The men fought the bird and killed it; but, after it was dead, only two spears were found in the body, one belonging to the Kura, and one belonging to the Wenung man. Then they went up to the Milky Way; and the name given to two black spots, to which they went, is *Nug-jil-bidai-tukaba*, or the "far-away men." After the Budera man, who remained behind, had grown old, and had many children and grandchildren, he also went up to the stars; but he is only seen when he walks across the moon, and then he is angry. Budera's children were boys, and they went inland a great distance, and were absent a long time. On their return each boy brought back with him a captured wife. The Budera, before he died, marked them with their class marks.

When the rite of subincision is to be carried out, it causes great excitement in the tribe. It takes place some time after circumcision, and is called *Wandai-ngrungur*. When a young man has passed through this ceremony, he may claim his promised wife.

In making the subincision, the youth is laid on the ground flat on his back, his wrists and ankles being fastened to the earth by means of kangaroo sinews and pegs. A second or assistant medicine-man sits across his chest, with his face towards his feet, performing two functions at once, namely holding him down, and assisting the principal operator. The instrument used is called *Meru*, and is a wooden haft with a piece of very sharp flint bound on one end with sinew and mallee-scrub gum.

The wound is treated by bandaging it with a piece of flat smooth wood and the inner bark of an acacia. One of the medicine-men spins a tassel of wombat or opossum fur, which is suspended from the waist of the patient by the operator, so as to hang down and keep the flies and dust from the wound. Until it is healed, the youth has allotted to him three *Wiiah*, or mothers, to look after him and provide for him, until he is able to do so for himself, and through their lives they look after his welfare.

It is thought that if any one but a medicine-man touches a *Meru*, it will cause great sickness to the young man on whom the flint was used. In such a case, if the young man became ill, the offender would have to go away and live by himself for a time. But if the young man died, the offender would be killed.

There is in this tribe a rite similar to the *Wilpadrina* of the Dieri, accompanied by an operation by a medicine-man. Three men of the relation of father to the girl are allotted to her, who provide her with food till her wound is healed.[1]

The tribe at Fowler's Bay adjoins the Mining, and at certain times of the year the two tribes have a ceremonial meeting. Boys are circumcised at the age of about fourteen, and subsequently subincised. The medicine-man who operates swallows the prepuce, with some water. He never speaks to the boy or his parents, does not go to their camp fire, excepting in very cold weather, nor accept any food from them unless it were sent by some other person.[2]

These tribes east of the Mining adjoin the Parnkalla, who lived at Port Lincoln, whose northern extent includes the Beltana country, which is mentioned in the legend of the Yuri-ulu already given. The Parnkalla therefore bring us into the region of the Lake Eyre ceremonies. I find an account of the initiation ceremonies of this tribe in a work by C. W. Schürmann,[3] from which I shall quote, for comparison with the accounts already given.

The names of the ceremonies which form the several parts of initiation in this tribe supersede the ordinary names of the youths during the time which intervenes between the ceremonies, or immediately follows them.

The three ceremonies are the *Warrara*, when a boy is about the age of fifteen ; the *Pardnappa*, at the age of sixteen or seventeen ; and the *Wilyalkinyi*, when about eighteen.

The Warrara Ceremony

Mr. Schürmann gives a description of these ceremonies at length, which is briefly as follows.

[1] H. Williams. [2] F. Gaskell. [3] *Op. cit.* pp. 226, 234.

The *Warrara* is conducted from the camp blindfolded by a man called *Yumbo*, who attends the novice during the whole of the ceremony. This is held at some remote place whereat women and children are not permitted to be.

The novice is laid on the ground, covered with skins, the *Yumbo* sitting by him. The rest of the men prepare a number of bull-roarers, called *Pullakalli*, which, when tied to a handle, produce a piercing sound.

One of the men then opens a vein, causing the blood to run on the *Warrara's* head, face, and shoulders, also in a few drops into his mouth. A number of precepts are now impressed on him for his future conduct. These are, not to associate any longer with his mother, or the other women, nor with children, but to keep company with men. Not to quarrel with, or ill-treat, women. To abstain from eating forbidden food, such as lizards. He is warned not to betray what he has seen and heard, under pain of being speared, thrown into the fire, or otherwise dealt with.

On the following morning the novice is taken to the women, who have camped separately. A smoky fire has been made with damp grass, and the *Warrara* is conducted backwards to it, where one of the women is placed to receive him. He is caused to sit on the grass, and she dries and rubs his back, which has been previously covered with blood, with her skin rug. Then one of the little boys chases him through a lane formed by the body of men.

For three or four months the *Warrara* must keep his face blackened with charcoal, speak in low whispers, and avoid women.

The children are never allowed to approach a place where a *Warrara* has been made.

The Pardnappa Ceremony

The *Pardnappa* ceremony commences with the novice's attendant shouting "Pu! Pu!" All the women of the class to which the *Pardnappa* belongs, whether *Matteri* or *Kararu*, touch the shoulders and necks of the men of the

same class, to express their approval of the intention to make the boy a *Pardnappa.*

The ceremony takes place at some neighbouring water, where game has been roasted and is now eaten. After this, the *Pardnappa* goes apart with those lads who last underwent the same ceremony.

One of the men takes his place in the fork of a tree of moderate height, and others crowd round and place their hands and heads against the stem of the tree, so that their backs form a sort of platform, on which the *Pardnappa* is placed backwards. His arms and legs are stretched out and held fast, and the man sitting in the fork of the tree descends and sits on his chest, so that he is unable to move any limb of his body.

The circumciser, who is usually a man from some distant place, performs the operation with a piece of quartz, while the lookers on recite a charm, which is supposed to have the power of allaying pain.

The *Pardnappa*, whose hair, prior to the operation, has been allowed to grow to a great length, has it now secured on the crown of his head in a net made of opossum-fur string. He wears a tassel of the same over the pubes, which is worn for many months afterwards.

At this period, although without any particular ceremony, subincision is performed. In support of this practice, they say it was observed by their fathers, and must therefore be upheld by themselves.

The Wilyalkinyi Ceremony

The ceremony of *Wilyalkinyi* is the third through which a young man has to pass, and at it "a sort of sponsors are appointed" called *Indanyanya.*

The *Wilyalkinyi* are taken blindfolded from their camp to a short distance, where the *Indanyanya* keep them for a time, shutting their eyes with their hands. The lads are then taken farther, and laid flat on the ground, and covered with skin rugs. At this time chips of quartz are prepared, and new names are invented for the *Wilyalkinyi.* Every-

thing being ready, several men open veins in their lower arms, while the young men are raised to swallow the first drops of the blood. They are then told to kneel on their hands and knees, so as to give a horizontal position to their backs, which are covered with blood. As soon as this is sufficiently coagulated, one of the men marks, with his thumb, the places where the incisions are to be made, namely, one in the middle of the neck, and two rows from the shoulders down to the hips at intervals of about a third of an inch at each cut. These are named *Manka*, and are ever after held in such veneration that it would be deemed to be great profanation to allude to them in the presence of women. During the cutting, which is done rapidly, as many of the men as can find room crowd round the youths, repeating in a subdued tone, but very rapidly, the following formula: "*Kauwaka kanya marra marra, karndokanya marra marra pilbirri kanya marra marra.*" This incantation, which is derived from their ancestors, is apparently devoid of any meaning to them, but the object in saying it is to alleviate the pain of the young man, and to obviate any dangerous consequences from the lacerations. After the incisions are completed, all the youths are allowed to stand up and open their eyes. The first thing they behold is two men coming towards them, stamping, biting their beards, and swinging the *Witarna*[1] with such fury as if he intended to dash it against their heads; but when approaching, they place the string of the instrument round the necks of the youths in succession. Several fires are made to windward, so that the smoke will be blown over the young men. The *Wilyalkinyi* are given a new girdle for the waist, spun of human hair, a bandage tightly tied round the upper arm, a string of opossum hair round the neck, the end of which falls down the back, where it is tied to the girdle, a bunch of green leaves over the pubes, and, lastly, their faces, arms, and breasts are painted black. Then the men crowd round them and give advice for their future conduct. This is to abstain from quarrelling and fighting, to avoid women, and to refrain from talking loudly. The last two injunctions are observed scrupulously

[1] There are two bull-roarers, of which the *Witarna* is the larger one.

till the men release them four or five months later. Till then they live and sleep separately from the camp, and speak in whispers. The releasing of the *Wilyalkinyis* consists merely in tearing the string from their necks, and covering them with blood, in the same manner as at the earlier ceremony. After that they are admissible to all the privileges of grown men. The women and children, as has been already said, are not permitted to see any of the above ceremonies, and are camped on these occasions out of sight of the men. If their business requires them, in fetching water, wood, or anything else, to be in sight of where the men are, they must cover their heads with a skin rug and walk in a stooping posture. Any impertinent curiosity on their part is punishable with death, and it is said that instances have occurred in which this punishment has been inflicted.

I have quoted this account of the ceremonies of the Parnkalla for the reason that it gives a fairly full account of them, and also because it completes the view of these of the Lake Eyre tribes, to which the Parnkalla belong by their organisation and customs. The *Wilyalkinyi* ceremony is evidently the equivalent of the *Wilyaru* of the Dieri.

THE NARRANG-GA CEREMONIES

On the opposite side of Spencer Gulf to Port Lincoln there is the Narrang-ga tribe. It also practised circumcision, but not subincision, and therefore it belongs probably to the Banapa already mentioned.

When the boys became aware that they were likely to be wanted for that rite, they sometimes concealed themselves in the bush, but were hunted down. At the ceremony the boy is caused to drink blood from his own arm. In the actual rite one of the old men places his hands over the boy's eyes, and after the prepuce is cut off, it is buried at the place of initiation. For about twelve months the young man is obliged to carry with him a fire-stick, wherever he goes, and it is only after his return to the camp that he is allowed to marry. At the ceremonies no one speaks above a whisper.

The bull-roarer is used, but it is not lawful for any woman, or uninitiated person, to see it. Formerly such an offence

FIG. 40.—THE NARRANG-GA BULL-ROARER, × ½.
1 AND 2 ARE OPPOSITE SIDES.

was punished with death, both of the person who showed it and the person to whom it was shown.[1]

CEREMONIES AT ENCOUNTER BAY

The initiation ceremonies at Encounter Bay are briefly described by H. E. A. Meyer.[2] They appear to be nearly the same as those of the Narrinyeri, whose country, according to

[1] T. M. Sutton.
[2] *The Native Tribes of South Australia.* Adelaide, 1879.

the Rev. George Taplin, includes that of the Encounter Bay tribe.

Mr. Meyer says that in the summer time, when the nights are warm, several tribes meet together for the purpose of fighting, and afterwards dancing and singing. At such a meeting it is understood that some of the boys are made into men. In the midst of the amusements the men suddenly give a shout, and all turn towards two boys, who have been chosen, and who are suddenly seized and carried away by the men. The females cease their singing. From this time they are not allowed to accept any food from these young men. As soon as these latter are brought to the place appointed for the ceremony, two fires are lighted, and the young men are placed between them. Several of the men now pluck all the hair from the body, except the hair of the head and the beard. As soon as this is done, the whole body, except the face, is rubbed with grease and red ochre. The young men are not allowed to sleep during the whole night, but must either sit or stand until the morning, when the men return to them. They then go into the bush until sundown, when they return to their male relations, and obtain some food, but must avoid the females. They are now considered to be "*Rambe*" or sacred, and no female must accept any food from them, not even their own mothers, until such time as they are allowed to ask for a wife. For about a year the two young men who have been made men at the same time assist each other in singeing and plucking out each other's beards, and apply the grease to the face as well as to the other parts of the body. When the beard has grown again to a considerable length, it is a second time plucked out, after which they may ask for wives.

NARRINYERI CEREMONIES

The Rev. George Taplin says[1] that, among the Narrinyeri, the boys are not allowed to cut or comb their hair, from the time when they are about ten years of age till they undergo the rites by which they are admitted to the rank of men.

[1] *The Narrinyeri.* Adelaide, 1847.

When the beard of a youth has grown to a sufficient length, he is made *Narumbe* or *Kaingani*, a young man. In order that this ceremony may be properly performed, and the youth admitted as an equal with the men of the Narrinyeri, it is necessary that men of several different clans should be present on the occasion. A single clan cannot make its own youths *Narumbe*, without the assistance of others.

Generally two youths are made *Narumbe* at the same time, so that they may afterwards, during the time that they are *Narumbe*, assist each other. They are seized at night, suddenly, by the men, and carried off to a spot some little distance from the *Wurley*,[1] the women resisting, or pretending to resist, the seizure, by pulling at the captives, and throwing firebrands at their captors. They are soon driven off to their *Wurleys*, and are compelled to stop there, while the men proceed to strip the two youths. Their matted hair is combed, or rather torn out with the point of a spear, and their moustaches and a great part of their beards are plucked out by the roots. They are then besmeared with oil and red ochre from head to foot. For three days and nights the newly made *Kainganis* must neither eat nor sleep, a strict watch being kept over them to prevent either. They are allowed to drink water, by sucking it up through a reed. The luxury of a drinking vessel is denied to them for several months after initiation. When, after three days, they are allowed to sleep, they rest their heads on two crossed sticks. For six months they walk about naked, or with merely the slightest covering round their loins. The condition of *Narumbe* lasts until their beards have been pulled out three times, and each time has grown again to about the length of about two inches. During all that period they are forbidden to eat any food which belongs to women, and the prohibition extends to twenty different kinds of game. If they eat of any of these forbidden things, it is thought that they will grow ugly. Only those animals which are the most difficult to obtain are allowed for their subsistence. Everything which they possess, or obtain, becomes *Narumbe*, or sacred from the

[1] *Wurley* is a hut or camp. This word has been carried by settlers all over South Australia.

touch of women. Even the bird hit by the club, or the kangaroo speared by their spear, or the fish taken by their hook, is *Narumbe*. Even if their implements are used by other men, the proceeds are forbidden to all females.

They are not allowed to take wives until the time during which they are *Narumbe*. But they are allowed the privilege of promiscuous intercourse with the younger portion of the sex.

Any violation of these customs is punished by the old men by death, sometimes by *Millin*, that is, magic, but often by more violent methods.

The tribes which lived on the Lower Murray and Darling Rivers and extending back to the Barrier and Grey Ranges did not practise circumcision or subincision, but had initiation ceremonies which, in some respects, resembled those of the western type.

Dr. M'Kinlay, who lived among the Maraura-speaking tribes of the Lower Darling River in the early days of settlement, told me that before the young men were admitted to rank as men they were subject for some years to very strict discipline. Every six or seven years there was a great meeting from long distances for the purpose of passing eligible candidates. In one case which came under his notice, a young man was seized by two or three men, stretched out on the ground, and all the hair plucked from his cheeks and chin, and given to his mother, who was present, crying and lamenting. He was then taken away for a week into the scrub, where he underwent some discipline; and when he returned he looked miserable and half-starved. There was no circumcision in the Maraura tribes.

The Itchumundi Ceremonies

In the tribes of the Itchumundi nation, circumcision is practised by the Wilga, Kongait, and Bulalli tribes. The Tongaranka knock out only one incisor and depilate the private parts. The tooth is either the right or the left upper incisor, according as the boy uses his right or left hand in using a digging-stick. He carries the tooth and hair with

him for about three weeks; and then, selecting a tree which stands with its roots in a water-hole, he cuts a hole in the bark and conceals them therein.

I am informed that, during the ceremonies, he drinks the blood from the arm of one of the old men, and is supposed thereby to be infused with a manly spirit, and to lay aside boyish things.

After the ceremonies, he is prohibited from eating animal food, until the sore caused by knocking out the tooth is healed.

Two bull-roarers are used in these ceremonies. The larger of the two is called *Bungumbelli*, and is the charge of the medicine-man of the tribe. A notch is made on it for each ceremony at which it is used. The smaller one is called *Purtali*, and is used not only at the ceremonies, but also in cases of sickness by the medicine-men as a sort of exorcism. The youth after the initiation receives presents from the men to give him a start in life, such as rugs, weapons, and such like. He is then permitted to be present at the consultations of the men.[1]

The principles which underlie the ceremonies of the western type are in some points the same as those of the eastern type. The youths are separated from the control of their mothers and from the companionship of their sisters, are usually taboo as to women during their novitiate, and are generally initiated by the men of the other moiety of the tribe.

The inculcation of obedience to the elders and observation of the tribal morality is common to both, but they are sharply distinguished by the rites of circumcision and subincision, and the practice of bleeding at the Wilyaru and similar ceremonies.

There is no direct evidence to show from whence these ceremonies have been derived, but the legends suggest a line of inter-tribal communication from the north to the south, and I incline to the belief that a northern origin will ultimately be assigned to these ceremonies. Whether they overlie older ceremonies of the eastern type or the reverse,

[1] J. W. Boultbee.

I am unable to say. Perhaps when the initiation ceremonies of Western and Northern Australia have been carefully studied and described, it may be possible to form some opinion as to this question.

There is an absence in the western tribes of a belief in an anthropomorphic Being by whom the ceremonies were first instituted.[1]

[1] I observe that Spencer and Gillen, in their new work *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 20, are also of the opinion that "changes in custom have been slowly passing down from north to south."

CHAPTER XI

MESSENGERS AND MESSAGE-STICKS—BARTER AND TRADE CENTRES—GESTURE LANGUAGE

Qualifications of messengers—Ceremonial garb of messengers—Speed with which news travels—The heralds of the Kamilaroi and other tribes—Mode of procedure, and emblems carried by messengers—Message-sticks—Methods of enumeration in different tribes—Kulin message-stick—Kurnai messengers — Chepara message-stick — Tribal expeditions — Dieri Pitcheri party — Expedition for red ochre — The Yantruwunta go 300 miles for sandstone slabs—The Yutchin custom among the Dieri—Trade centres for barter—Bartering at the Wilyaru ceremonies—The Kani-nura ceremonies—Bartering at tribal meetings of the Wotjobaluk, Kulin, and other tribes—Smoke signals and others—Gesture language—Very complete system of the Dieri—Gestures used by various tribes.

IN all tribes there are certain men who are, so to say, free of one or more of the adjacent tribes. This arises out of tribal intermarriage; and, indeed, marriages are sometimes arranged for what may be termed "state reasons," that is, in order that there may be means of sending ceremonial communications by some one who can enter and traverse a perhaps unfriendly country, with safety to himself and with security for the delivery of his message. In some cases these ceremonial messengers, as will be seen later on, are women. But the bearing of merely friendly messages within the tribe is usually by a relative of the sender. The message itself is, in other tribes, conveyed by what the whites in certain districts call a "blackfellow's letter"—a message-stick. There has been much misunderstanding, not to say misstatement, as to the real character of these message-sticks, and the conventional value of the markings on them. It has been said that they can be read and understood by the person to whom they are sent without the marks on them

being explained by the bearer. I have even heard it said that persons, other than the one to whom a stick is sent, can read the marks with as much ease as educated people can read the words inscribed on one of our letters.

The subject is important in so far that a right understanding of the method by, and the manner in, which the markings on the sticks are made to convey information, is well calculated to afford some measure of the mental status of the persons using them.

In order to test the questions thus raised, whether these message-sticks do or do not convey information to those receiving them, apart from any explanatory message given by the bearer, I made such personal investigations as were possible, and addressed myself to correspondents in various parts of Australia, to a number of whom my best thanks are due for the trouble they took to inform me.

Following the same plan as in the other chapters, I commence with the Dieri tribe. The particulars relate to their customs, while they were in their primitive condition, nearly forty years ago. They did not use the message-stick, but sent only messages by word of mouth. It was not necessary, as with some tribes, that certain messages, for instance, those relating to the initiation ceremonies, should be carried by a man of the same totem as the sender. Messages are sent to gather people together for dancing corrobborees, from distances of over one hundred miles, and a messenger for such a purpose is painted with red ochre, and wears a head-dress of feathers.

In calling people together for the *Wilyaru* or *Mindari* ceremonies, the messengers are painted with diagonal stripes of yellow ochre, and have their beards tied to a point. They carry a token made of emu feathers, tied tightly with string and shaped like a Prince of Wales feather. The sending of a handful of red ochre tied up in a small bundle signifies the great *Mindari* or peace ceremony. In giving notice of the ceremony of circumcision, the messenger takes a handful of charcoal, and places a piece of it in the mouth of each person, without saying a word. This is fully understood to mean the "making of young men."

Any tokens used for giving notice of the initiation ceremonies are not allowed to be shown to women, girls, or boys.

A messenger sent to form a *Pinya* wears a kind of net

FIG. 41.—TOKEN WORN BY MESSENGER, WILYARU CEREMONY. DIERI TRIBE. × ½.

on the head and a white band round it, in which is stuck a feather. He is painted with yellow ochre and pipe-clay, and bears a bunch of emu feathers stuck in the string girdle at his spine. He carries part of the beard of the deceased or some balls of pipe-clay taken from the heads of those mourning for him. These are shown to the persons to

whom he is sent, and are at once understood as a call to form a *Pinya*, to avenge a death by evil magic.

A messenger who is sent to announce a death is smeared all over with pipe-clay. On his approach to the camp the women commence screaming and crying passionately. After a time the particulars of the death are made public to the camp, and it is only those nearly related to the deceased who weep. Even old men cry bitterly, and their friends console them as if they were children. On the following morning the relatives paint themselves over with

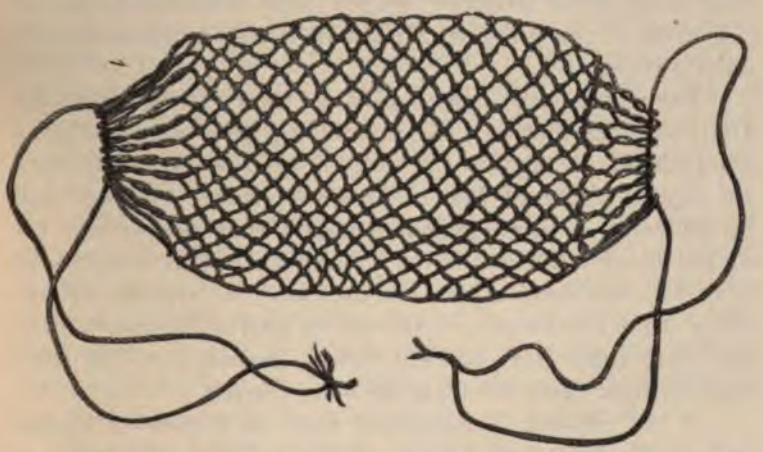


FIG. 42.—HEAD-NET WORN BY MESSENGER TO CALL A PINYA. DIERI TRIBE. × ⅓.

white pipe-clay. Widows and widowers are prohibited from speaking until all this clay has worn off, however long it may remain on them. They do not rub it off, as doing so would, they believe, be followed by evil consequences to themselves. It must absolutely wear off by itself, and during this period they communicate with others by gesture language.

If the message is to call together a meeting of the elder men of the tribe, the messenger is some noted old man, nominated by the *Pinnaru* (Headman) who sent the message. The same would be the case when neighbouring tribes are invited to attend the ceremonies of initiation. But in any other matter which might be attended by danger, or where treachery is feared, it is not men but women who are sent.

The most important messages sent by the Dieri to neighbouring tribes are those relating to disputes between them. For such purposes women are chosen, and if possible such women as belong to the tribe to which the embassy, if it may be so called, is sent. Women are chosen in such a case for two reasons: first, because they are going to a tribe in which they have near relations; and second, because it would be less likely that they would be treacherously made away with than men.

Forty years ago these women were usually the wives of Headmen of the *Murdus* (totems), and occasionally one of the wives of the principal Headman, *Jalina-piramurana*, was among them.

The women are accompanied by their *Pirraurus*, for the Dieri consider that on such a mission a man would be more complaisant as regards the acts of his *Pirrauru* wife than as regards those of his *Tippa-malku* wife. For on such occasions it is thoroughly understood that the women are to use every influence in their power to obtain a successful issue for their mission, and are therefore free of their favours. After what I have said in the earlier part of this work as to the class rules, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say here that in these cases the class rules are obeyed.

If the mission is successful, there is a time of licence between its members and the tribe, or part of a tribe, to which it has been sent. This is always the case, and if the Dieri women failed in it, it would be at peril of death on their return. This licence is not regarded with any jealousy by the women of the tribe to which the mission is sent. It is taken as a matter of course. They know of it, but do not see it, as it occurs at a place apart from the camp.

The members of such a mission are treated as distinguished guests. Food is provided for them, and on their return home, after about a week's stay, they are loaded with presents. If the mission is unsuccessful, messages of dreadful threatening are sent back by them.

The mode of announcing a mission, whether by male or female messengers, is by telling it to the *Pinnaru* of the camp, when alone, as soon as the former arrive. Nothing is

then said to any one, but when all the people are in the camp about the time of going to rest, the *Pinnaru* announces the visit. There is then an excited discussion on it, if it be a matter of moment or general interest, for an hour or two; to be again resumed at daybreak, and so on, night and morning, for a day or two, until some definite determination is arrived at.

The arguments of the old men who speak are noted by the messengers, and on their return they repeat as nearly as they are able the popular sentiments of the tribe.[1]

Mr. Gason has described to me how he was present on several occasions on the return of a mission which had been entrusted to women. The Headman and the principal old men received them kindly, and congratulated them on their safe return, but appeared anxious, and clutched their spears in an excited manner. No one but the Headman spoke to the women immediately on their return; but when all the men were seated, they were questioned as to the result of their mission. The result was at once told to all the people in the camp, who rejoiced if it were favourable, but who became fearfully excited and seemed to lose all control over themselves if it had failed, rushing to and fro, yelling, throwing sand into the air, biting themselves, and brandishing their weapons in the wildest manner imaginable.

In cases where such a mission had been successful, women of the other tribe usually accompanied it back, to testify its approval by their tribe. Agreements so made are probably observed as faithfully as are many treaties more formally made by civilised people.

During my expedition to the north of Cooper's Creek an attempt was made by some of the Yaurorka tribe to surprise my camp at night. As it was most important for the success of my expedition that I should be on friendly terms with the people of the Barcoo delta, I went on the following morning to their camp, which was near at hand on the same water, taking with me my black boy, who spoke their language, and at an interview with the old men, apart from the others, I cautioned them against in any way molesting

[1] S. Gason, also O. Siebert.

us, who were travelling peaceably in their country. I told them that if I found blackfellows prowling about my camp at night, I should certainly shoot them after this notice.

After some discussion the old men promised that none of their people should go near our camp at night, and that when doing so in the daytime they would lay down their arms at a little distance, and on my part I promised not to do them any hurt. I must say that this agreement was kept by them; and I observed that not only they but their fellow-tribesmen also in future laid down their weapons when visiting us. This corroborates Mr. Gason's statement that the Dieri keep to the agreements which they make.

As the Dieri send missions to the surrounding tribes, so do these also send them to the Dieri when occasion requires, and the proceedings are such as I have described.

It may be noted here that a Dieri man of no note or influence, arriving at a camp as a messenger, sits down near to it without saying anything. After remaining a few minutes in silence, the old men gather round him, and ask whence he comes and what has befallen him. He then delivers his message and details his news. Two of the old men then stand up, one retailing the message and the other repeating it in an excited manner. The newcomer, if he is a friendly stranger, is hospitably entertained, living in the hut of some man of the same totem as himself.

I remember an instance of such a visit when I was camped close to a small number of Yaurorka, some distance to the north of Cooper's Creek, with whom I was on friendly terms under the agreement spoken of. A stranger had arrived from the south, and so far as I remember, was a Dieri. I could watch all their movements by the light of their fire, and hear what was spoken in a loud tone, for we were separated only by a deep though narrow water channel. They spent the evening in great feasting, and the women were busy till late at night in pounding and grinding seeds for food. The stranger related his news, and it was repeated in a loud tone to the listening tribesmen sitting or standing at their fires. I was unable to understand more than the general meaning of the announcements, but my

black boy, who was acquainted with the Dieri speech, explained that this man was a "walkabout blackfellow," in other words, a messenger who was telling them his news.

Messengers from time to time arrived at that branch of the Yantruwunta tribe which lived where I had established my depot, and with whom I was on the best of terms. The old men, the *Pinnarus*, told me on several occasions that a messenger had arrived from beyond the "great stones," or stony country, that is, Sturt's Stony Desert, bringing news of the *Whil-pra-pinnaru*, meaning the explorer M'Kinlay.[1] They first reported that he was surrounded by flood waters, and, after some time, that the waters had fallen and that he had "thrown away" his cart, and was gone northwards they knew not where. These messengers came from the tribe living about where Birdsville is situated. The account given of M'Kinlay's movements was correct, and I afterwards saw the country which had been flooded. This shows how news is carried from one tribe to another, in this case for a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles at least.

A man of influence, arriving at a camp of a friendly tribe, is received with raised weapons by the inmates, as if in defiance. Upon this the visitor rushes towards them, making a pretence of striking them, they warding off his feints with their shields. Immediately after this they embrace him and lead him to his camp, where the women shortly after bring him food.[2]

During my exploration on the southern side of Sturt's Desert, in the country of the Ngurawola tribe, I had a good opportunity of observing the manner in which a party of strangers is received. On arriving at a shouting distance of a camp of that tribe my guide, a Yantruwunta man, halted us and, breaking off a branch of a tree, which he held up in his right hand, went nearer to a group of old men who had come forward and stood at a little distance

[1] M'Kinlay received this name from the blacks at the outlying cattle stations of South Australia. Any wheeled vehicle is there called in the blacks' "pidgin English" a *whil-pra*, that is, a wheel-barrow, *Pinnaru* being Headman, or leader. The name followed him on from tribe to tribe.

[2] O. Siebert.

in advance of their camp. The guide, waving his branch at arm's-length, said, in a loud tone of voice, that we were travelling peaceably (*Barku-balkala*). Then followed a loud-toned conversation between him and the *Pinnarus* of the camp. Being at length satisfied, they came towards us, and led us to a place adjoining a water-channel, on the farther side of which they were encamped in a cluster of bee-hived-shaped grass huts. Here we were told to camp, and some of their young men were sent to gather wood for our fire.

In this manner I was taken during several days from camp to camp in the country bordering Sturt's Desert and Lake Lipson.

In the Wiimbaio tribe a messenger of death walks in a dejected manner on nearing a camp, holding his spear in one hand and letting it rest in the hollow of the other arm. When close to the camp he says "*Dau*" (death) twice, which is the formula suited to the occasion. His face is painted with a little pipe-clay. He walks through the encampment, repeating the word "*Dau*" at each hut, before he sits down, apart from the others, waiting till some friend brings him some food. After a time he again goes into the camp and delivers his news.

It is always possible to tell by the appearance of the messenger what the kind of news it is, whether of death, of fighting, or of elopements.[1]

In the Ngarigo tribe a message was called *Mabun*, and a messenger *Gunumilli*. He might be any one chosen by the old men or the Headman.

A messenger who merely carried a verbal message from some person to another would probably carry with it a ball, made of strips of opossum pelt rolled tightly together, as a friendly token from the sender.

A man was chosen as messenger for tribal matters who had relatives at the place to which he was to go.

The man who acted as messenger between myself and the Murring Headmen about the holding of the initiation ceremonies was the Headman of the Snowy River clan of

[1] Dr. M'Kinlay.

the Kurnai, but his mother was a Ngarigo woman. He was therefore free of her tribe, and was the recognised means of communication between the Krauatungalung and the Ngarigo. He spent his time mostly between the two places, and had thus become known to the Yuin and attended their ceremonies.

If the message related to a corrobboree, the Ngarigo messenger carried a man's kilt (*Buran*), a head-band (*Ngunumila*), and nose-peg (*Elangantu*). If it related to an expiatory fight, he carried a shield for spear-fighting (*Birkumba*); but if it was to call a war-party together, he carried a jag-spear (*Jerumbuddi*). In relation to the initiation ceremonies the token was a bull-roarer (*Mudji*) and also a spear, boomerang, and shield. A messenger carrying the tidings of the death of some person had his face painted with a white streak from each eye down to the lower jaw.

In the Wiradjuri tribe there is a Headman for each totem, who is the oldest man of the name. Important messages, such as those relating to the *Burbung* ceremonies, are sent by a Headman. The messenger must be of the same totem as the sender, and the message is sent to the oldest man in the same totem in the locality to which the messenger goes. This oldest man is the head of his totem at that place. In one case within my knowledge, such a message was sent by a Headman of the *Kubbi* sub-class and the red kangaroo totem, and his messenger was of the same sub-class and totem. The message is thus sent on by men of the same totem from place to place.

All kinds of messages are sent on in this manner, and the messengers are regarded as sacred, and may safely travel anywhere, so long as they possess the proper sign or emblem of their office.

The practice of the Kamilaroi tribes may be taken as that of the tribe which lived nearest to Maitland in New South Wales, about fifty years back. In each clan there was one man who was the herald, and had an official designation. He was well known in all the adjoining tribes, and could go in safety between them, even when

they were at war. When sent as an envoy to the enemies' camp, he might have to wait for a night to bring back a message from them. While there, he made a camp by himself, a little distance from their encampment. These heralds, being well known, did not need to carry any badge or emblem of office; but if a black was employed as a white man's messenger, the message was written on a piece of paper which was fastened in the end of a split stick. Carrying this before him, he might pass safely through an enemy's country, because he was seen to be the white man's messenger, and if any harm were done to him, the tribe of the white man would be very angry.[1]

As a curious parallel to this, I may mention that when returning from Cooper's Creek into the settlements of South Australia, a young man of the Yaurorka tribe, who had attached himself to me, accompanied my party to a stage beyond Blanch-water. To ensure him good treatment by any white man he might meet on his way through the settlements, I wrote a sort of passport which I folded up and put into the end of a stick. I explained to him what it was, and when he sorrowfully started on his long journey he carried the stick perpendicularly in his hand in front of himself, as a sort of talisman which would ensure safety.

In 1862 a messenger arrived at the blacks' camp at Ningy Gully station, on the Moonie River in Southern Queensland, bringing a message about the Boorool *Bora*, or Big *Bora*. This is in the Wollaroi or Yualaroi country, the language being akin to the Kamilaroi. The messenger, one of the lesser *Koradjis*, approached the camp as the sun was sinking. The two oldest men in the camp met him, and made his fire. The message-stick which he carried was ornamented with paint and cockatoo down, and he himself was in war-paint, with feather head-dress. He came from the *Bora* ground, near the New South Wales border, where the Headmen were. He had also a bull-roarer, and that night, when there was a corrobboree, it was sounded. The same occurred at each station up the

[1] C. Naseby.

river, as he proceeded, for each station fed regularly six to twelve blacks, the men riding after cattle, the women herding milkers, washing, etc. Other messengers were sent on the same business in other directions.[1]

The means of communication by the Geawe-gal and neighbouring, and even more distant, tribes was by persons having the character of heralds. Their persons were sacred even among hostile tribes. From occasional residences in distant places many of them acquired different dialects fluently. Other men, engaged in affairs of less moment, may be termed "special messengers." They also were respected scrupulously, but perhaps their persons were not so sacred as those of the heralds, under certain conditions, and their journeys were made in safer territories. A herald would be selected for dangerous latitudes.[2]

With the Gringai a messenger can pass in safety from one tribe to another. The red-coloured net which is worn round the forehead is usually an emblem for calling the tribe together. When a messenger is within sound of the camp to which he is sent, he gives a particular "coo-ee," when all hearing it assemble to hear what he has to say, but not a word is spoken to him till he thinks it proper to unburden his message, and sometimes he sits quite silent for a long time. When, however, he unburdens his mind, his eloquence is wonderful, and he is listened to with the greatest attention. No message-sticks were used in this tribe.[3]

My Jajaurung informant, whose father married a woman of the Jupagalk tribe, and whose maternal grandmother was of the Leitchi-leitchi tribe, was one of those men who were sent on important messages. He was free of three tribes, first on account of his father, who lived with the Jupagalk, also on account of his mother and grandmother, as well as of his own tribe the Jajaurung. Thus he became a messenger and intermediary between these tribes. His mother's sister was married to a Jajaurung man who lived at Charlotte Plains, and her son took care of a stone quarry at that place, from which the tribes to the

[1] E. R. Vernon. [2] G. W. Rusden. [3] J. W. Boydell.

north-west were supplied with axe-heads. My informant on one occasion brought down word that the Wotjobaluk, at Lake Hindmarsh, were in want of stone for axes, and this material was obtained from the quarry, and carried up to the next great meeting of the tribes on the Wimmera for barter by my informant's father. This man was not only an intermediary, like his son, but also a great medicine-man, for it was he whom I mentioned elsewhere as having taken up the challenge of the settler at Morton's Plains to make rain and fill his new dam.

In the Wotjobaluk tribes messages are sent from the old men by chosen messengers. This is also the case in other tribes of the same nation.

In the tribes of South-west Victoria there were messengers attached to each tribe who were selected for their intelligence and their ability as linguists. They were employed to carry information from one tribe to another, regarding the time and place of great meetings, corrobborees, marriages, burials, and proposed battles.

Persons carrying these messages are considered sacred when on duty, and to distinguish them from others, they generally travel two together, and are painted according to the nature of the message, so that their appearance denotes the nature of their news before they come to the camp. On arriving at the camp, they sit down without speaking, apparently unobserved, and after a time one of them delivers a short speech, with intoned voice.[1]

It was not necessary in the Kurnai tribe that the message should be carried by any particular person, but generally the messenger was one of the younger men related to the sender. In important matters affecting the tribe, messengers were sent by the *Gweraeil-kurnai*, or Headman, on his own authority, or more frequently after consulting with the old men.

In the Chepara tribe messages were sent on tribal matters by a Headman, or, if of great importance, by the principal Headman. When such a message was sent, it was by a messenger called *Buira*, who was usually the

[1] J. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 72.

sister's son, or sister's daughter's son (*Kanil*), or a similar near relative of the sender.[1]

In the tribes about Maryborough (Queensland), when it has been decided to hold a *Dora* (initiation ceremonies), the old man at whose instance they are to be held calls for a party to carry the message. This consists of from six to ten men, under the guidance of one or two old men, who know the country to which they are to go. They travel secretly, not being protected by their office, and only announce their arrival at a camp when so near that a signal made by striking two boomerangs together can be heard. This signal is immediately understood, and the old men go out and receive them. For the time they are exempted from any party feuds. They carry with them on their return journey only fire-stick, tomahawk, boomerang, spear, and shield, but no rugs or coverings.[2]

A messenger is chosen by the Wakelbura who has a number of friends in the tribe to which he is sent, or which he is instructed to bring back with him. Should such a messenger be injured or killed in a quarrel, in which he was not the aggressor, his tribe would in turn injure or kill the man who did it. This vengeance would be carried out by the messenger's father's and mother's brothers. If the injury was such as to form the subject of a set fight, the weapons would be knives, which were in the olden time of stone, but latterly of part of a shear blade or butcher's knife fixed with a handle.[3]

Messengers are sent by the Buntamurra to call other tribes to fight or for other purposes, and message-sticks are used for the purpose.[4]

MESSAGE-STICKS

The use of message-sticks appears to have been common in the tribes inhabiting the country through which the Darling River flows. The following particulars relate to the tribes of the Itchumundi nation.

[1] J. Gibson.
[2] Harry E. Aldridge.
[3] J. C. Muirhead.
[4] J. H. Kirkham.

Message-sticks can be sent by any one. The marks placed on the sticks are an aid to memory. The numbers 1 and 2 in Fig. 44 represent a message-stick sent to inform the Kongait tribe that the Tongaranka intended holding an initiation ceremony, and inviting their attendance. The notches on No. 1 have the following explanation, counting from the top :—

1. Jumba = make young men.
2. Yantoru = sticks for knocking out teeth.
3. Purtali = small bull-roarer.
4. Bungumbelli = large bull-roarer.
5. Not explained.
6. (Large notch) Tallyera = marking with red ochre.

On No. 2 the notches refer to different localities from which the blacks are to come to Yancannia, which is the larger notch.

Nos. 3 and 4 represent another Tongaranka stick, from the son of the Headman to a man at Tarella. The message was to tell him that the sender, his brothers, and two old men were at a certain water-hole, and wished him to bring his son to be initiated, as there were two other boys ready for the ceremony. In 3 the large notch is the recipient of the message, and the three smaller ones his son and the other boys. The group of three notches in No. 4 represent the sender of the stick and his two brothers, while the two small cuts are the old men.

No. 5 represents a message-stick sent by a man of the Tongaranka tribe, inviting two of his friends at a distance to come and see him, as his wife was ill and could not travel. The lower notch represents the sender, and the two others the men invited.

This message-stick is made of part of a small branch of a tree, and is wrapped round with a few strands of a man's kilt, with which article of man's attire the boy is invested after initiation. The whole is tied up in about two feet of the cord made of twisted opossum fur, which the novice wears for a time, after his initiation, as evidence of his having been made a "young man."[1]

[1] J. W. Boultbee.

The message-stick was known and made use of by the Ngarigo, but not to such an extent as by other tribes. It was a piece of wood a few inches long, with notches at the edges which referred to the message with which the bearer was entrusted.

About the year 1840 my friend, the late Mr. A. M. M'Keachie, met two young men of the Ngarigo tribe at the Snowy River, near to Barnes's Crossing; one of them carried two peeled sticks each about two feet long, and with notches cut in them, which they told him reminded them of their message. The sticks were about one half-inch in diameter. Their message was that they were to collect their tribe to meet those of the Tumut River and Queanbeyan, at a place in the Bogong Mountains, to eat the Bogong moths.[1]

A messenger in the Wiradjuri tribe is provided with a message-stick, the notches on which remind him of his message, and if it is to call the people together for initiation ceremonies, he carries a bull-roarer (*Bobu* or *Mudjigang*), a belt (*Gulir*), a man's kilt (*Buran* or *Tala-bulg*) made of kangaroo-rat skin, a head-string (*Ulungau-ir*), and a white head-band (*Kambrun*). The messenger having made known his message to the man to whom he is sent, and delivered his message with the other emblems above mentioned, the recipient assembles the men at the council-place (*Ngulubul*). He then shows them the message-stick and other articles, and delivers to them the message which he has received. Sometimes, when the kilt is sent, the strands of skin forming it are used instead of a notched stick, to remind the bearer of his message.

The recipient of the message-stick sends it on, with all the articles which he has received, by one of his own people, and it thus travels until the farthest point is reached.

[1] A great gathering usually took place about midsummer on the highest ranges of the Australian Alps, where sometimes from 500 to 700 aborigines, belonging to different friendly tribes, would assemble almost solely to feast on roasted moths (*Bogong*). The moths were thickly congregated in the crevices of the rocks, and were stifled with smouldering brush. Being roasted on the hot ashes, they were shrivelled to about the size of a grain of wheat. The taste of the roasted *Bogongs* is said to be sweetish and rather pleasant eating. ("The Omeo Blacks," by Richard Helms, *op. cit.* p. 387).

In the Yualaroi tribe men not specially appointed carry pieces of wood with marks on them from one person to another, but they have to explain what these marks mean.[1]

The messengers of the Wakelbura tribe carry message-sticks, the marks on which do not convey their meaning without verbal explanation. The man who presents the stick explains what the various markings mean. If the stick were sent by a man of the Malera class, it and everything marked on it would also be Malera. The stick shown on Fig. 45, Nos. 1 and 2, was sent from sub-class *Obu* to *Obu*, the stick being itself of *Gidya* wood, which is *Wutheru-Obu*, and the game is Wutheru, but, being wallaby, might be of either the Obu or Wungo sub-class. The message-stick was sent by a *Tarrima* of the Wakelbura tribe to one of the Yangebura tribe at Blackall. The message referred to game which was to be found in abundance within a wire fence erected near Clermont, and was to invite the Yangebura to come and kill game there. Such message-sticks are always painted; this one was coloured red and blue.[2]

In the case of a message sent by the Turrbal tribe to call another tribe to come to an expiatory combat, a message-stick sent would be marked with certain notches, which the messenger in delivering it would explain in the following manner. Pointing to a certain set of notches, he would say, for instance, "There are the men of a big division of the Wide Bay Tribe, who are coming to see us, to have this fight about one of their people whose death they blame you for." Pointing to another set of notches, he would say, "These other people are coming to help them. This stick is sent you by the great man who sent me, and who says that you are to meet him, at such and such a place. You are to send word on, and tell your friends or the other tribes to come and help you."

The messenger who is sent to call people for a *Dora* ceremony not only carries a message-stick, but also a bull-roarer, to show to the old men.[3]

[1] R. M. Crowthers. [2] J. C. Muirhead. [3] Harry E. Aldridge.

In the tribes within fifty miles of Maryborough (Queensland), the sender of a message-stick makes it in the presence of his messenger and explains it to him. If the messenger cannot deliver it, he in his turn explains it to some other man who undertakes to deliver it. If shown to a man to whom it has not been explained, he may say, "I know this means something, but I do not know what it means."

The following will give an idea of the manner in which a message-stick is prepared and used in these tribes. It is figured in Fig. 44, No. 10.

It is assumed to be from a blackfellow living at some place distant twenty to thirty miles from where some friend is camped, to whom the sender desires to inform of the following message: "I am here, five camps distant from you. In such and such a time I will go and see you. There are so and so with me here. Send me some flour, tea, sugar, and tobacco. How are Bulkoin and his wife and Bunda?"

Having his messenger beside him he would make the marks shown.

Five notches represent the five camps (stages), distance to the recipient; a flat place cut on the stick shows a break in the message; ten notches the time after which the sender will visit his friend; eight notches the eight people camped with the sender; four notches the articles asked for; another flat place on the stick shows another break in the message; and three notches the three persons asked after. Having made these marks, and having explained them to the messenger, he carves the ends of the stick to make it look ornamental, and gives it to him for delivery.[1]

The Headmen of a branch of the Wotjobaluk tribe having consulted and decided that, for instance, some other part of the tribe should be summoned to meet them on some special occasion, the principal man among them prepares a message-stick by making notches on it with a knife. In the old times this was done with a sharp flint or a mussel shell. The man who is to be charged with the message looks on while this is being done, and he thus

[1] Harry E. Aldridge.

receives his message, and learns the reference which the marks on the stick have to it. A notch is made at one end to indicate the sender, and probably also notches for

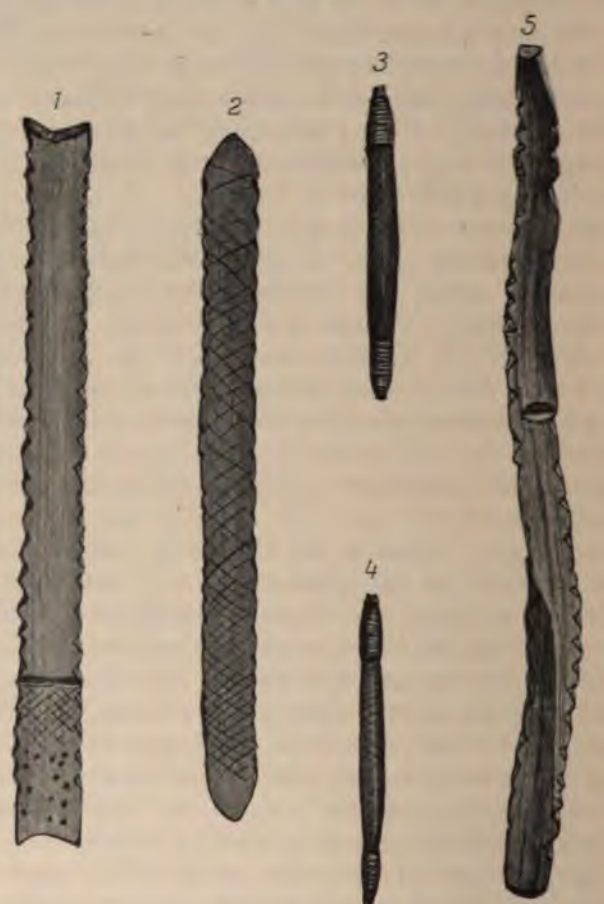


FIG. 43.—MESSAGE-STICKS OF WURUNJERRI, NARRINYERI, GOURNDITCH-MARA, AND WOTJOBALUK TRIBES. $\times \frac{3}{8}$.

those who join him in sending the message. A large notch is made on one side for each tribal group which is invited to attend. If all the people are invited to attend, then the stick is notched from end to end. If very few are invited, a notch is made for each individual, as he is named to the

messenger. The illustration, Fig. 43, No. 5, represents one of these sticks, which was made to convey an invitation from the Headman of the Gromilluk horde to the Yarik-kulluk horde at Lake Coorong, both being local divisions of the Wotjobaluk tribe. All the people were invited to attend. The three notches at the upper end on the right-hand side show the sender and his friends, who were the principal Gromilluk men. The large notch represents the Yarik-killuk horde and its Headman, to whom the message was sent. The notches continuing along the edge to the end and along the other edge indicate all the people of the horde being invited.

The oldest man having made such a message-stick, hands it to the next oldest man, who inspects it, and, if necessary, adds some further marks and gives corresponding instructions. Finally the stick, having passed from one to the other of the old men, is handed to the messenger, who has been duly told off for this duty, and he is informed at the same time when the visitors will be expected to arrive. The enumeration of the days, or the stages of the journey of the visitors, is made in the following manner. Commencing at one little finger, the enumeration is as follows :—

1. *Giti-munya*, or little hand, that is, the little finger.

2. *Gaiup-munya*, from *gaiup*, one, and *munya*, a hand ; the third finger.

3. *Marung-munya*, from *Marung*, the desert pine (*Callitris verucosa*). The middle finger, being longer than the others, is like that tree, which is taller than the other trees growing in the Wotjo country.

4. *Yollop-yollop-munya*, from *yollop*, to point or aim at ; thus *yollop-bit*, the act of aiming a spear, as by the fore-finger being used as a throwing-stick ; the fore-finger.

5. *Bap-munya*, from *bap*, mother, therefore mother of the hand ; the thumb.

6. *Dart-gur*, from *dart*, a hollow, and *gur*, the fore-arm ; the hollow formed by the end of the radius and the wrist.

7. *Boi-bun*, a small swelling, *i.e.* the swelling of the flexor muscle of the fore-arm.

8. *Bun-dari*, a hollow, *i.e.* the inside of the elbow-joint.

9. *Gengen-dartchuk*, from *gengen*, to tie, and *dartchuk*,

the upper arm. This is the name of the place where the armlet of opossum pelt is tied round the biceps for ornament.

10. *Borporung*, the point of the shoulder.

11. *Jarak-gourn*, from *jarak*, a reed, and *gourn*, the neck. This refers to the place where the reed necklace is worn.

12. *Nerup-wrembul*, from *nerup*, the butt, as *nerup-galk*, the butt or base of a tree, and *wrembul*, the ear.

13. *Wurt-wrembul*, from *wurt*, above, and also behind, and *wrembul*, the ear; that is, the head above and just behind the ear.

14. *Doke-doke*, from *doka*, to move, *i.e.* "that which moves," being the muscle which can be seen when in the act of eating.

15. *Det-det*, hard. This is the crown of the head. From this place the count goes down the other side by corresponding places.

This method of counting seems to do away with the often-repeated statement that the Australian aborigines are unable to count beyond four or at the most five. By the above manner of counting they are able to reckon up to thirty, with names for each place.

The messenger carries the message-stick in a net bag, and on arriving at the camp to which he is sent, he hands it to the Headman, at some place apart from the others, saying, "So and so sends you this," and he then gives his message, referring as he does so to the marks on the stick; and, if his message requires it, also to the time in days, or the stages to be made, in the manner already pointed out.

The Headman, having examined the message-stick, hands it to the other old men, and having satisfied himself how many people are wanted, and how many hordes are to be present, and having made such further inquiries as seem necessary, calls all the people together and announces the message to them.

This kind of message-stick, called *galk*, that is, wood or stick, may be seen by any one. It is retained by the

recipient, who carries it back to the meeting to which he has been called. The messenger lives in the camp with some of his friends, until they all depart to the meeting, when he accompanies them.

Such a messenger would never be interfered with. No one would think of injuring a man who brings news of important matters. But if any one were to molest him, the whole of the people would take the matter up, and especially his own friends. The messenger does not carry anything emblematical of his mission beyond the stick, even when carrying a message calling a meeting for an expiatory combat, or for a *Ganitch*, the initiation ceremony. But when conveying news of death, he smears his face with pipe-clay in token of his message.

In the Gournditch-mara tribe message-sticks were used. Nos. 3 and 4 of Fig. 43 are two which were used probably thirty or forty years ago. The ends of such sticks were tied round with fine twine or sinews. If sent to a friendly tribe, it would be an invitation to a feast and dancing corrobboree, and would be wrapped up in a piece of kangaroo skin. If, however, it were sent as a call to attend a fight or a raid on another tribe, the messenger carried a barbed spear, in the point of which two emu feathers were fixed.[1]

In the tribes of south-western Victoria a meeting of the adjacent friendly tribes was called by the Headman sending two messengers to the Headman of the nearest tribe, bearing a message-stick, about six inches long and one inch in diameter, with five or six sides, one of these indicating by notches the number of tribes to be summoned, and the others the number of men required from each. The messengers do not explain the business of the proposed meeting. Immediately a Headman receives the message he sends for his principal men, who pass their hands down the stick and ascertain the number of men required from the tribe. They then decide who are to be sent. The stick is next forwarded by messengers from their tribe to the nearest Headman, who sends it on to the next, and so on till all are summoned. The most distant tribe starts first, and joining the others in

[1] J. H. Stähle.

succession, all arrive in a body in the camp of the Headman who sent for them.

The spear-thrower is also used as a message-stick, but when so employed it is specially marked to indicate its purpose.

As an instance of the procedure of the tribes of the Kulin nation, I take that of the Wurunjerri.

It was the Headman who sent out messengers (*Wirrigiri*) to collect people for festive occasions, for ceremonial or expiatory fights, or for other matters concerning the tribe, and he did this after consulting with the other old men. The messenger was usually one of the younger men, and if possible one whose sister was married to some one in that place to which he was to go, for under such circumstances a man could go and return in safety, being protected by his friends and connections. Messengers were chosen who were not implicated in any blood-feud. People were always pleased to receive news, and no messenger known as such was ever injured.

The message-stick, called *Mungu* or *Kalk* (wood) or *Barndana* (that is, "mark it"), was made by the sender, and was retained by the recipient of the message as a reminder of what he had to do, perhaps to meet the sender at a certain time and place, or to meet and feast on fish or game. For friendly meetings, when there was no quarrel or danger, the messenger carried a man's belt (*Branjep*), and a woman's apron (*Kaiung*) hung upon a reed. For meetings to settle quarrels or grievances, such as a bodily injury inflicted, or the death of some one by evil magic, by a set combat, or to concert an attack on another tribe, the *Branjep* was hung upon a jag-spear made of ironbark wood,[1] and when calling a meeting for the initiation of boys (*Talangun*), the messenger carried also a bull-roarer and a man's kilt hung upon a reed. The bull-roarer was kept secret from the sight of women or children.

If the message was to call the people together for a corrobboree or for ball-playing, a ball made of opossum pelt, cut in strips and rolled up tightly, was sent. This was

[1] *Eucalyptus sideroxylon.*

called *Mangurt*, and was sent also from one person to another as a friendly mark of regard. For ball-playing, the ball, made from the scrotum of an old-man kangaroo, stuffed with dry grass, was also sent.

The place of meeting being named in the message, which the messenger "carried in his mouth," it might be further necessary to indicate the day on which the people should assemble, and this was done, as with the Wotjobaluk, by enumerating parts of the human body, commencing with the little finger of one hand. The names of these enumerations are as follows :—

1. *Bubupi-muningya*, the child of the hand, the little finger.

2. *Bulato-ravel*, a little larger, the third finger.

3. *Bulato*, larger, the middle finger.

4. *Urnung-meluk*, from *Urnung*, a direction, and *Meluk*, a large grub found in some eucalypti ; the forefinger.

5. *Babungyi-muningya*, the mother of the hand, the thumb.

6. *Krauel*, the wrist-joint.

7. *Ngurumbul*, a fork, the divergence of the radial tendons.

8. *Jeraubil*, the swelling of the radial muscles.

9. *Thambur*, a round place, the inside of the elbow-joint.

10. *Berbert*, the ringtail opossum. Also the name of the armlet made from the pelt of that animal, hence the name of the biceps round which the armlet is worn on festive occasions.

11. *Wulung*, the shoulder-joint.

12. *Krakerap*, the bag place, the place where the bag hangs by its band, *i.e.* the collar-bone.

13. *Gurnbert*, the reed necklace, the neck, or place where the reed necklace is worn.

14. *Kurnagor*, the point or end of a hill, or of a spur or ridge, hence the lobe of the ear.

15. *Ngarabul*, a range or the ridge of a hill, hence the side suture of the skull.

16. *Bundial*, the cutting-place, *i.e.* the place where the

mourner cuts himself with some sharp instrument, from *Budagra*, "to cut," *e.g. Budagit-kalk*, "cut the log." This is the top of the head. From this place the count follows the equivalents on the other side.

The message-stick, Fig. 43, No. 1, is one which Berak made to show what they were like as used by his tribe formerly. The explanation is as follows. The notches on the upper end at the left hand of the stick represent the sender and other old men with him. The remainder of the stick being notched along the whole of the two sides, means that all the men of both localities are to be present. The markings on the flat side, at the lower end, are only for ornament, as are also the crescent-shaped ends of the stick. This message is an invitation to some people at a distance to come to a corrobboree.

The Jajaurung counted the number of days or camps in the same manner as the Wotjobaluk and Wurunjerri, thus showing that this system was probably universal among the tribes of, at any rate, the Wotjo and Kulin nations. But the Wudthaurung tribe, about Geelong, with which Buckley lived for over thirty years, had, according to him, a different method. He says that a messenger came from another tribe saying they were to meet them some miles off. Their method of describing time is by signs on the fingers, one man of each party marking his days by chalking on the arm and then rubbing one off as each day passes. Elsewhere he says that before he left a certain place, a *Bihar* or messenger came to them. He had his arms striped with red clay to denote the number of days it would take them to reach the tribe he came from. On another occasion, when a large party left on a distant hunting excursion, they marked their arms in the usual manner with stripes to denote how many days they would be absent; and one of the men who remained did the same, rubbing off one mark each day, to denote the lapse of time.[1]

I have seen counting done by the Kulin by the hand combined with the other method. The little finger being *Kanbo* or one, the third finger *Benjero* or two, the middle

[1] Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 49, 61.

finger *Kanbo-ba-benjero*, three, the forefinger *Benjero-ba-benjero*, four, and the thumb *Benjero-ba-benjero-ba-kanbo*, five. The enumeration was then carried on in the manner described, commencing with *Krauel*, the wrist-joint.

In the Narrang-ga tribe meetings of the elders are called together by messengers who carry message-sticks. The messengers are chosen by the principal Headman, or in matters of local importance by the Headman of the locality, or the Headman who had initiated the proceedings in question. If a reply is required, the same or some other messenger will carry it back, sometimes with a message-stick, but very often by word of mouth only. There is apparently no rule as to the return message.

When a part of the tribe is at a distance, and the Headman wishes some of them to return to him, he sends a message-stick, on which he cuts a notch representing himself and others for the old men next to him in authority. These are cut on the upper edge of the stick, while the notches cut on the other edge represent the number of people he wants to come to him.

The message-stick is called *Mank*, and is rolled up in the skin of any kind of animal. At the present time a handkerchief is commonly used. If the message is a challenge to fight, the messenger in handing the message-stick says, "*Dudla*," which means fight. If the message is one calling people together for a dancing corrobboree, a piece of wood is used, marked in a special manner, which is understood without further explanation. In Fig. 44, Nos. 6 and 7 represent the two sides of such a stick. In 6, which is a message about a dancing corrobboree, the four notches on the upper part of the right-hand edge represent four old men who are invited to attend, those lower down are the women, and those on the left-hand edge represent the men who accompany the old men. In 7 the notch at the upper part of the right-hand edge is the sender of the message, the three at the bottom are singers, and the intermediate notches represent the women. The notches along the edge at the opposite side are the men of the tribe. Nos. 8 and 9 are the two sides of a stick sent to summon to an initia-

tion ceremony. The longer notches at the top of the right-hand edge of 8 represent the old men to whom the stick is sent, those lower down are the women, and the edge on the

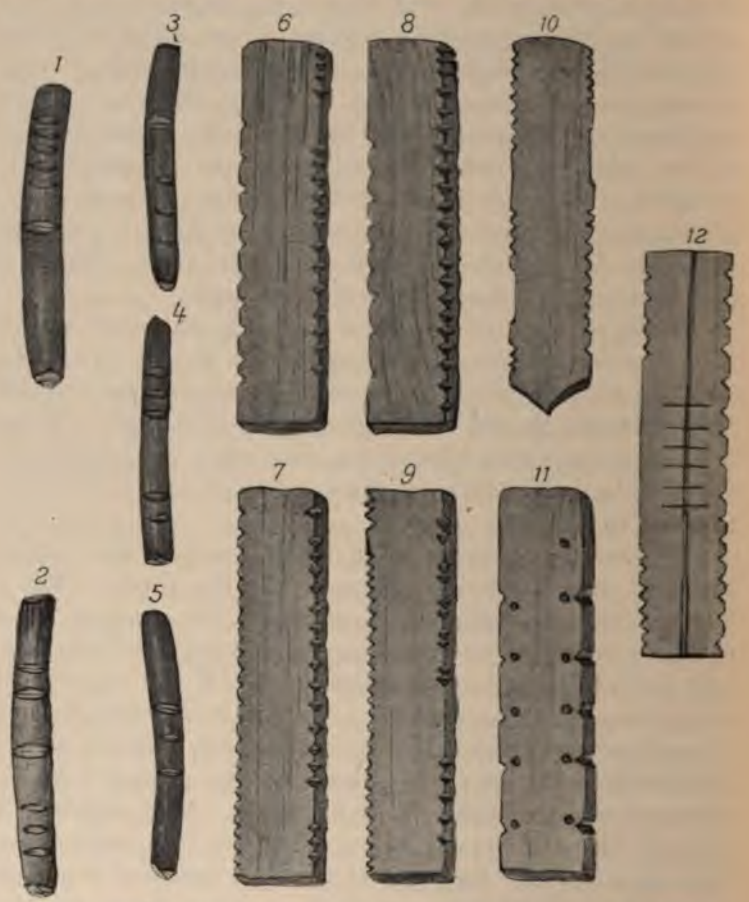


FIG. 44.—MESSAGE-STICKS OF THE TONGARANKA, NARRANG-GA, MUNDAIN-BURA, AND YAKUNBURA TRIBES. $\times \frac{2}{3}$.

other side being notched indicates that the men are to come. On No. 9 the three upper notches represent the sender of the message and two other old men. The notches all down the edge represent all the men of that moiety of the tribe. The five notches at the bottom of the right-hand

edge are the boys to be initiated, and the five pairs of notches above represent couples of men to look after the boys during the ceremony.

It is not lawful for women to see this stick, which would be sent rolled up with a corrobboree stick in some covering.

Two of the three old men referred to on No. 9 are two principal men who have already been instructed by the sender of the message, and whose duty it is to see that everything in their department is done correctly. These two old men are next in authority to the Headman and sit with him in consultation. It seems from my information that these two old men are analogous to the man in the Wurunjerri tribe who stood by *Billi-billeri* and "gave his words to other people," as before mentioned.

The five boys may be of any division of the tribe. One of the men in each couple is the father's brother of the boy, and the other man's duty is to hold his hands over the boy's eyes during a certain part of the initiation ceremonies.

The plan on which these sticks are marked seems to be this. Assuming that the Headman of one part of the tribe wishes to send a message to the Headman of the other part, he cuts a notch on one end of the upper side for himself, with one or more notches close to it, according to the number of old men with him. At the other end he cuts a notch for the recipient of the message, and a number of notches for the people he wishes to be sent to him. If there is not enough room he cuts their notches on the under side.[1] It seems from this that the marks themselves, for instance, on the corrobboree and initiation sticks, might from constant use by the same person, or a succession of persons using the same method, and for substantially the same objects, come to have a certain meaning. This might then become a first step to a rude style of communicating thought by marks, unaccompanied by verbal explanation. I was told of a case in which a message-stick was carried by my correspondent, Mr. Sutton, for one of the Narrang-ga, which was merely a flat piece of wood with one notch at one end and two notches close together at the other. He

[1] T. M. Sutton.

delivered it without saying more than, "This is from so-and-so," not having received any message with it. The recipient, however, knew that the sender had been separated from his wife, and he understood the stick to mean that the two had been reconciled, and were together again, and this was the correct reading of the marks on the stick. This supports the view which I have suggested.

In the Narrinyeri tribe a messenger is called *Brigge*. When on a mission, he carries some part of his totem as an emblem. For instance, a messenger of the Tanganarin carried a pelican's feather, one of the Rangulinyeri a dingo's tail, one of the Karowalli a snake's skin. The messenger was safe from harm by reason of his office, and he was chosen to carry the message by the council of old men. The messenger delivered his message to the Headman of the clan to which he was sent, who sometimes escorted him part of the way back.[1] He also carried a message-stick, of which No. 2, Fig. 43, is an example.

The message-stick was in the most rudimentary state in the Kurnai tribe. If, for instance, a man desired to send a message to men of another division of his clan, or of another clan, asking them to meet him at a certain time and place, he would probably do so in the following manner. I assume, as an illustration, that the meeting is to be at a locality indicated by name, that it will take place after "two moons," and that such and such persons are to be there. The sender in giving his message to his *Baiara*, or messenger, would, if he used anything to aid his memory, break off a number of short pieces of stick, equal in number to the people he asks to meet him, one for each person, or the people of a certain place. By delivering them one by one, his messenger checks the accuracy of his memory as to the verbal message given him. The number of stages to be travelled are fixed by telling them off on the fingers of one or of both hands. If they were insufficient, the count would be again over the same fingers, or recourse would be had to the toes.

If the message was sent by the Headman of the locality,

[1] F. W. Taplin.

or of the clan, relating, for instance, to the *Jeraeil* ceremonies, the messenger would also carry with him as his credentials a bull-roarer, which he would deliver with his message in secret.

It was not infrequently the case that a Headman, to authenticate his messenger, gave him some weapon, for instance a club, known to the recipient of the message.

When the last great tribal ceremonial combat took place, the parties to it had been summoned to meet at a certain place, by a messenger who carried a jag-spear, on which was hung a man's kilt (*Bridda-bridda*) as the emblem of his mission.

A friendly messenger sent from one clan to another was also called *Bidda*. In 1850, that is, about eight years after the first settlement of Gippsland, such a messenger came from the Dairgo clan to those nearer the sea, and in delivering his message he spoke for a considerable time as to the relations between his people and the Ovens River tribe.

I am not aware what emblem he carried, but as in the case of the message calling together the tribes which I have mentioned, it might probably be a man's *Bridda-bridda* hung from the point of a spear.

No one would harm such messengers on such an occasion.

In the Chepara tribe the messenger, if sent by the principal Headman, carried with him a message stick called *Kabugabul-bajeru*, the markings on which are always the same, having been handed down from past times, and are known to the Headmen. It signifies that the recipient must start at once for the appointed place. The stick tells this of itself, but the actual message is by word of mouth.

Women and children are not permitted to see this stick.

The messenger delivers the message and the message-stick to the Headman of the clan to which he is sent, and which is nearest to his own. This Headman then sends it on by his own messenger to the next, and so on till it has been taken to all the clans. The message-stick is returned to the original sender. In cases of unusual importance, the original messenger has been known to carry the message-stick and message to all the clans of the tribe.

This message-stick was sent when all the tribe was to be collected for great meetings, ceremonial fights, or the *Bora* ceremonies.

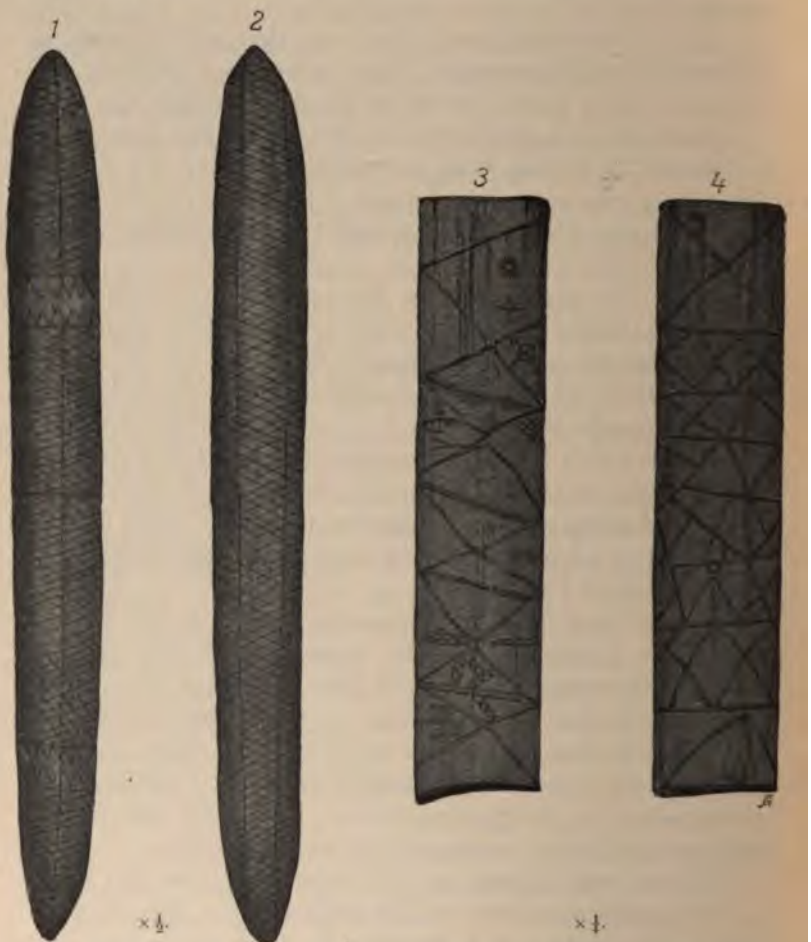


FIG. 45.—MESSAGE-STICK OF THE WAKELBURA TRIBE, AND KABUGABUL-BAJERU OF CHEPARA TRIBE.

The messenger was painted in a particular manner, was decked with feathers, and carried, when calling a *Bora*, in addition to the *Kabugabul-bajeru*, a bull-roarer (*Bribbun*), and a spear, to the point of which is attached a bag containing

quartz crystals, which could be only shown to the several Headmen.

This bull-roarer is kept by the principal Headman, and is believed to have special power. If seen by a woman, she is killed; if a man were to show it to her, both would be killed. The same penalty attaches to the revealing of the *Kabugabul-bajeru*.[1]

The message-stick No. 12 in Fig. 44 is from the Yakunbura tribe of the Dawson River, Queensland. One end is coloured blue, the other red; the notches are to remind the messenger of the various parts of his message, and the lines marked across the longitudinal one are the days on which he has travelled. The persons to whom the stick is sent know from them the number of days it will take them to travel to the place from which the messenger has come.

A message-stick from the Mundainbura tribe of the Durham Downs in Queensland is shown on Fig. 44, No. 11. The notches shown on the right-hand edge represent a number of men of the Kurgilla sub-class. The two rows of dots represent men respectively of the Kunbe and Wungu sub-classes. The notches on the left-hand edge represent men of the Kuburu sub-class. The message with it was to invite these people to a corrobboree.[2]

I sent a sketch of the stick to a valued correspondent, Mr. R. Christison of Lammermoor Station, with a request that he would ascertain what the men of the Dalebura tribe, living with him, could make of it. The Dalebura tribe has the same sub-classes as the Mundainbura tribe. In reply he informed me that his blacks made out the stick to mean, that the right-hand notches represent the Karagilla sub-class; the left-hand the Kuburu sub-class, and the dots represent a wish to meet.

This statement shows that the notches in the right and left-hand edges have a definite meaning as the Kurgilla and Kuburu sub-classes respectively. In the Kuinmurbura tribe, meetings for initiation ceremonies are called by means of message-sticks.

[1] J. Gibson. [2] W. Logan.

One sent by the blacks to the westward was from the Bau totem (black eagle-hawk) to the Merkein totem (laughing jackass) of the Kuinmurbura tribe. It was a piece of rosewood about five inches by one and a half inch, and one inch thick.[1]

The evidence shows that the message-sticks are merely a kind of tally, to keep record of the various heads of the message, and that the markings have no special meaning as conventional signs conveying some meaning. The instances which I have noted in the Narrang-ga and Mundainbura tribes merely show how such markings might, under favourable conditions, become the first steps to a system of conveying a message otherwise than verbally. What we find here may perhaps be considered as early stages, the ultimate result of which might be a system of writing, in which symbols would bear some resemblance to the original notches on these message-sticks.

Tribal Expeditions

All the tribes about Lake Eyre, and indeed far beyond it, use as a narcotic the dried leaves and twigs of the Pitcheri bush.[2]

The Dieri, at the time when I was in their country, sent a party of able-bodied men annually to the Pitcheri country, on the Herbert River in Northern Queensland, a distance of some two hundred and fifty miles from their boundaries. This party had to pass through the country of several hostile tribes, and if necessary to fight their way. On arriving at the Pitcheri country, the leaves and small twigs of this bush were picked off. Small holes, two feet deep, were dug in the sand and heated with live coals. When the holes were sufficiently heated they were cleaned out, the Pitcheri placed in them, covered up with hot sand, and then baked. When the sap had been evaporated, the Pitcheri was taken out and packed in netted bags or small wallaby skins, each man on the return of the party carrying a load of about seventy pounds.

Great preparations are made by the Dieri for the return

[1] W. H. Flowers. [2] *Duboisia Hopwoodii*.

of the party. New huts are made, seeds of the season are stored up for fathers, brothers, husbands, and friends.

When such a party returned, its members were full of strange stories of battles they had fought, of tribes they had seen, men having toes behind their feet as well as in front, and all kinds of wild and extravagant reports.

The Pitcheri, though brought from so great a distance and obtained under such difficulties, is all gone after a few months, being bartered away to more southern tribes.[1]

Mr. Gason informed me that when the Dieri expedition returned, he used to obtain as much as six bags, weighing each three pounds, for one shirt. As soon as the Pitcheri became scarce, the leading men would come to him, bringing all kinds of weapons as presents for a small quantity, begging him to give them "*pitcheri waka yinkeami*," that is, "give one little (chew of) Pitcheri."

I found the use of Pitcheri very common among the Yantruwunta. Frequently a quid of it was offered to me fresh from the mouth of a friendly blackfellow, and in an unchewed state I obtained it in small bags made of grass twine and human hair. The Yantruwunta also sent out a similar party for Pitcheri, and they told me that they travelled about ten days' journey for it, pointing to the north-west as the direction. This would give a distance of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, and roughly agrees with the position of what is called the Pitcheri country. The Yantruwunta mixed the Pitcheri, before use, with the dried leaves of a bush called by them *Wirha*, which grows plentifully on the sandhills in their country, and which they dry in hot ashes for use. I found the use of Pitcheri to extend to the tribes of the Barrier Ranges, thus indicating an extended system of barter.

In July or August in each year the Dieri sent out an expedition southwards to procure red ochre. This was always regarded as being a perilous journey, with many dangers and privations. It seems to have been one of the most important duties of the Blanch-water division of the tribe to see to this matter. Some seventy to eighty of

[1] S. Gason.

the picked fighting-men of the tribe went on this mission, under some great leader. Each man was painted with three stripes of red ochre, with three stripes of micaceous iron-ore, immediately below them, across the abdomen. Two similar lines were drawn across the arms. Each man had all the hair of his beard and moustache plucked out, and the hair of his head cut short before he started.

They were well armed, and, if necessary, fought their

FIG. 46.—WIRHA. ACACIA SALICINA.

way against all opposition. The distance to be travelled depended upon where the party started from, and might be as much as three hundred miles. When in hostile country a watch was kept each night, and they had to procure food while travelling. The red ochre, when dug from some aboriginal mine, for instance near Beltana, was kneaded into large cakes, weighing when dry from seventy to eighty pounds. The red ochre is used for paint, for magical charms and such purposes, and also for barter with other tribes for spears, shields, and other weapons.

The Yantruwunta gave me a similar account of their annual expedition to fetch *Pocato* (red ochre), and also slabs of sandstone, on which they grind seeds of various plants and grasses for food. The locality to which they went for these things must, from the description given me, have been far down on the western side of the Flinders Range, and the distance over three hundred miles. They told me that such a party might not stop two nights at any one place in the journey; but had to fight its way there and back, and hunt for food as they went along. The flagstones used for grinding seeds were obtained not far from the red ochre mine. Each man carried back either a slab of stone or lump of red ochre on his head.

That these parties had to often fight their way to the mines of red ochre and freestone slabs is not surprising, when one remembers that these places were the property of the tribes in whose country they were situated. These expeditions were a trespass on them, and interfered with the barter which the owners of the mines no doubt carried on with other tribes. The case of the stone quarry before mentioned, in the Wurunjerri country, throws a sidelight on these matters.

There is a curious custom among the Dieri which may find its place here. It is called *Yutchin*. When a black-fellow is going a distance from home, either to another of the Dieri hordes, or its lesser divisions, or to a neighbouring tribe, some one at his camp becomes his *Yutchin*. This is done by tieing a string made of human hair or native flax round his neck, to remind him of his promise to bring back presents.

It is then his duty to bring back with him articles for his *Yutchin*, who while he is away also collects presents for him. Under no circumstances is such a pledge broken, for if a person failed in it he would have all the men in the camp at him, and he would be reproached for being an untrustworthy man. Mr. Gason was frequently the *Yutchin* of some Dieri man, giving him old wearing apparel, and receiving from him in return carved weapons and ornamental articles. This practice is used for bartering. For instance,

if a man saw a carved boomerang which he desired to have, he would say to the owner, "I will give you such and such things for it, if you will be my *Yutchin*." If this is agreed to, and the proposer after having been away at some outside place brings back the things agreed upon, the exchange is made.

When the Dieri see a man or a woman with a string round his or her neck, they say, "Who are you *Yutchin* for?"

A son may be a *Yutchin* for his father; for instance, the latter may promise to make some boomerangs for his sons while they are out hunting for him. Whatever they catch, no matter how much it is, they hand it to him on their return; and the women flock to see what kind of *Yutchin* the boys have been. The boomerangs are of course made and handed over at once. Little boys will coax their father to make boomerangs for them by promising to be his *Yutchin*.[1]

When at Cooper's Creek I observed that the blacks used shields made of some wood not known to me in that part of Australia. Subsequently, when I was able to obtain information from them, I learned the following particulars. The Yantruwunta obtained these shields from their neighbours higher up Cooper's Creek, who got them from tribes farther to the north-east. The Yantruwunta on their part exchanged weapons made by them, and stone slabs for grinding seeds which they brought from the south. I also saw among these tribes, though rarely, a portion of a large univalve shell, worn suspended by a string from the neck, which I was told came from the north. Inquiries made later from the Dieri show that they bartered with the Mardala, or hill tribes, to the south of them, for skins.

This information indicates an extensive system of inter-tribal communication and barter, which was apparently carried on by men who were the recognised means of communication. But there are also established trade centres at which the tribes meet on certain occasions for a regulated barter. One of these old trade centres is Kopperamana on the Cooper, where the surrounding tribes met periodically

[1] S. Gason.

to confer and barter their respective manufactures. It may be noted here, that the name Kopperamana is a mutilation of the true name *Kappara-mara*, from *Kappara* meaning "hand," and *Mara* meaning "root." But *Mara* also means "hair" of the head, which is connected with the head as the fingers are with the hand. The meaning of the name really is, that as the fingers all come together in the "root" of the hand, so do the native tribes come together at Kopperamana to confer together, and especially to exchange their respective articles of barter. Kopperamana is, therefore, one of the trade centres for the tribes allied to the Dieri.

There are four different occasions on which the barter is carried on. One, which I have already described, is when a blood-feud is settled by barter of goods, so that the feud may be healed, bloodshed be avoided, and people live in peace.[1]

Here we see a procedure which, under favourable conditions, might have developed into such a custom as that of the *Wergeld* of the Teutonic tribes. Another occasion of barter is when there is an assembly for the great *Wilyaru* ceremony.

At the termination of this ceremony, the young man who has been made *Wilyaru-mara*[2] is sent out to call the people together, from far and near, to the market, as it may be called, which is held in his honour. After some months he returns to the place where he was made *Wilyaru*, accompanied by a number of men from other places laden with articles for barter. Another lot of men from other places, who are all *Wilyaru*, have joined the men belonging to the locality, and await at the bartering place the arrival of the *Wilyaru* and his companions. On some evening after his arrival, soon after nightfall, the sound of the *Yuntha* (bull-roarer) is heard, and fire signals, at first several miles distant, are seen approaching. To this they reply by throwing burning pieces of wood up in the air, and sounding the *Yuntha*. Then, as the approaching party comes nearer, the shouts at each renewal of the fire signal can be heard, until at length visitors enter upon the prepared ground, their leader

[1] O. Siebert. [2] *Mara* is "new."

being preceded by the *Wilyaru-mara*, and both parties join in a ceremonial dance, to the sound of the bull-roarer.

Suddenly the leader jumps on the back of the *Wilyaru-mara*, who then dances in the midst of the circle of men, with quivering limbs. Then they change places, and the leader dances, carrying the *Wilyaru*.

This being over, the two parties separate, and sitting down opposite each other, the bartering commences in the same manner as in the Yutyuto ceremonies.

The Dieri exchange string-tassels, which are worn by the men for decency, netted bags, red ochre, etc. Tribes from the east bring boomerangs (*Kirha*), shields (*Pirha-mara*),[1] and other articles made of wood. Those who come from the north bring Pitcheri and feathers. Those who come from the south and west bring stone slabs. These particulars indicate the nature of the inter-tribal trade, and the radius within which it is carried on, taking Kopperamana as the centre. It may certainly be held that reciprocal trade centres exist in the tribal countries, from which those who attend the meetings at Kopperamana come.[2]

There is another ceremony connected with bartering called *Kani-nura*. It arises when a mother, being out seeking for food, has with her her son, of about five years of age, and sees a *Kani*.[3]

She kills the *Kani* and roasts it on the fire, but carefully keeps the tail, and, on returning to the camp, gives it to her husband. He gives it to a *Neyi* of his son, who is an aged man,[4] and says to him, "Your *Ngatata* has seen a *Kani*; here is the tail. I think it best to burn it at once." He replies, "Do not do that, he must go to my country." That place may be at a great distance, even as far as Salt Creek, Oudnadatta, or Kunangara. The *Neyi* takes the boy—who is now called *Kani-nura*, from the cord which the *Neyi* ties round him—and sends him by another *Neyi* to his country, where his kindred look after the boy. After a time these return, bringing with them articles for barter,

[1] *Pirha* is a wooden bowl, and *mara* is the hand. [2] O. Siebert.

[3] *Kani* is a lizard.

[4] *Neyi* is elder brother, *Ngatata*, younger brother. The context shows that these are "tribal" and not "own" relationships.

carrying them secretly, so that no one may see what they are. The people who have come with the boy, and the people of his own place, seat themselves opposite to each other; the old *Neyi* of the boy who had called the people together, by means of the *Kani-nura*, being so placed that he just faces the boy, who is seated on his father's lap. The *Neyi* holds the *Kani-nura* cord against the breast of the boy, and says, "Why did you find the *Kani?* You must not think that you have any longer any *Neyi* or *Kaka* (elder sister) in my country, any more than there will be a *Kani-nura* when the fire has burned it." Then he breaks the cord and throws the pieces into the fire. The people who have come together for the ceremony then exchange their things, and lastly the *Neyi* of the boy, who sent him to his country, and the *Neyi* who took care of him, exchange theirs.

These ceremonies take place whenever a little boy finds a *Kani*, or one of the small lizards called *Tiubba-tiubba* and *Kadiwaru*.[1]

Bartering was also practised by the Wiimbaio, with the blacks from higher up the Darling River, who occasionally brought down wood of the mulga tree for spear points, slabs of stone, and hard and heavy pestles of granite for pounding and grinding seeds and tough tubers. These they exchanged for nets, twine, or fish-hooks.[2]

When the people who attended the great tribal meetings of the Wotjobaluk were about to depart to their homes there was an assembly at the *Jun*, or men's council-place, where they exchanged the articles which they had brought for the purpose. These articles were such as the following: Sets of spears, respectively called *Guiyum-ba-jarram*, or jag spear, and reed spears; opossum skin rugs, called *Jirak-willi* (opossum skin); men's kilts, called *Burring-jun*, made of the skin of the kangaroo-rat (*Goiyi*), or padi-melon (*Jallagur*); armlets worn round the upper arm, called *Murrumdat-yuk;* wooden bowls called *Mitchigan;* in fact, all the implements, utensils, arms, and ornaments used by these people. It was to such a meeting that the Jajaurung man,

[1] O. Siebert. [2] J. Bulmer.

Tenamet-javolich, before mentioned, carried stone from the quarry at Charlotte Plains to be made into axe-heads. The same was the case with the meetings of the Jupagalk tribe.

The same practice of barter occurred when there were great tribal meetings in the Kulin nation. Such a meeting was held about the year 1840 at the Merri Creek near Melbourne, at which people came from the Lower Goulburn River, from its upper waters, and even from as far as the Buffalo River. Not only was barter carried on, but, as Berak said, people made presents to others from distant parts "to make friends."[1]

Buckley mentions that a messenger (*bihar*) came from the Wudthaurung to propose that the latter should exchange eels for roots. The place of meeting was about fourteen days' distance to travel. The exchange was made by two men of each party delivering the eels and roots on long sheets of bark, carrying them on their heads from one party to the other until the bargain was concluded. When the tribes separated an agreement was made to meet again for barter.

The Yuin ceremonies of initiation were attended by people from a district included by Shoalhaven River, Braidwood, the southern part of Manero, and Twofold Bay. At the termination of these ceremonies, when the novices had gone away into the bush for their time of probation, and when the people were about to separate, there was held a kind of market, at which those articles which they had brought with them for exchange were bartered. It was held at some clear place near the camp, and a man would say, "I have brought such and such things," and some other man would bargain for them. A complete set of articles is one *Ngulia* or belt of opossum-fur string, four *Burrain* or men's kilts, one *Gumbrum* or bone nose-peg, and a complete set of corrobboree ornaments. It was the rule that a complete set went together. Weapons might be given in exchange, and a complete set of these is "two hands," that is ten, fighting boomerangs (*Warangun*),

[1] Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 49.

being the straight-going ones; the same number of grass-tree spears (*Gumma*); one of each kind of shield, namely the *Bemata*, used for stopping spears, and the *Millidu*, used for club fighting; one club (*Gujerung* or *Bundi*), and one spear-thrower (*Meara*).

The women also engaged in this trade, exchanging opossum rugs, baskets, bags, digging-sticks (*Tuali*), etc.

Not only were these things bartered, but presents were

FIG. 47.—KURNAI WOMAN WITH BASKETS.

made to friends and to the Headmen by the other men. The women also gave things to the wives of the Headmen. A Headman who was held in great esteem might have as many things given to him as he could well carry away.

Not only were articles which the people made themselves bartered, but also things which had some special value, and had perhaps been brought from some distant place. Such an instance I heard of at one of these meetings many years ago. An ancient shield had been brought originally from the upper waters of the Murrumbidgee River, and was greatly valued because, as my informant

said, it had "won many fights." Yet it was exchanged, and carried away on its farther travels.

There is a natural tendency for certain occupations to become hereditary. The office of medicine-man, for instance, and that of song-maker have been already mentioned, as well as that of Headman, as being in some cases hereditary. One instance remains, which is, so far, the only one which has come to my knowledge. In the Herbert River tribes the various trades, if one may use that term, are hereditary, so that there are hereditary tree-climbers, canoe, shield, spear, and boomerang makers. Fishermen, rain-makers or medicine-men, hunters, messengers or heralds. Among the women are yam-hunters, hut-makers, basket-makers, etc. The tribal rain-maker is also an hereditary shield-maker.[1]

Smoke Signals and Others

When the Dieri expected visitors who might not know the position of their camp, they informed them of it by smoke signals. These were also made use of to attract the attention of distant parties with whom the smoke-makers desired to communicate. When out in the Yandairunga country in the year 1859, to the south-west of Lake Eyre, I saw almost daily as I travelled columns of smoke rising from the flat-topped hills of the Desert sandstone. These signals were evidently to call the attention of other parties of Yandairunga to the strangers travelling in their country, but I never succeeded in getting into touch with the signalling parties.

The Willuri and Hilleri tribes between Eucla and Port Lincoln make signals by smoke and marks in the sand to show friends the direction taken by the tribe, such as very short overlapping steps.[2]

If one party of the Ngarigo were in search of another, and knew that they were in some particular locality, they would go up on to a hill and fill a sheet of bark, rolled up into a pipe, with dry grass. By setting fire to this a column of smoke would be caused to ascend into the air,

[1] J. Gaggin. [2] F. Gaskell.

and if the other blacks saw it they would respond in the same way.

In the old times, when two parties of Kamilaroi were, say, twenty miles apart, and one of them was anxious to know if the other was on friendly terms with the white men, they would select a hollow tree, with two or three pipes to it, at some height from the ground. They then kindled a fire within it so that the smoke issued from the pipey arms. The number of pipes would be arranged beforehand: for instance, smoke issuing from two pipes might mean peace, and three war. If the tree had too many holes, two or more would be plugged up.[1]

The Yuin also used the same kind of smoke signals. To communicate with friends at a distance a sheet of bark would be rolled up and stuffed full of bark and leaves. Being then set fire to at the bottom and held straight up, a column of smoke ascended into the air. They preferred this to a hollow tree, but in either case the signal would have to be arranged for beforehand, so as to be understood. In order to inform friends who may be following which way one has gone, a stick or spear in the old times would be stuck in the ground near to the camp fire, pointing in the direction; or if the man was not returning a stick would be stuck in the ashes of the fire, and those following would know by their amount of heat how long the party had been gone.

The manner in which the Gringai communicated their movements to following friends will be seen from the following anecdote. My correspondent, the late Dr. M'Kinlay, wished to see certain blacks, but found their camp deserted. His black boy said he would see where they had gone, and going to the camp showed him a spear stuck in the ashes of the fire, with a corn cob tied to the point. The spear was leaning in a certain direction. He explained this by saying that they were gone to a place in the direction in which the spear pointed to pick corn, but would be back shortly. This proved to be the case.

When one branch of the Bigambul tribe is approaching

[1] C. Naseby.

the country of another branch, a hollow tree is set on fire, so that the smoke is seen at a distance.[1]

The Kaiabara used smoke signals to call the tribe together. When leaving camp, they indicated to others where they were gone to by placing a stick in the ground pointing in the direction.[2]

When one or more of the Narrang-ga messengers are

FIG. 48.—AN OBAL PLACED AS A GUIDE TO A FOLLOWING PARTY. KURNAI TRIBE.

approaching a place where they know others are encamped, they make a smoke, but there is nothing more in this than to announce their approach.[3]

The Kurnai indicate the direction in which they have gone by either planting a stick in the ground leaning in a certain direction and with some bark tied on the end, or by bending a small sapling in it, and tieing the leafy branches of its head up in a ball, either by themselves or with some-

[1] J. Lalor. [2] Jocelyn Brooke.
[3] T. M. Sutton.

thing tied to them to attract attention. This signal is called *Obal.*

GESTURE LANGUAGE

The use of gestures accompanying, supplementing, or replacing speech is apparently to some extent inherent in the human race. Children make use naturally, or as some might prefer to say, instinctively, of certain signs. Deaf mutes necessarily use them to communicate their needs and wishes, and some simple signs are so universally used that the term "natural gestures" seems not inapplicable to them.

It has long been known that gesture language is much used among the North American Indians, and some remarkable statements have been made as to the reasons for its use. Burton attributed it to the paucity of language, which compelled the use of supplementary signs. It was even said that certain tribes could not communicate freely unless when daylight permitted the use of gestures. This statement has been completely disposed of by researches of American anthropologists, especially those of Col. Garrick Mallery, to whose exhaustive treatise upon this subject the reader is referred.

It cannot be said that the use of signs by the Australian aborigines is in any way due to paucity of language, theirs being fully competent to provide for every mental or material necessity of their life. Those who have had the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with these savages in their social life will agree with me in this statement, and no one can feel the slightest doubt who has heard one of their orators addressing an assembly of the men, and with a flow of persuasive eloquence moulding opinion to his will.

It is somewhat remarkable, and at the same time difficult to explain, that the use of gesture language varies so much in different tribes. Some have a very extensive code of signs, which admit of being so used as to almost amount to a medium of general communication. Other tribes have no more than those gestures

which may be considered as the general property of mankind.

The occurrence or absence of gestures as an aid or substitute for speech does not, as far as I can ascertain, depend on social status, or the locality in which a tribe lives. Yet, so far as I can venture to form an opinion from my own observations, and from the statements made to me by correspondents, the use of sign language is more common in Central and North-eastern Australia than in the South-eastern quarter of the Continent.

The reason for this may perhaps be found in the vast extents of open country, plains, sandhills, and stony tracts which occur in the interior of Australia, as, for instance, in the Lake Eyre basin.

A stranger is seen there from afar off, and can be interrogated at a safe distance by gesture language as to who he is, where he comes from, and his intentions. When I first saw some of the Cooper's Creek blacks, I was struck by their use of gestures, at a safe distance, and which I took to be either a defiance or a command to depart. In reality they were the sign for peace and the sign for interrogation as to our destination, or as to our reason for being there. Afterwards, when I became better acquainted with them, I came to see that these gestures were part of a complete system of hand signs, by which a person might be interrogated, informed, welcomed, or warned. In the coastal regions or in the forest-clad mountain ranges which lie alongside the Great Dividing Range, separating the coast lands from the interior, such would not be the case, and gesture language could not be made use of at a distance excepting in rare cases.

I venture this supposition, but without laying much stress upon it.

The different degree in which gesture language is made use of may be best seen by taking a few illustrations from tribes within my knowledge.

The Dieri have a very full code of signs which suffice for ordinary needs of communication. A widow is not permitted to speak until the whole of the white clay which

forms her "mourning" has come off without assistance. During this time (perhaps for months) she communicates by gestures alone.[1]

As an instance of the value of such a means of communication between tribes speaking different languages, I give the following.

In 1853 seventeen of the Wirangu tribe were driven in from their country to the west of Lake Torrens by a water famine. They came across, and made for Elder's Range in hope of getting water. Here they fell in with the Arkaba blacks, who received them very kindly and hospitably for about a fortnight, when the appearance of rain induced the visitors to take their departure homewards. They did not understand a word of each other's language, and it was merely by gestures that they managed to communicate with each other. They were in every respect very different to the Parnkalla, in language, colour, and general appearance. They were not of a very dark shade, more of a dark dirty red, and had rather broad features but a pleasant expression of countenance.[2]

In contrast to the Dieri, the Kurnai may be instanced as a tribe without any "gesture language," although I have seen them use certain signs in lieu of words, when they were, from one reason or another, prevented from using, or were reluctant to use the words themselves. Thus the messenger who conveyed the news of the death of some individual to his kindred or friends, either spoke of the deceased in a roundabout manner, as the "father," "brother," "son," as the case might be, of "that person" (pointing to him), or what was perhaps more common, owing to the objection to refer to the dead, the messenger would say, naming the relationship, for instance, "the father of that one is ——", then concluding the sentence by pointing with the forefinger to the ground or to the sky. Thus intimating that he was buried, or that he had gone up to the *Leen wruk* or "good land."

Intermediately between these two extremes are other tribes, with a more or less extensive or limited gesture

[1] O. Siebert. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay.

language, such as I have quoted in the following lists.

The systematic use of gestures by the Australian aborigines, in lieu of words, or in connection with speech, seems to have been almost overlooked until lately by writers on the native tribes of Australia. It was observed that they used certain signs, such as shaking or nodding the head to signify dissent or assent. Explorers have occasionally mentioned that the blackfellows they met with used gestures to them, as, for instance, Sir Thomas Mitchell, when travelling on the Thompson River. But the idea did not arise that in such cases these signs and gestures were not merely the natural aids to speech, but, in fact, formed part of a recognised and well-understood system of artificial language, by which these savages endeavoured to communicate with the white strangers passing through their country, just as they would have endeavoured to communicate with strangers of their own colour.

Speaking of the Port Stephens aborigines, Mr. R. Dawson[1] describes a meeting with some strange blacks. He told those who were with him "to make the sign of peace to them, which they did by waving the right hand over the head and then pointing to the ground. No return was made to this, and on repeating the sign an answer was returned in a loud and as it seemed menacing tone. The natives of each party harangued each other in turns, and then the strange blacks placed their spears against a tree and gave an invitation to join them." This account is very characteristic of similar meetings which I observed when in the Cooper's Creek country.

The difficulties which arise in investigating the use of gesture language are very great. The ordinary inquirer needs to be almost specially trained to the work in order to prevent his falling into errors in interpreting or describing the signs made. There is, moreover, always the danger that a blackfellow may misunderstand the meaning of the inquiry, and instead of giving such signs as are recognised in his tribe, or of saying that there were none at all, will

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 128.

endeavour to give such a translation in signs as seems to him best to express the reply to the question put to him.

I have not been able to do more than superficially touch upon this subject. I have recorded the few data which I have been able to obtain, and it is to be hoped that those who are in a position to do so will more fully investigate and record at least one complete system. Central Australia seems to be best suited for this, where the aborigines have apparently more fully developed the use of gestures than in other parts of Australia. Here follow some of the signs :—

All.—Hold out the clenched hands and open and shut them several times (Wurunjerri).

All gone.—Extend both hand and arms, as if in the act of swimming, then point in the direction in which they have gone (Dieri). Hold out both hands with widely extended fingers, and the palms downward, in the direction in which they have gone (Aldolinga).[1]

All right.—Hold the hand out, palm upwards, and describe several horizontal circles with it (Aldolinga).[1] Nod the head twice (Kuriwalu).[2]

Anger.—Pout the lips out (Dieri).[3]

Above.—The head is bent back and the eyes look upwards, the right hand being held higher than the head and above it (Dieri).[4]

Attention.—Hold up the open hand, palm outwards, and move it once or twice up and down (Wurunjerri). Wave the open hand, palm upwards, several times towards the body (Kuriwalu).[2]

Bad (meaning "decayed").—Avert the face and screw up the mouth and nose as if in disgust (Dieri).[4] Shake the head and blow through the nostrils (Eucla).[5]

Before.—Point forwards and a little downwards with the right hand and forefinger (Aldolinga).[1] Point with the hand in front downwards (Dieri)[4]; also, the hand being held level with the waist, move it to the front (Dieri).[4]

NOTE.—When no correspondent is given, the information is my own.

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham.
[3] S. Gason. [4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams.

Right hand is brought from the left shoulder across the body in front (Kuriwalu).[2]

Behind.—Place the left hand, fingers slightly closed, and palm outwards, behind the hip (Wurunjerri). Point with the hand backwards (Dieri).[4] Point with the hand extended behind the body (Aldolinga).[1] Waft the hand with the fingers open downwards and to the rear (Kuriwalu).[2]

Be quiet.—Close the hand loosely, the fingers being towards yourself, then make several motions with it downwards in front of the body (Dieri).[4] Make several short movements with the right hand in front towards the ground (Wurunjerri). Make several short movements with the right hand in front towards the ground (Yantruwunta). Make a motion with the closed fist from the mouth downwards (Aldolinga).[1]

Be quick.—Hold out the hand and arm stiffly, and rather high. Shake the hand several times as if flirting something off (Dieri).[4] Make a number of circular movements from right to left in front of the body, with the open hand, palm downwards (Aldolinga).[1] Wave the hand several times towards the body (Kuriwalu).[2] Arms brought to the front horizontally, and then extended right back (Mundainbura).[6]

Big.—Extend both arms semicircularly from the shoulders outwards, the fingers slightly crooked and separated, and at the same height as the shoulders (Wurunjerri). The hand held horizontally to the ground the approximate size intended (Dieri).[4] Strike with the clenched fist towards the ground; if for "very big" make a long stroke (Dieri).[3] Shut both hands, excepting the forefingers, with which indicate size by holding them apart (Kuriwalu).[2] Spread out the arms as if describing something large (Eucla).[5]

Bring here.—Extend the hand palm upwards, fingers a little closed, as if to receive something. Then draw the hand towards yourself (Dieri).[4]

Bring together; Collect; Heap up.—Extend the arms with the palms of the hands towards each other, then draw them towards the body several times round (Wurunjerri).

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [3] S. Gason.
[4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams. [6] W. Logan.

Extend the arm towards the ground, and make two or three quick movements with the open hand towards the ground (Yantruwunta).

Camp.—Chop twice with the right hand, at an angle of 45° from right to left in front of yourself. Then place forefinger of the right hand between the tips of the first and second fingers of the left hand, simulating a ridge pole (Wurunjerri).

Camp, or sleep.—Recline the head upon the hand, as if sleeping (Dieri).[4] Lay the head on the right hand and close the eyes (Mundainbura).[6]

Child.—Place both hands behind the back, as if carrying one (Dieri).[4]

Come here.—Beckon with the open hand towards yourself (Wurunjerri). Point to the person with the right hand, then point to the left (Aldolinga).[1] Motion as if throwing a stone, but bringing the hand afterwards towards the body (Eucla).[5]

Come on.—Extend the hand and arm straight out, then bend the arm towards yourself. The action repeated several times means "come quickly" (Dieri).[3]

Come here; Sit down.—Beckon towards yourself with right hand, palm upwards, fingers slightly bent, then make a motion or two with them towards the ground at the right (Wolgal).

Companions.—Hold up the fore and middle fingers of one hand, then lightly snap the fingers and thumb (Dieri).[4]

Cut—Draw the forefinger of the one hand across the other hand (Dieri).[4] There was a man in the Yantruwunta tribe whom I often saw, but never knew his name, excepting by a gesture which distinguished him, and which meant "broken arm." It was made by striking the radius of the left arm with the right hand open and held vertically.

Danger.—Make a movement as of catching a fly close to the mouth, and then squeezing it (Dieri).[3] Place the right hand in front of the body and then step back a pace or two (Kuriwalu).[2]

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [3] S. Gason.
[4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams. [6] W. Logan.

Dead; Death.—Make a mark along the ground by drawing the finger along (Dieri).[4] Bring the hands together, then make a movement with them as if concealing something (Dieri).[3] Stoop a little, and then pat the ground with the back of the hand (Yantruwunta).

Doctor; Medicine-man.—Draw the head in between the shoulders, then draw the forefinger down the nose; cross the arms over the breast, and stroke down each arm with the other, finally passing each arm over the stomach (Dieri).[4]

Distance; Far off.—If near, point a little way off; if far off, point to the horizon (Wurunjerri). Incline head backwards and stick out upper lip (Eucla).[5] *Close at hand*, in the camp, point to ground. *Near*, point to horizon. *Far off*, point to direction at a high altitude (Wolgal).

Drink; Drinking.—Imitate lifting water to the mouth with the hand (Wurunjerri). Place the thumb and forefinger of the right hand together like a scoop, and carry the hand up to the mouth (Dieri).[4] Throw the head back, and carry the hand up to the mouth (Kuriwalu).[2]

Eat.—Lift the hand to the mouth, as if conveying food (Dieri).[4]

Enemy (wild blackfellow).—First make the sign for man, then make that for distance (Wurunjerri). Right hand open, and palm downwards. Move it two or three times vertically in front of the body, then repeat the same at the right side (Kuriwalu).[2] Place the hand, palm outwards, in front of the face, then turn it several times from inwards to outwards (Aldolinga).[1]

Emu.—Hold the hand out with the forefinger and little finger extended, the thumb and the other fingers closed (Dieri).[4]

Enough.—Hold out the hands as in the sign for "big," then point to yourself and make the sign for "none" (Wurunjerri). Tap the stomach several times with the flat hand, then wave the hand with the finger spread outwards (Dieri).[4] Tap the mouth with the open hand, then wave the hand (Kuriwalu).[2]

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [3] S. Gason.
[4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams.

Far away.—Snap the fingers in the direction indicated (Dieri).[4] Stretch the hand out full length, and snap the fingers (Aldolinga).[1]

Fight.—Hold the two hands as high as the head, as if grasping a weapon, then strike with them in all directions (Dieri).[4]

Feather head-dress.—Hold the hair of the head with one hand, and with the other imitate the action of sticking something into it (Dieri).[4]

Give me.—Hold out the hand at full length, palm up (Wurunjerri). Extend the hand, palm up, and then draw it back (Dieri).[4] Right hand held out at full length, the fingers a little bent (Kuriwalu).[2] Hold out the hands, palm upwards (Eucla).[5]

Glad.—Pat the breasts with both hands several times (Wurunjerri).

Good.—Make a trembling or vibrating motion with both hands, palms inwards, in front of the face, which must have a pleased expression (Dieri).[4] Move the right hand, palm upwards, up and down in front of the body, then point downwards (Aldolinga).[1]

Go away; Go on.—Hand with back to face, moved sharply outwards, in a semicircle to full length of arm (Yantruwunta). The hand is thrown sharply from the breast, palm inwards (Kuriwalu).[2] Hold up the hand in front of the face, palm outwards, and make several quick movements outwards from yourself (Dieri).[3] Point in the direction to go with the second finger of the right hand (Aldolinga).[1] Hold the hand near the face, palm outwards, as if holding something. Then act as if throwing it away (Dieri).[4] Bring arm round to the front of the body, the palm of hand being to self. Then throw it out to person addressed (Mundainbura).[6]

Halt; Stop.—Make a sign with the outstretched right hand, palm downwards, towards the ground, repeat this several times rapidly (Dieri).[4] Rapidly move the right hand from the breast, palm outwards, to the full length upwards,

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [3] S. Gason.
[4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams. [6] W. Logan.

then point to the ground (Aldolinga).[1] Make three waves towards the ground with the hand (Kuriwalu).[2] Throw hand towards the ground (Eucla).[5] Stretch hand out in front, with palm outwards. Then suddenly jerk hand downwards (Mundainbura).[6]

Hear.—Point to the ear with the forefinger of the right hand (Wurunjerri). Make a number of small circles with the finger in front of the ear (Aldolinga).[1] Fanning with the hand about two inches from the ear means, "I cannot hear you. Say it again" (Dieri).[3] Extend the hand over the head as high as possible; stoop and reach out as far as possible till the hand nearly reaches the ground; do this quickly, this means, "I hear you, I know what you mean." These signs are used when communicating from a distance (Dieri).[3] Point to the ear (Eucla).[5] Touch the ear (Ngarigo). Tap the ear, then raise the hand above the head (Mundainbura).[6]

Hungry.—Extend the arms both upwards, so as to show the stomach drawn in (Wurunjerri). Rub the open hand over the stomach (Yantruwunta). Tap the stomach with the finger and then extend the open hand (Dieri).[4] Point to the stomach with bent fingers (Aldolinga).[1] Pat the stomach (Kuriwalu).[2] Draw up the abdomen, and look miserable (Eucla).[5] Rub the pit of the stomach with the right hand (Wolgal). Pat the stomach with the hand (Mundainbura).[6]

I.—Point to the breast (Wurunjerri). Pass the forefinger down at a little distance from the forehead along the nose, or tap the breast lightly with the forefinger (Dieri).[4] Point to yourself (Aldolinga).[1] Point to the breast (Kuriwalu).[2] Place hand upon the chest (Eucla).[5] Tap the breast with the forefinger (Mundainbura).[6]

Kill.—Make several movements downwards with the fist, as of striking violently (Dieri).[4] Strike short blows with one hand on the other (Dieri).[3] Hold the right hand high over the head, with the palm downwards (Kuriwalu).[2]

Large.—Clench the fist and strike downwards. For *very large*, strike a longer blow with more force (Dieri).[3]

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [3] S. Gason.
[4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams. [6] W. Logan.

Man.—Indicate with both hands the outline of a beard. The size of the beard denotes the age—a great beard is a great age, *i.e.*, an old man (Wurunjerri). Indicate the beard with the right hand, as of passing the hand down it. For an old man, tap lightly several times on the top of the head (Dieri).[4] Clutch the beard and shake it (Dieri).[4] Close the right hand except the middle finger, then describe a small circle with it (Aldolinga).[1] Touch the beard (Eucla).[5]

Mother.—Take hold of the breast with one hand and shake it (Dieri).[4]

No; Not; None.—Shake the head (Wurunjerri). Shake the head several times, the hand being raised as high as the face, and held loosely pendent from the wrist, as if shaking something from the fingers (Dieri),[4] also (Yantruwunta). Shake the head (Dieri).[4] Hold the right hand palm outwards, then point upwards (Aldolinga).[1] Shake the head several times, then wave the hand from the breast, palm downwards (Kuriwalu).[2] Shake the head and raise the hand to the front (Mundainbura).[6]

Peace.—Hold up both hands at full length, open palms outwards above the head (Yantruwunta). The same, or hold one hand up, and shake the fingers as if making the sign for nothing (Dieri).[4] Hand thrown forward, full length from the body, palm downwards, and head bent back (Kuriwalu).[2]

Salt water.—Point to the mouth, and touch the point of the tongue with the finger (Dieri).[4] The same for the Yantruwunta. Rub the windpipe with thumb and forefinger (Wolgal).

Silence; Say no more.—Thumb of each hand turned inwards, then stoop and extend the hands full length. This also implies a threat of strangling, and is used, for instance, by the old men to the young men when they are misbehaving themselves (Dieri).[4]

Sit down.—Make the sign for halt. Stop and point to the ground (Wurunjerri). Extend the arm towards the

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [4] Vogelsang.
[5] H. Williams. [6] W. Logan.

ground, and make two or three quick movements with the open hand towards the ground (Yantruwunta).

Sleep.—Incline the head on the open hand towards the shoulder (Wurunjerri). Incline the head upon the palm of the hand near the shoulder (Dieri).[4] Place left hand over the eyes, and incline the head on the left hand (Kuriwalu).[2] Drop the head to one side, or recline and close the eyes (Eucla).[5] Recline the head on one hand (Wolgal). Lay the head on the right hand and close the eyes (Mundainbura).[6]

Supernatural Being (*Bunjil*).—Make exaggerated sign for old man, then make exaggerated sign for "big," then point to the sky (Wurunjerri). Similar gestures are made by the Murring.

Thirsty.—Make the sign for "to drink," then hold out the open hand (Dieri).[4] Point to the stomach and then snap the fingers (Aldolinga).[1] Scratch the throat (Kuriwalu).[2]

To run.—Hold the arms bent at the elbows, with the hands clenched in front; then describe circles outwards, indicating the movements of legs running (Wurunjerri).

To see.—Touch the eye with the forefinger, and then point in the direction indicated (Wurunjerri). Describe a number of small circles with the finger from the eye in the direction indicated (Aldolinga).[1] Touch the eyes (Eucla).[5] Touch the eye (Wolgal).

Where? What? What is it? etc.—Place right hand at left breast palm outwards, then move it up at an angle of 45° with the horizon, hold up for a moment, and let drop; when moving the hand, jerk up the chin (Wurunjerri). Hold the right hand opposite to and higher than the shoulder, gradually turning the hand so that at last the palm is upwards; or do this so that the movement of the hand upwards and forwards only brings it level with the face (Yantruwunta). Throw up the hand higher than the head, then let it fall palm upwards (Dieri).[4]

Where are you going? Who are you?—Hold the right hand about twelve or fifteen inches in front of the shoulder, palm to front and fingers expanded, wave it quickly

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [2] J. H. Kirkham. [4] Vogelsang.
[5] H. Williams. [6] W. Logan.

horizontally twelve to eighteen inches from left to right (Wolgal).

Water.—Same as to drink (Dieri).[4]

Water bowl.—Hold the left hand upwards, partly closed. Then make a motion with it, as if scooping something out of the other hand (Dieri).[4]

Woman.—Point with the fingers to the breast (Wurunjerri). Indicate the breasts with both hands (Dieri).[4] Make a circle with the forefinger of each hand round the breast (Dieri).[4] Point to the breasts (Eucla).[5]

Yes.—Nod the head (Wurunjerri). Nod the head, or make a movement with the head as if catching a fly about a foot distant from the mouth (Dieri).[4] Make a movement towards the ground with the open hand (Aldolinga).[1] Nod the head (Eucla).[5]

[1] Rev. H. Kempe. [4] Vogelsang. [5] H. Williams.

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS CUSTOMS

Naming of children—Family duties in bringing up children shared by both parents—Names of respect given to the aged—Opossum skin rugs—Perforation of the septum of the nose—Raised scars—Mutilations—Infanticide—Cannibalism—Food rules, hunting, and distribution of game—Ball-playing—Camping rules—Fire-making.

IN the Kurnai tribe the infant child is at first recognised merely as *Lit*, that is, "child," although it receives some name when it begins to walk, frequently from some trivial occurrence which happened about its birth. When a boy is eight or nine years of age he is called *Wotti*, and the girl *Kuere-jung*. The child is named by the paternal grandfather or grandmother, or in default by the mother's parents, and its name may be that borne by some former member of the family. For instance, the before-mentioned Tulaba was, when a child, named *Barrumbulk* (teal duck) by his maternal grandfather. This was the name of his mother's deceased brother. When as a youth he was initiated at the *Jeraeil* ceremonies, a maternal uncle called him *Tulaba*, which was the name of a grand ancestor.

When the new name is given at initiation, the child's name becomes secret, not to be revealed to strangers, or to be mentioned by friends. The reason appears to be that a name is part of a person, and therefore can be made use of to that person's detriment by any who wish to "catch" him by evil magic. Thus one of the Kurnai, of whom I inquired as to his child's name, told me in a whisper, when no one else was present. When I asked him the name of one of the Kurnai, he said, "I cannot tell you, he might be very

angry with me; our fathers have told us that we must never speak of our secret names."

The boy as a youth is called *Wot-wotti* while he still lives with his parents, and his sister, when approaching a marriageable age, is called *Tutbukan.*

After being initiated, the youth is called *Tutnurring*, and also is called *Jeraeil*, from the name of the ceremonies. When he returns to the camp, having satisfied the old men

FIG. 49.—KURNAI WOMAN CARRYING A CHILD.

that he is to be depended upon, he no longer lives with his parents. As I have shown in the description of the *Jeraeil*, the ceremonies clearly show that his mother's control over him has been annulled, and being a man he is not allowed to live in the married people's part of the camp, but joins the young men, who put up their *Bun* or camp apart from the others. He as a *Brewit*, or "young man," lives with the other *Brewit.* All the *Brewit* who have been made young men at the same time are *brogan*, or, as I may put it, comrades.

The girl, who has participated in the ceremonies so far as the women are allowed to do, still lives with her parents until she is married.

The young man, having obtained a wife, is free of two divisions of the tribe, at least—that to which he belongs by birth, and that of his wife. He begins a partly independent life of his own, wandering over the hunting-grounds, which his fathers before him hunted over, and also over those of his wife's forefathers; indeed, there were cases in which the man joined the clan of his wife and abandoned his own.

The family duties are shared by the husband and the wife, both assisting to support their family, his share being to hunt for their support, and to fight for their protection. As one of them said to me, "A man hunts, spears fish, fights, and sits about." The woman formerly built the home of bent sticks thatched with grass tussocks, but since the blacks obtained iron tomahawks, the home is made of sheets of bark stripped by the men. It was the woman's duty to catch fish and to cook it, to gather the vegetables, fruit, or seeds which formed part of the food supply, and to make rush bags, baskets, and nets.

When a Kurnai has arrived at mature age, and when he may be supposed to have taken his place among the elders of the clan, and was designated *Boldain* or old man, he usually acquired a new name. As the child's name gave place to a new one at initiation, so did that name give place to a new one when he became *Boldain*, but the former did not become secret. This last name was often derived from some personal peculiarity or quality. It was usually composed of two names, of which one is constant, being *Bunjil*. It has no meaning as a word, and is only used as a prefix to another word indicating some quality or peculiarity. This name would probably be his last, and remained with him till his death.

Among the names of such men known to me are *Bunjil-barlajan* (platypus), from his skill in spearing that animal; *Bunjil-tambun* (Gippsland perch, *Lates Colonorum*), from his skill in catching that fish. A leading man in the Brayakaulung clan was *Bunjil-kraura* (west wind). Another of the

Brayakaulung was *Bunjil-daua-ngun*, from *Daua-ngun*, to turn up. He was noted for making bark canoes much turned up in front. His brother, *Bunjil-barn*, was so named from his supposed extraordinary powers in that form of evil magic.

As an illustration of the way in which such names may be acquired, I may mention the following. The Mitchell River flows for some thirty miles through a gorge-like and somewhat inaccessible valley. In order to examine it I caused some Kurnai to make canoes at the upper end, and therein we floated down together. The gorge was unknown to them, being out of their country, and the navigation was regarded as a great feat, in consequence of the great number of rapids, in one of which our canoes were wrecked. It was talked of for some time among the Brabralung, and the name of *Bunjil-guyergun*, or Bunjil rapids, was given to me.

In the Yuin tribe some of the personal names of men known to me are: *Burru-walway* (one who knows everything), *Kumbo* (marrow), *Naieni-wang* (thunder), *Bullur* (dust), *Kayan* (the summit of Mount Dromedary), *Mundu-pira* (stone tomahawk), and *Jubbuk* (throw the fishing-line).

There are also what may be termed family names, such as that of *Umbara*, before mentioned, namely, *Wattin* (Point of land). Such names are inherited by children of both sexes from their fathers. For instance, *Umbara* was *Wattin* from his father, and individually *Jubbuk*, which was given to him at the Kuringal ceremony, thus replacing his child's name.

In the Wiimbaio tribe a child was spoken of as *Katulya*; a boy of nine or ten years as *Wilyango*; one of ten to fifteen as *Wilyango-kurnundo*; and when fifteen, and before being made a young man, as *Kurno*, that is excrement. When he became a man he would be spoken of as *Thalara*.[1]

The personal names among the Bigambul are such as have been given to persons when children; for instance, *Waronga* (left-handed), or *Yurngal* (right-handed), but they are not usually applied to them personally. The usual terms of address are those of relationship; for instance, *Mugen* (elder brother), or *Kogebel* (younger brother), or such as may be applicable.[2]

[1] J. Bulmer. [2] J. Lalor.

In the Turrbal tribe a name was usually given to a child when about a week old. It was either the name of a place, or a bird, or an animal, or fish. Another name was given to a boy when he was made a young man. But a girl retained her child's name through life. When a man was thirty or forty he received another name. They were never named after their father or mother.[1]

In the Maryborough tribes a child receives a name as an infant. If a girl, the name remains always the same, but if a boy, the name is changed at the Dora ceremonies.

The friends of a man or a woman use the personal name in speaking to him or her. That is to say, the name given to him at the Dora, and to her in childhood. Old men address a girl as *Wurgu* (girl), and a boy as *Ogbin* (boy). A man and his wife address each other with the word *Ura* (Heigh !). They do not speak to each other as "husband" or "wife," that is, by the words in their language with those meanings. People do not generally use a person's name to commence a conversation with them, but seek a favourable moment to catch their eye, or attract their attention by some remark, and then continue speaking.[2]

Perforation of the Septum

In the Kurnai tribe the perforation of the septum of the nose was usually made when the boy was growing up, but some time before he was initiated. Some of the men might notice him as growing up, or his young men friends might say to him, "You ought to have *Ngrung*; it won't hurt you." *Ngrung* is short for *Ngrung-kong*, or nose-hole. If he consents, he lies down on his back, and his friend takes hold of the septum of his nose, extends it, moistens it with saliva, and then rapidly pierces it with a sharp bone instrument. The patient must not show any sign of feeling pain. This being done, he jumps up and extends his arms out quickly from the shoulder, and jerks each leg in succession. This proceeding is supposed to aid the *Ngrung-kong* in causing

[1] Tom Petrie. [2] Harry E. Aldridge.

him to grow big and strong. A peg called *Gumbart* is left in until the wound is healed.

The perforation in the septum of the nose in the Wurunjerri tribe was made when the child was about twelve years of age. It is called *Ilbi-jerri*. The old men performed the operation for the boys, and the old women for the girls, and it was in the winter-time that this was done. The parents would say to the child, "You must get ready your bone; make it nice and sharp, so that a hole can be made in your nose." After the bone had been pushed through the nose and left there, the child scraped a small hole in the ground, placed in it some stones heated in the fire, covered it with some earth, and poured water on it. It then held its head, covered with an opossum skin rug, over the steam until the peg became loose, and could be turned round. It did this every night and morning till the place was healed.

The perforation was not made by the Yuin till the boy had been initiated, and was permitted to return to the camp from his probation in the bush. The nose-hole is called *Guraw*, and the nose-peg *Kurt-bagur*.

At Port Stephens the blacks used to pin their blankets across their chests with the bone nose-peg. When not in use it was kept in the nose.[1]

In the Turrbal tribe the perforation was made with the point of a spear.[2]

Formerly the Chepara bored the septum of the nose with a pointed kangaroo bone, the perforation being kept open by a rounded piece of wood, which was frequently turned round in the hole, water being allowed to trickle through. This practice has died out now, quite old men being seen without the nose bored.[3] These are only a few instances of a very wide Australian practice.

Opossum Skin Rugs

The Kurnai in their primitive state usually went about without any covering. But they made what are now called "opossum rugs." These were made of the dried pelts of

[1] W. Scott. [2] Tom Petrie. [3] J. Gibson.

the opossum sewed together with sinew. They did not dress the skins but merely dried them, and to make them more pliable cut markings on the skin side by means of

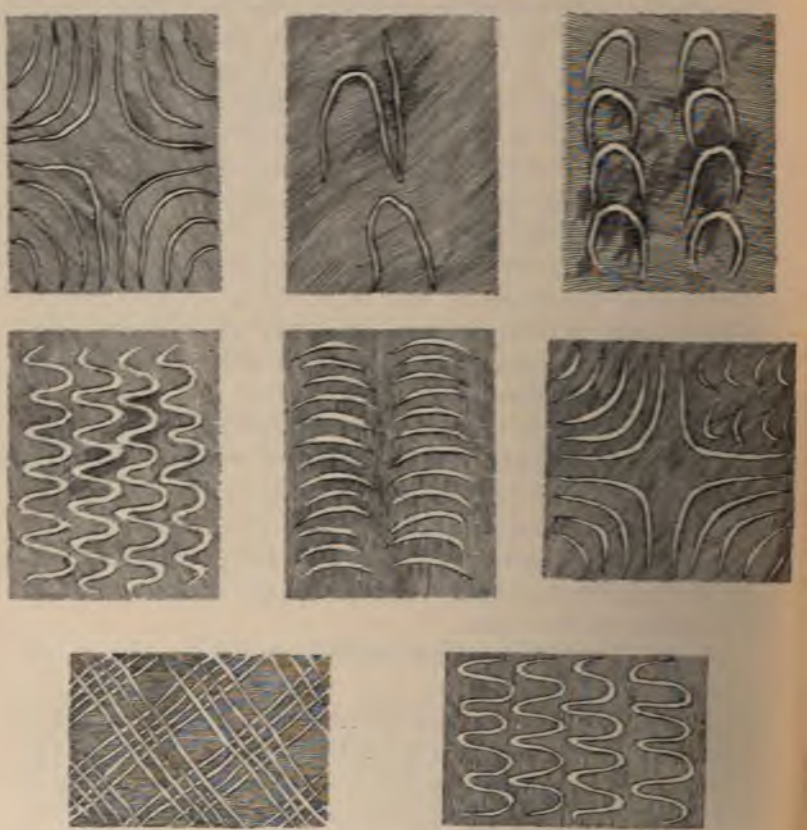


FIG. 50.—MARKINGS WHICH WERE MADE UPON THE SKIN SIDES OF OPOSSUM SKINS BY THE KURNAI WHEN THEY SEWED THEM TOGETHER AS COVERINGS.

mussel shells (*nanduwung*). These markings are called *waribruk*, and each man had his own. In Fig. 50 are given examples of the *waribruk* used by men known to me.

FLATTENING THE NOSE

A curious practice obtains in some tribes, namely, the

flattening of the child's nose by its mother to improve its appearance. This was done in the Yuin tribe, as I was informed, to make the children look nice; also in the Wiimbaio, and in the tribe about Maitland fifty years ago.[1] It is possibly more common than one might have expected, showing that this marked feature of the aboriginal physiognomy is thought to be beautiful.

Raised Scars

The practice of causing raised scars on the upper parts of the body seems to be universal in Australia, but among the

FIG. 51.—KURNAI WOMAN, SHOWING RAISED SCARS ON BACK.

exceptions to the practice was the Kurnai tribe. Before the occupation of Gippsland by the whites, the young men were not scarred, excepting a very few, who had met the Manero Brayerak and had followed their fashion of ornamentation. One of the earliest settlers in North Gippsland[2] told me that when he first saw the blackfellows at Buchan (*Bukkanmunji*) they were not scarred as was the Manero blackboy

[1] C. Naseby. [2] John C. Macleod.

he had with him, according to the custom of his tribe. On making friends with the Kurnai, one of them was persuaded to be similarly ornamented; he was gashed on each arm, and subsequently a number of others followed his example.

After rain has fallen—following one of the rain-making ceremonies of the Dieri—there are always some who undergo the operation called *Chin-bari*, which is the cutting of the skin of the chest and arms with a sharp piece of flint.

The wound, which is through the skin, is then tapped with a flat stick to increase the flow of blood, and red ochre is rubbed in, producing raised scars. The operation does not appear to be very painful, as the patient laughs and jokes all the time. The reason given for this practice is that they are pleased with the rain and that there is a connection between the rain and the scars.

Even little children crowd round the operator, patiently waiting for their turn, and after they have been operated upon, run away, expanding their little chests and arms, and singing for the rain to beat on them. However, on the following day, when their wounds are stiff and sore, they are not so well pleased.[1]

Although it is generally said that the raised scars do not indicate the tribe and are merely ornamental, there are some instances which show that there are certain cases in which the contrary is the case. In the Yerkla tribe the cicatrices are made at the initiation ceremonies by the medicine-men, and a legend relates how these scars came to be made first.[2] This legend is given in the chapter on the initiation ceremonies of the western type, Chapter X.

A somewhat different version of the legend says that long ago an immense bird, larger than the brown eagle-hawk, killed and devoured all the tribe, except two men and one woman, who to save themselves went out at night and killed the bird. Afterwards they were attacked by a hostile tribe, but could not be speared, because they would jump up and appear somewhere else. Finally they jumped so high that they never came down again, and the two men are dark

[1] S. Gason. [2] D. Elphinstone Roe.

spots seen in the Milky Way. It is not known what became of the woman. This version was given by Mr. H. Williams, who informed me, in answer to an inquiry, that the scars have no meaning, and are merely ornamental. Assuming

FIG. 52.—YUIN MAN WITH RAISED SCARS ON CHEST, IN CEREMONIAL DRESS

that the first given legend is correctly reported, the cicatrices are significant of the sub-class names, and are as follows.

In the Budera sub-class there are three cicatrices running from breast to breast, and three on each shoulder. In the

Kura sub-class there are one horizontally between the breasts and three vertically on the side of the biceps of each arm. In the Budu sub-class there are three horizontally between the breasts, and below a line which would pass through the nipples. Two above these inclined at an angle from each other like the letter V, and five horizontal lines on each biceps. In the Wenung sub-class there are three perpendicular between the breasts. The scars are cut by the medicine-men (*Mobunbai*).[1]

In the Yuin tribe the scars cut upon the body were not made until after the initiation ceremonies. In the case of one man who had cicatrices vertically round the upper arm, he said that they were made in that manner to cause boomerangs to glance off. This is of course merely a preventive charm. Scars are cut on both boys and girls.

In Frazer's Island (Queensland), a boy of the White Cliff tribe was marked with five vertical scars down the centre of the chest, and he pointed out to me that he differed from those at Bundaberg in so far that they had three horizontally round the front of the body

In the Moreton Bay tribe scars were cut when the boys were made *Kippurs*. The scars are two or three inches apart, just below the nipples, and extending across the breast. When the boy is older, other scars are cut lower down. While these cuts are being made by one old man, another one claps his hands over the ears of the patient to keep the pain away, and roars out a chant. In the Bunya tribe there are three horizontal cuts above each nipple. The Ipswich tribe had cuts vertically on each arm below the shoulder. Each tribe was differently marked. There were also marks made on the back in all of these tribes, but these were mostly done when mourning for death. The cuts were rubbed in with the charcoal of the Bloodwood tree.[2]

MUTILATIONS

In the coastal branch of the Turrbal tribe each woman had the two joints of one little finger taken off, when a girl,

[1] D. Elphinstone Roe. [2] Harry E. Aldridge.

by tying a cobweb round it. When the joint mortifies, the hand is held in an ant-bed for an hour or so, for the joint to be eaten off. This is the fishing branch of the tribe, and this is done to distinguish its women from those of the other branches. It is not done to give them any power of catching fish.[1]

This practice of mutilating the little finger of the woman's hand is recorded by Mr. H. E. Aldridge as obtaining far along the coast both north and south of Maryborough, and, according to him, it always indicated a coast woman. But the custom has evidently a much wider range, for in writing about the Port Stephens tribe, Mr. Robert Dawson says, "A mother amputates the little finger of the right hand of one of her female children as soon as it is born, in token of its appointment to the office of fisher-woman to the family.[2]

In the Dalebura tribe several instances were noticed in which the little finger of the left hand had been severed at the second joint, but no reason for it could be ascertained.[3]

THE CHILDREN

A Bunya-Bunya woman practises the following custom on her little boy. She lays him on his back on the ground, puts her two hands on his shoulders and pulls his hands gently down to his heels, making a peculiar clucking noise with her mouth. This is to make him grow, and is done three or four times a day, especially when he wakes in the morning. A woman with a boy child on her lap or close to her is liable to severe punishment if she does not see that the child is turned away from a man who is walking towards it. Should she not be looking, and a man is coming towards the front of the boy, the man will stop and say pretty sharply, "Turn that boy!" and the woman at once turns the boy with his back to the approaching man. This is to prevent illness, the man being supposed to be able, if he wishes, to put a "stone" into any one. A woman will also rub her hand under her arm and then rub her son's

[1] Tom Petrie. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 314. [3] R. Christison.

eyes with her hand to give him good sight. She will also plait a hair cord to put on her son when about three years old. It is put under each arm and round the neck, being fastened together on the chest and between the shoulder-blades. This is done that he may develop muscle and strength in the back and chest, and it is generally kept on till he is made into a man, at about the age of puberty.[1]

A curious method of counting the children obtained in the Wakelbura tribe. A father having five children would in speaking of or calling them use the following terms: first born, *Tayling* (thumb); second born, *Burbi* (first finger); third born, *Voulgo* (second finger); fourth born, *Baljinbura* (third finger); fifth born, *Nallembrew* (little finger). The exceptions to the above are that if there is only one child, and it be a boy, and if he happen to be small, the mother's brother's and sister's children may call him *Nallembrew*, as a joke; but his parents do not join in this humour. They call him *Walbah* (boy) till initiation, when he becomes *Kaula* (young man); if a girl, she is called *Umbel* (girl) till about eighteen years of age, when she is called by them *Unguie* (young woman).[2]

INFANTICIDE

Infanticide is practised by the Mining to some extent, the mode of killing being by starvation. After a few days of short commons the child becomes peevish and troublesome, and in consequence more neglected, being placed by itself away from the camp and fires, and is said to be afflicted with *Muparn* (magic). When death ends its sufferings, *Muparn* is the cause. The reason they give for this practice is that if their numbers increased too rapidly there would not be enough food for everybody. Yet they are very fond of their offspring, and very indulgent to those they keep, rarely striking them, and a mother would give all the food she had to her children, going hungry herself.

Infants are kept well greased, and much fat is used by

[1] H. E. Aldridge. [2] J. C. Muirhead.

the adults on their own bodies. A woman kisses her children by placing her lips upon it and blowing, making a loud noise.[1]

In hard summers the new-born children were all eaten by the Kaura tribe in the neighbourhood of Adelaide; this might be inferred from the remarkable gaps that appear in the ages of the children.[2]

In the Tongaranka tribe the practice of infanticide was common, because a baby was frequently too much trouble to look after, and it was often the mother who killed it. But it was not done until the family consisted of three or four; but after that too much work in hunting had to be done to keep the family in food.[3]

In the Wotjobaluk tribe infants were killed in the old times, no difference being made between boys and girls. If a couple had a child, either boy or girl, say ten years old, and a baby was then born to them, it might be killed and cooked for its elder brother or sister to eat, in order to make him or her strong by feeding on the muscle of the infant. The mother killed the infant by striking its head against the shoulder of its elder brother or sister.

In the Mukjarawaint tribe the children belonged to the grandparents, though the parents had the care of them. If, for instance, a boy was born and then a girl, the father's parents might take them, or the mother's parents, and so also with another couple of children. If then another child was born and one of the grandparents took it, it would be kept. If not, it was killed, there being too many children. The grandparents had to decide whether a child was to be kept alive or not. If not, then either the grandfather or the father killed it, by striking it against the mother's knee, and then knocking it on the head. Then the child was roasted and eaten by the grandparents, their brothers and grandchildren, but its parents did not eat of it. Occasionally friends were invited to join in the feast. The father could not order the child to be killed; for, if he did so, the grandparents would raise a party against him and he would have to fight them.

[1] H. Williams. [2] Dr. M'Kinlay. [3] J. W. Boultbee.

In all the tribes of the Wotjo nation, and also the Tatathi and other tribes on the Murray River frontage, when a child was weak and sickly they used to kill its infant brother or sister, and feed it with the flesh to make it strong.

According to Buckley, if a family increased too rapidly in the Wudthaurung tribe, as, for instance, where a woman had a child within twelve months of the previous one, there was a consultation in the tribe as to whether it should live or not. If the father insisted on it being spared, they did not persist in its destruction, particularly if a female.[1]

Infanticide in the Kurnai tribe arose through the difficulty in carrying a baby when there were other children, especially when the next youngest was not able to walk. According to the statements made to me by the Kurnai, it sometimes happened when a child was about to be born the father would say to his wife, "We have too many children to carry about—best leave this one, when it is born, behind in the camp." On this the new-born child was left lying in the camp and the family moved elsewhere. The Kurnai drew this distinction, that they never heard of parents killing their children, but only of their leaving new-born infants behind.

In the tribes about Maryborough (Queensland) infanticide was practised by leaving the child behind when born, either on the ground or on a sheet of bark. But infants were not killed by violence, and no difference was made between boys and girls. This leaving behind or deserting the new-born infant was because of the trouble it caused where a woman had other children, and it was almost always done as regards a girl's first child. If one saw a baby, within a day or two of its birth, to have been rubbed over with red ochre and burned bark of the Bloodwood tree, one could be quite sure that it was safe. Otherwise it would disappear, being abandoned somewhere.[2]

CANNIBALISM

In speaking of cannabalism in these tribes, a distinction

[1] Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 52. [2] Harry E. Aldridge.

must be drawn between the eating of the flesh of slain enemies of another tribe and of those of the same tribe. The former appears to have had in it an element of revenge, while the latter is mostly ceremonial. But a further distinction may be drawn as to the eating of the caul and kidney fat, in which an element of magic usually was present, and which was practised on both the slain and the tribesman.

The cannibalism practised by the Dieri is part of the burial ceremonial. I have already described these ceremonies, but may here repeat what has been said as to the eating of part of the corpse. When the body is lowered into the grave, an old man who is the nearest relation to the deceased present, cuts off all the fat adhering to the face, thighs, arms, and stomach, and passes it round to be swallowed by the relatives. The order in which they partake of it is as follows:—The mother eats of her children, and the children of their mother; a man eats of his sister's husband and of his brother's wife; mother's brothers, mother's sisters, sister's children, mother's parents, or daughter's children are also eaten of; but the father does not eat of his child nor the children of their sire. The relatives eat of the fat in order that they may be no longer sad.[1]

The Dieri, Yaurorka, Yantruwunta, and Marula eat only the fat of the dead, but other tribes eat of the flesh also. Such are the Tangara, who carry the remains of the deceased with them; and whenever they feel sorrow for the dead, eat some of the flesh, until nothing remains but the bones.[2]

In the Wotjobaluk tribe the arms and legs of enemies were cut off, cooked, and eaten, no other part of the body being used. In the raids on other tribes by the Wotjobaluk the skin was eaten.

The Kulin tribes, for instance the Jajaurung, cut the flesh from off the legs and arms of killed enemies and carried it on their spear-points to the camp to be eaten.

The Bunurong not only did this, but, according to their neighbours the Wurunjerri, they also drank the blood of their slain enemies.

[1] S. Gason. [2] O. Siebert.

Mr. Hugh Murray, who occupied country near Colac in South-western Victoria in 1837, says, that some of the Witaurong tribe, that is, the Wudthaurung, having murdered an old man and a child of the Colac tribe, brought with them on the ends of their spears portions of their flesh, which he saw them eat with great exultation during the evening.[1]

The Kurnai ate the flesh of their enemies only if they were of other tribes, for Kurnai did not eat Kurnai. It was not the whole of the body that was eaten, but the muscles of the arms and legs, and the skin of the thighs and of the sides of the body.

Several of the Kurnai have told me of occasions when this occurred. My informants said that once when they were young men they accompanied others in a raid on the Manero Brayerak. One man was killed, and his legs were cut off and carried to their camp, where the old men roasted them, and shared the flesh among the party. They said that the flesh tasted better than beef. Among the Theddora and Ngarigo it was the custom to eat parts of those they killed in raids, but not of those who were killed in any ceremonial combats between sections of the same tribe. The parts eaten were the hands and feet, and this was accompanied with expressions of contempt for the person killed. Those were their real enemies, and in eating them they acquired, as they thought, some part of their qualities and courage.[2]

In the Turrbal tribe, when in one of their ceremonial combats which follow the initiation ceremonies some man was killed, he was eaten by those of his tribe who were present, each tribal group sitting at its own fire. A great medicine-man (*Kundri*) singed the body all over with a fire-stick, causing the skin to turn copper-coloured. The body was then laid face downwards and opened down the back with a stone knife, then opened down the front, and skinned. All the entrails with the heart and lungs were buried, and blackened sticks tied with grass were laid over the burial place, which henceforth was so sacred that no one went near

[1] *Letters of Victorian Pioneers.* [2] J. Bulmer.

it, unless it were some one of the old medicine-men. The medicine-man who skinned the body cut off pieces of the flesh, which he threw to the several parties sitting round, who cooked and ate it. The principal medicine-men rubbed the fat over their own bodies. The reason given is that they eat him because they knew him and were fond of him, and they now knew where he was, and his flesh would not stink. His mother carried the skin and bones for months with her, and when one tribal group met another, the old woman would lift the opossum rug off the skin, which was placed in a "humpy" (hut). The friends of the deceased mourned and cut themselves with tomahawks, while the others restrained them from injuring themselves.[1]

When a man is killed in one of the ceremonial fights in the tribes about Maryborough (Queensland), his friends skin him and eat him. He is skinned by one of the old men (his father, if alive), or his father's brother, or some other relative. The body is first of all prepared by passing a burning fire-stick all over it, after which the outer skin peels off, leaving the corpse nearly as white as a white man. This appearance seems to have caused the blacks to think the first white men they saw were their friends returned to life.

The skin is then taken off, with the nails and hair left on. The body is distributed among the male friends of the deceased and the old women as far as it will go, who roast and eat the flesh. The meat looks like horseflesh, and smells, when being cooked on the fires, like beefsteak. The little fat there is on the kidneys is rubbed on the points of the spears of his relations, and the kidneys are stuck on the points of two spears. It is thought that this will make the spears extremely deadly when thrown, and the deceased is eaten in order that his virtues as a warrior may go into those who partake of him.

These people never eat any part of their enemies whom they kill. Blackboys belonging to my correspondent, who had been killed by them, were chopped up into little bits and left lying on logs.[2]

Mr. Andrew Lang in his work *The Making of Religion*[3]

[1] Tom Petrie. [2] Harry E. Aldridge. [3] P. 235.

notes a passage from Dr. Dunmore Lang,[1] who gives it on the authority of his son, Mr. G. D. Lang, who, as the former puts it, "happened to reside a few months in the Wide Bay district." The passage is as follows: "At certain triennial gatherings of some tribes of Queensland, young girls are slain in sacrifice to propitiate some evil divinity, and their bodies likewise are subjected to the horrid rite of cannibalism. Girls are marked for sacrifice months before the event takes place by the old men of the tribe."

When I read this I remembered that some forty years ago I had heard a "bush yarn" that when tribes met at the Bunya feasts the people became so meat hungry after a long course of feasting on the fruit of the Bunya tree, that they killed a "fat gin" and ate her. Mr. G. D. Lang's statements appeared to me to be an embellishment of this "bush yarn," moreover, I disbelieved the "sacrifice to propitiate some evil divinity" as being contrary to all that I know of the native tribes, and I thought that the statements probably rested on the distorted account of the eating of those persons who are killed in the ceremonial combats that take place at these triennial gatherings.

I have also found the following reference to cannibalism at these meetings. R. Brough Smyth says,[2] "When tribes assembled to eat the fruit of the Bunya-Bunya, they were not permitted to take any game, and at length the craving for flesh was so intense that they were impelled to kill one of their number in order that their appetites might be satisfied."

Mr. E. M. Curr makes the following statement[3] about what occurred at his station called Gobungo in the Bunya-Bunya country. The season of the Bunya nuts was then at its height, and the majority of the blacks present were strangers invited by the *Kabi* to feast on the plentiful harvest of nuts. But they were forbidden to help themselves to any fish, flesh, or fowl within the territory. After some weeks

[1] *Queensland*, 1864, p. 385.
[2] *The Australian Aborigines*, vol. i. p. xxxviii
[3] *Op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 120.

of unbroken vegetable diet an intense craving for animal food, it seems, came on. Some of the men killed a woman and satisfied their wild hunger by eating her. Shortly afterwards he heard of a little girl being killed and eaten.

In order to obtain some further information, I sent the above extracts to Mr. Tom Petrie and Mr. Harry Aldridge, both of whom have an intimate acquaintance not only with the tribes who assembled at the Bunya feasts, but have themselves been at these meetings.

Mr. Tom Petrie in reply said that he never in all his experience came across such a thing as sacrifice. Strangers at feasts were always treated well, and looked after, and had lots of game, eggs, etc., in fact, just what the others had. If any one died in good condition, or if some one was killed in a fight, then they were most surely eaten. That "flesh hunger" spoken of was absurd. Such things did not happen in the part of the Bunya-Bunya country he had been in. Mr. Petrie considered that the woman who Mr. Curr says was killed and eaten was probably killed in a fight, and under such circumstances would most certainly be eaten.

Mr. Aldridge informs me he had seen men, women, and children eaten at the tribal meetings in the Bunya country. The men and women had been killed in a fight, the children generally by some accident. In fact, any one killed in a fight, or by accident, or dying in good condition, was eaten.

The idea of "flesh hunger" is absurd, because at the feasts all sorts of game was eaten, and the guests had the same meals as their hosts, and were always treated well. He says that he knows the Mary River side, and Mr. Petrie the Brisbane side, and with their knowledge of the language and habits of the natives, he considers that it would be impossible for the alleged human sacrifices to have occurred without their cognisance.

It seems clear that even if cases did occur of women and children being killed for cannibalistic reasons, such cases must have been most exceptional, and the statement that young girls were marked for sacrifice by the old men and sacrificed to propitiate an evil divinity may be put aside

as absolutely without foundation. The Australian aborigines do not recognise any divinity, good or evil, nor do they offer any kind of sacrifice, as far as my knowledge goes.

Food Rules

When I first became acquainted with the Kurnai tribe, I observed that a man provided food for his wife's father. This custom is called *Neborak*. The food consists of a certain part of the daily catch of game procured by him. I found, for instance, that when he caught say five opossums, he gave two to his wife's father, and two to her brothers. On making inquiries and observing further, I found that food, including in that term all game caught by the men and all vegetable food obtained by the women, was shared with others according to well-understood rules. Thus there was a certain community in food, and there was an acknowledged obligation to supply certain persons with it. The following particulars which I ascertained and noted will show how it worked among the Kurnai and other tribes.

It is assumed that a man kills a kangaroo at a distance from the camp. Two other men are with him, but are too late to assist in killing it. The distance from the camp being considerable, the kangaroo is cooked before being carried home. While the first man lights a fire, the others cut up the game. The three cook the entrails and eat them. The following distribution is made. Men 2 and 3 receive one leg and the tail, and one leg and part of the haunch, because they were present, and had helped to cut the game up. Man number 1 received the remainder, which he carried to the camp. The head and back are taken by his wife to her parents, and the remainder goes to his parents. If he is short of meat, he keeps a little, but if, for instance, he has an opossum, he gives it all away. His mother, if she has caught some fish, may give him some, or his wife's parents may give him some of their share, and they also would in such a case give her some next morning. The children are in all cases well cared for by their grandparents.

The giving of food by the wife's parents on the following

morning is founded on the assumption that their son-in-law provided for his family on the preceding day, but may want some food before going out to hunt afresh. The food

FIG. 53.—A KURNAI MAN CLIMBING A TREE IN SEARCH OF AN OPOSSUM.

received by the wife's parents and by the husband's parents is shared by them with their family.

If a wombat were killed at a distance from the camp, its intestines would be taken out and the animal skewered up and carried home. If it was, however, close at hand, help

might be obtained and the game carried whole. All the animal is sent to the wife's parents, this animal being considered as the best of food. The wife's father distributes it to the whole camp, but he does not give any to the hunter unless the animal has been carried in whole, for otherwise he is expected to have eaten of the entrails, and therefore not to be hungry. On the following morning, however, he sends some of it by his daughter to her husband.

A native sloth bear is either cooked where caught, or carried home raw, according to the distance. If one is killed, it is given to the wife's parents; if two, one to the wife's parents, and one to the man's parents. If three, then two to the wife's parents, and one to the man's parents, and so on. The hunter will probably keep the liver for himself and wife. On the following morning the wife's parents will give her some if she has no food.

An emu is cooked where killed unless it is near the camp. The intestines, liver, and gizzard are eaten by the hunter. The legs go to the wife's father as *Neborak*, and the body is the share of his parents.

A lace-lizard is shared with all in the camp.

If a man kills one opossum, he keeps it for himself and his wife. Any others go to the wife's father. I remember a case where a man caught ten, of which he kept one, and all the others became *Neborak*.

If several swans are killed by a hunter, he keeps one or more, according to the wants of his family. The remainder go to his wife's parents, or, if many have been procured, most of them, and the lesser number go to his parents.

A conger-eel should be sent to his wife's father, who will probably share it with his family.

In all cases the largest share and the best of the game is *Neborak*. The grandchildren are fed by their grandparents. The supply of vegetable food obtained by the woman is all devoted to her children and herself.

The following instances will show what would be the distribution when members of the group other than the wife's and the man's parents are in camp.

A kangaroo killed by a married man assisted by a

Brewit (unmarried man) would all go to the wife's parents except the left leg to his brother, and the right leg to the *Brewit.*

If a catch of eels were made, the following might be the division of them, if the individuals were camped together. Man and wife, a large eel. Mother's brother and wife, a large eel. Children of mother's brother, a small eel; and to married daughter, a small eel.

Similar rules obtained in the Ngarigo tribe, of which the following may be taken as an example:—

Of a kangaroo the hunter would take a piece along the backbone near the loin. The father would have the backbone, ribs, shoulders, and head. The mother the right leg, the younger brother the left foreleg. The elder sister would have a piece alongside the backbone, the younger sister the right foreleg. The father shares his portion thus: to his parents, tail and piece of backbone; and the mother shares her portions with her parents, giving them part of the thigh and the shin.

A wombat is cooked, then cut open and skinned. The skin is cut into strips and divided with parts of the animal thus:—The head to the person who killed the animal. His father the right ribs; mother the left ribs and the backbone, which, with some of the skin, she gives to her parents. Her husband's parents receive some of the skin. The elder brother gets the right shoulder, the younger the left. The elder sister the right hind leg, the younger the left hind leg, and the rump and liver are sent to the young men's camp.

A native bear is divided in the following manner:—Self, left ribs; father, right hind leg; mother, left hind leg; elder brother, right forearm; younger brother, left forearm. The elder sister gets the backbone, and the younger the liver. The right ribs are given to the father's brother, a piece of the flank to the hunter's mother's brother, and the head goes to the young men's camp.

An emu was divided as follows:—The backbone to the hunter; left leg, left shoulder, and left flank to his father. The neck and head, right flank and right ribs to his mother. To his elder brother, the left rib; younger brother, part of the

backbone; elder sister, part of the right thigh; younger sister, the right shin. The left thigh and left shin went to the young men's camp. The father and mother shared their part with their parents.

A lace-lizard is divided thus :—The left leg to the hunter; the father and mother, the upper part of the body ; the elder and younger brothers, the right hind leg ; the elder sister, part of the lower half of the backbone. The tail goes to the younger sister. The father and mother share their portion, by giving to the hunter's father the foreleg, and to her father the backbone. The remainder goes to the young men's camp.

In this last the brothers and sisters are supposed to be grown up, and to be married. If these people were not all in the camp at the same time, the division would be made on the same lines.

As I had not an opportunity of checking this list, by further personal inquiries, and as the Rev. John Bulmer had Manero blacks at the Aboriginal Station under his control, I requested him to do so for me. This he very kindly did, and his reply was that he found the food to be divided as I have described. He found that when a kangaroo was killed, the whole was sent to the hunter's father, if he was at the camp, the former only eating a small piece himself. But, if he had no meat, his father would send him the head and part of the backbone. His wife would have to rely for a share of meat on her relations, or on that part to which she was entitled by custom.

Speaking of the custom of *Neborak*, Mr. Bulmer said he had observed that it was strictly kept, and that a man had to keep the parents of his wife supplied with the best parts of the game, and if possible with wombat flesh, that being considered the best of all. He had seen the whole of the right side of a wombat sent by one of the men as *Neborak*. This was always carried by the wife to her parents, as well as to the other camps for her husband, where it was mostly thrown down near the fire, and not given by hand, as they object to take it direct from any one's hand, lest some harm should come to them thereby.

In the old time the Kurnai made fish-hooks of bone, and it was the province of the women to fish with the line, while the men caught fish by spearing them. The fishing-lines were made of the inner bark of the Blackwood (*Acacia melanoxylon*).[1]

The following particulars relate to the Yerkla-mining tribe. Their food consists principally of wallaby and kangaroo, but they will eat snakes, iguanas, wild dogs, native cats, etc., but not some small varieties of lizards. All kinds of fish they will eat, except shark. A berry they call *Ngura* is much esteemed, and furnishes a quantity of food, as does also the Quandong or native peach, which grows very plentifully in their country. Another article of diet eaten by the Mining is the bark of a kind of mallee. It is prepared by baking in hot ashes, and afterwards pounding between hot stones. They relish this pulp mixed with white ants, though the bark is often eaten unpounded, and is said to have a rather agreeable flavour.

The weapons used by the Yerkla-mining are very primitive, though effectual in their hands. They have two kinds of spears. One, with a simple round point, is used to throw at animals, and is about nine or ten feet in length ; the other is thirteen or fourteen feet in length, and is pointed with one short barb three-quarters of an inch long.

When on the war-path they arm their spears with a piece of bark let into the point. The bark remains in the wound, and keeps it open, causing much pain and suppuration.

When the men go out hunting, one is employed in carrying a large bunch of long feathers tied to the end of the longest procurable spear. This he holds high in the air, waving it about, while another man walks with him carrying the jag-spear, with which he spears the small game that have been frightened by the hawk-like hovering of the bunch of feathers, and have nestled in the bushes for protection. When hunting larger game, such as kangaroo, the hunter stalks it with great skill, making use at the same time of various signs when it is not looking, with the object of charming it to stay within reach of his spear.

[1] Rev. John Bulmer.

They use the *Wordan*, or spear-thrower, also as a chopper for cutting up animals cooked and uncooked, it being pointed with a sharp piece of flint. The women have the usual stout stick for digging purposes, sharpened at one end, and it also serves as their weapon. The men have a short throwing weapon about fifteen inches long, sharpened at one end, with which they are very expert.

Physically the Mining are a medium-sized people, small-boned, slender in build, athletic and smart-looking; the complexion of a dark copper colour, and the hair black, bushy, and curly.

A pigment called *Wilgey* is used by the Mining to paint themselves on various occasions, and is obtained far north of the head of the Bight. They also use white ashes to paint themselves with when on the war-path.

In this tribe food is always shared equally among all present. For instance, if a wallaby has been killed, and there happen to be ten or twelve in the party, each one receives a share of the animal. No one touches the animal or part of it until given by the killer. Should the man who killed it be absent while it is being cooked, no one would touch it till he came to share it. Women share equally with the men, and children are carefully looked after by both parents. When a kangaroo was killed by a native servant of a white man, with the gun of the latter, none of the blacks present would touch it until the latter cut off portions of it and ordered them to eat it.[1]

The Narrang-ga tribe rules are as follows. If, in hunting, a man kills a kangaroo, he gives to the man on his right hand the head, tail, and the lower part of the hind leg, some fat and some liver. The second to the right receives the hinder part of the backbone and the left shoulder. The man to his left receives the right shoulder, and some from the right side, and the upper part of the left leg. His mother receives the ribs, his brother has part of his father's portion, and his sisters receive the flank. The kangaroo is cooked before being distributed.[2]

When the men of the tribes of the Karamundi nation

[1] H. Williams. [2] T. W. Sutton.

are hunting, those who are successful share their catch with those who have been less so, but there is not any rule by which certain individuals receive certain parts.[1]

Among the Narrinyeri, when an emu is killed, it is first plucked, then partly roasted, and the skin taken off. The oldest men of the clan, accompanied by the young men and boys, then carry it to a retired spot away from the camp, all women and children being warned not to come near them. One of the old men undertakes the dissection of the bird, and squats near it, with the rest standing round. He first cuts a slice off the front of one of the legs, and another piece off the back of the leg or thigh; the carcase is turned over, and similar pieces cut off the other leg. The piece off the front of the legs is called *Ngemperumi;* that off the back of the leg or thigh, *Pundarauk.* The bird is then opened and a morsel of fat taken from the inside and laid with the sacred or *Narumbe* portions already cut off on some grass. The general cutting up of the whole body is then commenced, and whenever the operator is about to break a bone, he calls the attention of the bystanders, who, when the bone snaps, leap and shout and run about, returning in a few minutes only to go through the same performance when another bone is broken.

When the carcase has been cut up into convenient pieces for distribution, it is carried by all to the camp, and may then be eaten by men, women, and children, but the men must first blacken their faces and sides with charcoal. The sacred pieces *Ngemperumi* and *Pundarauk* can only be eaten by the very old men, and on no account even touched by women or young men.

If the men did not leap and yell when a bone is broken, they think their bones would rot in them; and the same if any but the deputed person should break a bone. This ceremony was practised by all the clans of the Narrinyeri.[2]

I may mention here that, when in the Narrinyeri country in 1859, I placed some wood of the native cherry on my fire. One of the Narrinyeri who was standing by took it

[1] J. W. Boultbee. [2] F. W. Taplin.

off, saying that, if I did that, all the fish would leave the Coorong Inlet and they would be without food.

In the Wolgal tribe the game was divided as in the Ngarigo tribe. When a married man caught a kangaroo or other large game, he sent it all to his father's camp, and would himself eat small game; but if he had no other meat, his father would send him the head and part of the backbone. His wife would have to rely on her relations for a share of their meat. There was no rule in the Yuin tribe as to sharing game, but if a man had more than he wanted, he would give the excess to some relative or friend, for instance, to his parents, or his wife's parents. But he was not under any obligation to do so.

The Wiradjuri divide the food on the rule of the community of goods, a general distribution, or sharing alike.[1]

In the Wotjobaluk tribe all game was divided by one of the hunters, who parcelled it out in certain portions, leaving a part for himself. As an instance, when a man killed a kangaroo, and there were in the camp his mother's brother, an old man, his wife's parents, a married man, and two young men, he gave the body of the kangaroo to the old man, who gave some to his sister's son who was with him; the head and forequarters to his wife's parents; a leg, the tail, and some fat to the married man, and the young men had the remainder.

Among the Mukjarawaint, if an unmarried man killed a kangaroo, and a *Garchuka* or some other man, say a *Wurant*, were with him, the game would be first cooked, then they would eat some and afterwards divide it into three parts. The hunter would take his part home. If the hunter lived with his grandparents (there being no young men's camp there), he would give his grandfather all his share. If married, he would send some to his wife's parents by her, because he could not go near her mother, or her father might come himself for some. If the hunter's parents were there, she would take them some, or his mother would come for it. There is no rule as to which part of the kangaroo is given.

[1] A. L. P. Cameron.

If he killed an emu, he would share it with all in the camp. Porcupine, that is, the spiny ant-eater, is only shared with the hunter's own family. The division of game was on the same lines, unless a very small animal was caught, not more than enough for himself and his wife, if he were married.

In the Gournditch-mara tribe game caught was divided amongst those present. Supposing a kangaroo had been killed, the hunter gave one hind leg and the breast to his most esteemed friend, and kept the other hind leg himself. The remainder was divided amongst the other companions. There was no rule as to the distribution of cooked food in the camp, for each family ate together, and each wife was obliged to sit beside her own husband, and not near any other man, unless her husband sat between them.[1]

In the tribes of South-western Victoria, as described by Mr. Dawson,[2] there are strict rules regulating the distribution of food. "When a hunter brings game to the camp, he gives up all claim to it, and must stand aside and allow the best portion to be given away, and content himself with the worst. If he has a brother present, the brother is treated in the same way, and helps the killer of the game to eat the poorer pieces, which are thrown to them, such as the forequarters and ribs of the kangaroo, opossums, and smaller quadrupeds, and the backbones of birds. This custom is called *Yuurka-baawhaar*, meaning 'exchange.' The women also divide the food they collect, which is mainly vegetable."

If a Wurunjerri man killed a kangaroo, it was divided in accordance with tribal rules. Assuming that the man had some one with him, they would take out the entrails, and unless the skin was required for some purpose, roast the kangaroo whole. One forequarter was kept by the man for himself and his wife and children. A leg or the other forequarter was taken by his comrade, and the head and a foreleg went to the man's father and mother. A hind leg and the loins went to the hunter's wife's father and mother, the caul and the tail to some one else.

[1] J. H. Stähle. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 22.

But if a man only killed enough game, or procured enough other food for himself, his wife, and children, then he need not divide with others; but if he found that his father had no food, he would give them what he had procured, and go out and look for more. Similarly if his wife's father had no food, and no son to provide for him, he would give him some, and seek more himself. On the other hand, if he had none, and his wife's father had a supply, the latter would send him some by his daughter. The old people used to say to the young that people should divide their food with others, and particularly with the old people and the young. They said that *Bunjil* was pleased when he saw that the old people and the children were provided for.

The care displayed in these people for the aged is shown in other ways. In this tribe when a man became so old that he could not travel, his son, or his wife's brother, or his daughter's husband, carried him from camp to camp. It must be remembered that these are not merely individuals, but a group in each case, who would recognise the liability individually. I have known many instances of this kind, including several cases among the Kurnai of men carrying their wives about the country when too old or too sick to walk.

In the tribes within fifty miles of Maryborough in Queensland, people were very good to their old or sick relatives, carrying them about on stretchers.[1]

In the Dalebura tribe a woman who had been a cripple from her birth was carried about by the tribes-people in turn, and this was done until her death, when she was over sixty years of age.

On one occasion several of them rushed into a swollen stream to rescue an old drowning woman whose death would have been a relief to herself.

There was also an instance of a mother watching her sick child and refusing all food, and when it died she was inconsolable.[2]

There is a passage in Protector Thomas's report to Governor La Trobe which is worth quoting as giving the

[1] Harry E. Aldridge. [2] R. Christison.

customs of the Wurunjerri and other neighbouring tribes when the State of Victoria was first settled. He says:—

"In the Kulin tribes, they seldom travel more than six miles a day. In their migratory movements all are employed. Children are getting gum, knocking down birds; women are digging up roots, killing bandicoots, getting grubs; the men hunting and scaling trees for opossums. They are mostly at the encampment an hour before sundown; the women first, who get fire and water; by this time their spouses arrive. They hold that the bush and all it contains are men's general property; that private property is only what utensils are carried in the bag; and this general claim to nature's bounty extends even to the success of the day; hence at the close, those who have been successful divide with those who have not been, so 'that none lacketh while others have it,' nor is the gift considered as a favour, but as a right, brought to the needy and thrown down at his feet."[1]

So far as I know, the throwing down of food on the ground arises out of the fear of receiving anything from the hand of another person and thus being infected by evil magic.

In the Gringai tribe game taken in hunting is usually divided equally.[2]

All the males in the Chepara tribe are expected to provide food, if not sick. If a man is lazy and stays in camp, he is jeered at and insulted by the others. Men, women, and children leave the camp in the early morning for the purpose of hunting for food where they think that game will be plentiful. After hunting sufficiently, the men and women carry the various catches of game to the nearest water-hole, where fires are made and the game cooked. The men, women, and children all eat together amicably, the food being distributed among them by the old men equally to all the men, women, and children. After the meal, the women carry what is left of the cooked food to the camp, the men hunting by the way. In this tribe a man is not bound to provide his wife's parents with food,

[1] *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, p. 66. [2] J. W. Boydell.

unless the old man is sick, or too feeble to hunt, or unless the wife's mother is a widow.[1]

At the Bunya feasts which the Turrbal attended, the strangers on a visit did not climb the Bunya trees for the cones, all the trees belonging to the people of the place. A father gives certain trees to his sons, who can invite their friends to come and eat of the fruit. The visitors purchased bags of the seeds when they returned home. The Bunya feast lasted about a mouth.[2]

In the Dalebura tribe, when on a march, those who have been unfortunate in the chase are invited, when all are camped for the night, to partake of the game of the successful ones.[3]

The Bunya-Bunya tribe had a curious custom which they practised when an inland and a coast tribe met. It was considered a great honour to send word to a man on the other side that you would like him to pull your beard and whiskers out. Of course there was only a small quantity left to pull out, the rest being burnt off too short to catch hold of. A meeting generally took place about mid-day, and, with a little bees'-wax on the fingers, the operation was soon gone through, fat and burnt bark being rubbed in. As a rule the young bark of the Bloodwood tree, which makes a very fine white ash, was used.[4]

Mr. Christison tells me that when he has been out on expeditions, accompanied by his blackboys only, and the food ran short, and the division of rations was very scanty, they have refused to take their share, intimating that he stood more in need of it. On previous occasions, when he had his own countrymen with him, the contrary was the case, for the ration-bags were broached, and when in any difficulties, grumbling was the rule. In their wild state the Dalebura seemed to live peaceably enough. He had seen a camp of three hundred live for three months without a quarrel.

As supplementary to the rules under which food was distributed in common in the groups to which the individual

[1] J. Gibson.
[2] Tom Petrie.
[3] R. Christison.
[4] Harry E. Aldridge.

belonged, or to which he was related, I may add a few instances of prohibition of certain food to certain persons.

In the Wotjobaluk tribe, boys are forbidden to eat of the kangaroo, or the padi-melon, or the young native companion. If they transgress these rules, they are told that they will fall sick, break out all over with eruptions, and perhaps die.

The man, until about forty, is under certain restrictions. If he eats the tail part of the emu or bustard, he will turn grey ; he will be speared by some one if he eats of the black duck ; will be killed by lightning if he eats the fresh-water turtle, for that reptile is connected with the thunder. To eat of the padi-melon would cause him to break out all over with sores. As to the turtle, it may be mentioned here that the Wotjobaluk think they can smell something after lightning which reminds them of the smell of the turtle.

In the Yualaroi tribe the old men have a great influence over the females and the young men as to the regulations of their food, preventing them from eating such food as emu and their eggs, wild turkey and eggs.[1]

Young men are not allowed in the Bigambul tribe to eat the female opossum, carpet-snake, honey taken out of certain trees, wild turkeys, certain fishes. These prohibitions are got over after they have been at the *Bora*, or, as the Bigambul call it, the *Mue*.[2]

If a young man or young woman of the Wakelbura tribe eats forbidden game such as emu, black-headed snake, porcupine, they will become sick, and probably pine away and die, uttering the sounds peculiar to the creature in question. It is believed that the spirit of the creature enters into them and kills them.[3]

Mr. M'Alpine, whom I have already mentioned, said that he had a Kurnai blackboy in his employ about 1856-57. The lad was strong and healthy, until one day Mr. M'Alpine found him ill. He explained that he had been doing what he ought not to have done, that he had "stolen some female 'possum," before he was permitted to eat it ; that the old men had found him out, and that he

[1] R. W. Crowthers. [2] J. Lalor. [3] J. C. Muirhead

would never grow up to be a man. He lay down under that belief, so to say, and never got up again, dying within three weeks.

BALL-PLAYING

A game of ball-playing was a favourite pastime of the Victorian tribes, of which Wotjobaluk, Wurunjerri, and the Kurnai will serve as examples. The ball used by the former was made of strips of opossum pelt rolled tightly round a piece folded up and covered with another bit sewn tightly with sinews. The ball used by the Kurnai was the scrotum of an "old-man" kangaroo, stuffed tightly with grass. This was called *Turta jiraua.*

The Wurunjerri called their ball, which was like that of the Wotjobaluk, *Mangurt.* In playing this game the two sides were the two classes, two totems, or two localities. For instance, in a case which I remember in the Mukjarawaint tribe, the *Garchukas* (white cockatoos) and the *Batyangal* (pelicans) played against each other. But this was in fact the class Krokitch against Gamutch. The Kurnai played locality against locality, or clan against clan, their totems being merely survivals.

Each side had a leader, and the object was to keep the ball from the other side as long as possible, by throwing it from one to the other. Such a game might last for hours.

The Ngarigo played with a ball made of opossum pelt, and when many people were present the women and children took part in the game.

FIRE-MAKING

The Dieri obtained fire by drilling with a straight-pointed stick on the edge of the shield. The shields are obtained from the tribes to the eastward by barter. I do not know what the wood is of which they are made. It is light coloured and soft. I frequently saw shields with a row of small holes burned in the side edge by this process. The same remarks apply to the other tribes of the Barcoo delta.

The Wurunjerri method of making fire was by drilling on a flat piece of the dry wood of the Djel-wuk,[1] which grows plentifully in the gullies of the Dandenong Mountains and of the Yarra River. The drill-stick is one of the young shoots, about thirty inches in length, which is carefully dried. The thicker end is pointed, and is inserted in a small cavity in the flattened piece. A small notch is cut from the

FIG. 54.—URABUNNA MAN MAKING FIRE.

cavity to the edge of the lower piece. The drill is rapidly turned in the cavity, thus producing fine dust, which first turns black then falls on to some frayed bark fibre which has been placed below the groove to receive it. Finally the abraded dust takes fire, and being folded up in the fibre, is blown into a flame. I have seen fire produced in this way in a minute, and I once, and once only, succeeded in doing it myself in a minute and a half.

The blacks of the Manero tableland and their

[1] *Hedicaria Cunninghami*, the "Native Mulberry."

neighbours the Wolgal make fire after this method. A piece of grass-tree stem is laid down, and another piece is twirled on it. Two men work at it, and a little charcoal is put in as they drill, and when the dust ignites, teased-out

FIG. 55.—KURNAI USING FIRE-DRILL.

bark is added. Another method is as follows. A spear-thrower is laid on the ground, and on it a piece of grass-tree flower-stalk with a flattened side. On either side of this a spear-thrower is put on edge, and between them vertically a piece of grass-tree stem, which is twirled. When smoke comes the two side spear-throwers are

removed, their use only having been to confine the fire-drill stick. Twirling is continued until smoke arises out of each side of the horizontal grass-tree stem, and the dust and chips are turned over on to some teased-out bark which is blown into flame.

The method of producing fire by drilling used formerly by the Kurnai is shown in the accompanying illustration. The flower stem of the grass-tree was mostly used.

Camping Rules

In forming their camps, the aborigines were careful to place them in a favourable position, as regards the weather, and in many cases facing the morning sun. As I have mentioned before, the Paritiltya-kana, or men of the Paritiltya division of the Dieri tribe, fix their camps close to a creek in a valley, so as to be near to water, while the other Dieri camp on the higher ground. This is an instance of the local and tribal variations of a common custom. But in all cases they formed their camps as experience had taught them, and the departure from these rules has not a little contributed to the mortality which has attacked them since the advent of the white man. Before that, they lived in harmony with their environment; since then, they have been in discord with it.

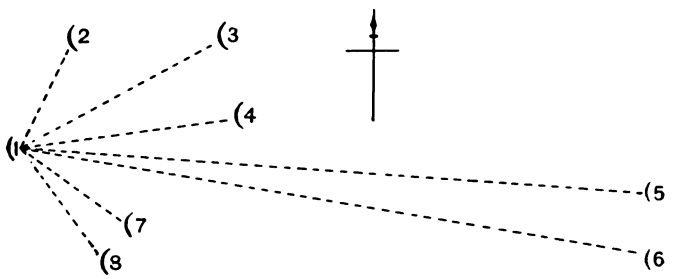
The rules of the camp not only in most cases fixed the positions of the several camps, of the married men, the single men and of visitors, but also of the individuals in each camp. As an instance, I take the Kurnai and their rules.

Not only did custom regulate the position in the *Bun*, or hut, but it also indicated the situation of the respective *Buns* in the encampment. When an encampment was formed, the relative positions of the several camps depended in the first place to a great extent on where the *Gweraeil-kurnai*, or Headman, placed his own. Then in fixing the others the people faced their *Buns* if possible towards sun-rise, and sheltered from the winds. If there were any strangers from a distance, they placed their camps at the

side of the encampment, facing a direction in which their country was situated.

In order to fix as accurately as possible these positions of the camps of a related group, I got some of the Kurnai to point out on a piece of ground where various members of a family group, whom I would name, would camp. From their statements I formed a diagram, and from it I extracted the following particulars. The starting-point is supposed to be the camp of a man and his wife. The directions are given approximately by compass bearings, and the distances by paces. The nature of the ground required that the encampment should extend in a certain direction.

DIAGRAM XXXII



1. Man and wife.	
2. Married son of 1.	5 paces from 1.
3. Father and mother of 1.	20 paces from 1.
4. Brother of 1 and wife.	20 paces from 1.
5. Father and mother of the wife of 1.	100 paces from 1.
6. Married son of 5.	The same distance.
7. The married brother of the mother of 1.	10 paces each from 1.
8. The married sister of the father of 1.	

If the sister of the wife of 1 had been present with her husband, they could have camped anywhere near, so long as not actually close to 1.

If there had been a married daughter of 1 there, her husband would have been in the same position as regards her mother as the wife of 5 was as to 1, and must have camped at a similar distance.

A *Brogan* who stands in the relation of brother to 1 could occupy a position suitable to that relation. Owing to the nature of the ground all the huts could face the sunrise, which is a favourite aspect.

In the camps of the Kurnai, custom regulates the position of the individual. The husband and wife would sleep on the left-hand side of the fire, the latter behind it,

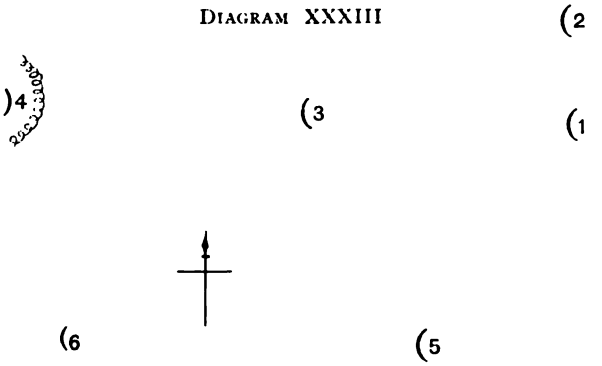
and close behind her the children; nearest to them the little boy, if any, next to him the little girl. In the event of the man's father and mother being with them for a night, the grandfather would occupy the right-hand side, the grandmother behind him, farther back in the hut; and the son's wife and children would move to a corresponding position near their own "house-father."

It would be a rule that the wife's sister, although called wife by her brother-in-law, and also calling him husband, would not sleep in his hut, but somewhere near at hand. Different rules would apply to other persons visiting him. A *Brogan*, that is, a man who had been initiated the same time as the husband, and who therefore addresses the wife as "spouse," and is so addressed by her, would not stay at their camp, but would go and stop in the "young men's camp."

In the Wurunjerri tribe people formed their camps somewhat in the following manner, taking Berak's *willam*, or hut, as the starting-point.

The following diagram is from the positions he marked on the ground for me:—

DIAGRAM XXXIII



1. Berak, his wife, and child.
2. Berak's brother, his wife, and child.
3. Berak's father and mother.
4. Berak's wife's father and mother.
5. Visitors from the Bunurong tribe.
6. Young men's camp.

The camp is supposed to be in Berak's country, say at Heidelberg. Each hut faces the east.

That of the parents of Berak's wife is behind a screen of boughs. The hut of Berak's father is between theirs and his.

The Bunurong people camp at that side nearest to their country, which is to the south-east. The *willam* of the young men is farthest from those of the married men.

In the Wolgal tribe, the grandparents would occupy the following places in their huts. Father's father on the left-hand side of the fire; father's mother on the right-hand side of the fire. The maternal grandparents would not in any way occupy a place in their son-in-law's camp, but would make a camp for themselves, behind that of their son-in-law.

A married man would never stay in the young men's camp when travelling, unless he were without his wife, when he would be considered as being single. The married people and the single young men camp entirely apart.

Huts in a Wiradjuri encampment are arranged according to the localities from which the respective occupants have come. Those from the east occupy an eastern position, and so on. The wife always looks after the camping arrangements.[1]

With the Kaiabara the Headman, when encamping, places his camp in the centre of the encampment; the single men on the one side, and the single women on the other. The old women keep an eye on the young people to prevent improprieties.[2]

There is a regulation relating to camps in the Wakelbura tribe which forbids the women coming into the encampment by the same path as the men. Any violation of this rule would in a large camp be punished with death. The reason for this is the dread with which they regard the menstrual period of women. During such a time, a woman is kept entirely away from the camp, half a mile at least. A woman in such a condition has boughs of some tree of her totem tied round her loins, and is constantly watched and guarded, for it is thought that should any male be so unfortunate as to see a woman in such a condition, he

[1] J. H. Gribble. [2] Jocelyn Brooke.

would die. If such a woman were to let herself be seen by a man, she would probably be put to death. When the woman has recovered, she is painted red and white, her head covered with feathers, and returns to the camp.[1]

At the Herbert River (Queensland) the camps are so arranged that the entrance of each commands an approach to the encampment. Thus in whatever direction one comes, the entrance to a hut faces one.[2]

The instances given in this chapter of the division of food among the kindred and relations, and the special provision for old people, give an entirely different idea of the aboriginal character to that which had been usually held. This latter is derived from what is seen of the blacks under our civilisation. The oft-repeated description of the black-fellow eating the white man's beef or mutton and throwing a bone to his wife who sits behind him, in fear of a blow from his club, is partly the new order of things resulting from our civilisation breaking down the old rules. But it is also, in part, the old rule itself. I have shown that in some cases the wife is fed by her own people, and the throwing of food to another person is not an act of discourtesy. Its reason is that there is a deep-seated objection to receive anything which can convey evil magic from the hand of another person, and in many instances that applies to the two sexes.

Such contrasts between the old and the new condition of things struck me very forcibly at the Kurnai *Jeraeil*, where the people lived for a week in the manner of their old lives, certainly with the addition of the white man's beef and flour, but without his intoxicating drinks, which have been a fatal curse to the black race. That week was passed without a single quarrel or dispute.

[1] J. C. Muirhead. [2] J. Gaggin.

APPENDIX

SOME LEGENDS OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN TRIBES

The origin of the Murdus and the Kana—How the Mura-mura Paralina perfected mankind, a Mardala legend—Madra-mankana, a Dieri legend—The wanderings of the Yuri-ulu, a Wonkanguru legend—A circumcision legend of the Eastern Dieri and the Yaurorka—The Pirha and the Wapiya legend of the Wonkamala tribe—The Anti-etya and the Ngardu-etya legends—The Minkani ceremonies—The Darana legend of the Dieri—Kakakudana and the origin of the mound springs, a legend of the Urabunna—Tayi-tampana or Ngura-tulu-tulu-ru, a Yaurorka legend—Ngura-wordu-punnuna, a Dieri legend.

THESE legends[1] relate more or less to the initiation and other ceremonies of these tribes, at which they are repeated by the old men, and are thus handed down from generation to generation. They form the precedents for the ceremonial proceedings.

Taking Lake Eyre for the central point, the range of these tribes extends northwards to the Wonkamala, and southwards to the Parnkalla, who occupied the country on the west side of Spencer Gulf, as far as Port Lincoln, and inland to the Gawler Ranges. This is about seven hundred miles north and south. To the north-west it extends to where it comes in contact with the southern part of the tribes of which the Arunta is the typical example. To the west its range is not known to me, further than the Kukata, Tangara, and Willara, which are west of the Urabunna and Wirangu tribes which border Lake Eyre on that side.

To the north-east and east it would include the tribes which attend the ceremonies of the Mura-mura Minkani, from a considerable distance within the State of Queensland. On the east the Grey and Barrier Ranges make the boundary of the Lake Eyre tribes.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MURDUS[2] AND OF THE KANA

In the Beginning, the earth opened in the midst of Perigundi

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. O. Siebert for these legends.

[2] This word is properly *Mada*, but as I have written it in former works *Murdu*, I have retained the same form of orthography. *Kana* is the term applied to themselves by the Dieri and other tribes.

Lake,[1] and there came out, one murdu after the other, *Kaualka* (crow), *Katatara* (shell parakeet), *Warukati* (emu), and so on. Being as yet incompletely formed, and without members and sense organs, they laid themselves down on the sandhills, which then, as now, surrounded the lake. There, lying in the sunshine, they were after a time invigorated and strengthened by it, so that at last they stood up as Kana (human beings) and separated in all directions.

The Dieri point out an island in the middle of Perigundi Lake as the place where the Murdus came out. The legend not only accounts for the totem animals but also for the Kana, that is, the native inhabitants of the Lake Eyre district. It also accounts, by the dispersal of the Murdus, for the fact that the totem names are scattered over the country, but in such manner that some are more prevalent in one part than in another.

How the Mura-mura Paralina[2] perfected Mankind: A Yaurorka Legend

The Mura-mura Paralina was out hunting kangaroos. While following one, he saw four incomplete beings cowering together. Without noticing them further, he followed the kangaroo till he came to where there were two Mura-mura women, who had already killed the kangaroo, and covered it with *Paua*.[3] When he asked whether they had killed the kangaroo, they denied having done so. Then Paralina thought of a trick. He unwound his belt (body-string) into an immensely long cord, at the end of which he fastened an ant, which at once smelled out the meat, and with its comrades fell upon the dead kangaroo hidden under the *Paua*. Paralina now followed the cord and discovered the kangaroo, and having cleared the ants from it, he carried it away on his shoulders. Then he went back to the place where he had seen the cowering beings.

Going up to them, he smoothed their bodies, stretched out their limbs, slit up their fingers and toes, formed their mouths, noses, and eyes, stuck ears on them, and blew into their ears in order that they might hear. Lastly, he perforated the body from the mouth downwards, and projected a piece of hard clay (*Daka*) through it with so much force that it passed through the body,

[1] *Perigundi* is "a crooked place." *Peri* is a locality; *gundi*, more properly *kunti*, is "crooked" or "twisted." This lake is so named from its irregular shape. It is now known as Lake Buchanan.

[2] From *Para*, "hair." His girdle was made of human hair. The legend is current in the west and south of Blanch-water, that is, in the country of the Mardala, in which kangaroo are plentiful. The Paralina Creek, which rises on the east side of the Flinders Range, appears to have been called after this Mura-mura.

[3] The seed of any plant which is used for food.

forming the fundament. Having thus produced mankind out of these beings, he went about making men everywhere.

MANDRA-MANKANA, ALSO CALLED BAKUTA-TERKANA-TARANA, OR KANTA-YULKANA: A DIERI LEGEND[1]

Mandra-mankana once came to the neighbourhood of Pando.[2] Two girls who saw him jeered at him, because his back was just the same as his front. He told their mother, who was his *Noa*, to send her two daughters to his camp the following night. When she told them of his demand, they ridiculed him, but yet they went there, and lay down one on each side of the sleeping old man, their *Ngaperi*. Then they heaped up a ridge of sand on either side of him, so that he thought to have his *Ngatamura-ulu* there. But these had meanwhile crept away out of the sand and lay down to sleep in the camp of their mother. When the *Pinnaru* woke in the night he rose upright, and saw that he was quite alone, and that the girls had cheated him. Hence his name of Bakuta-terkana-tarana. He went forth thinking of revenge. Through his songs he caused plants to grow, some with bitter and some with pleasant-tasted fruit. The two girls found these plants, and ate first of the bitter and then of the good fruit. Delighted with the latter, they sprang from one bush to the other. Thus after a time they came to a *Tanyu* bush laden with its red and yellow fruit, where lurked Mandra-mankana in concealment, to destroy them. As they came near to him, he threw his boomerang at one and broke her ankle, and then rushing up he killed her by a blow on her head. The other sister ran away to save herself, but he followed her, and killed her also. He then cut off the breasts of the dead girls and carried them with him as he went farther. Coming to a camp where some young boys were amusing themselves in a plain by throwing boomerangs, he hid himself behind some bushes, and watched them at their play. Then one of the boys threw his boomerang so far that it fell near the old man. The boy sought for it, and was about to take it up, when the *Pinnaru* seized him by the hand. He was frightened, but Mandra-mankana calmed him by giving him a lizard. He soon became friendly with the boy, and promised at his request to make a new song, and called to all the people to come and hear it. They assembled, even the sick and the women with child. The boy began to sing, and the *Pinnaru* came out of the bushes, painted and decked with feathers, and

[1] *Mandra* is "belly" or "body," and *Manka* is "hind-before." *Bakuta-terkana-tarana* is "the one who rises upright fruitlessly," from *Baku*, "fruitlessly," "without avail," also "free" or "unburdened." *Terkana* is "to stand," and *Tarana* is "to rise up," "to fly." Frequently, in combination with a verb, it forms our preposition "up," as *Terkana taranato*, "stand up," *Nayina taranato* "to look upwards."

[2] *Pando* is Lake Hope. Sometimes it is called Pando-pirna, Big Lake.

carrying the breasts of the girls hanging on his chest. He danced to the onlookers, in the front ranks of whom two young men, the *Noas* of the girls, were sitting. These immediately recognised the breasts of their *Noas*, and when the *Pinnaru* retired, dancing, they stuck their *Kandri*[1] in the ground before them. When he again danced near to them, each seized his *Kandri*, and struck him, so that both his legs were broken. Then they split his head open, and at the same time all the people fell upon him, and even the children struck him. Then they buried him, and laying his bag at the head of the grave, they went elsewhere. One day a crow perched itself on the grave of Mandra-mankana. Three times it knocked with its beak on the wood which was lying on the grave, and cried, "Ka! Ka! Ka!" Then the dead man woke up, and came out of the grave, and looked round, but no one was to be seen. Then he looked for footprints, and found that the people had all gone in the same direction, but by three different ways. While the strong and hale ones had gone, some to the right and some to the left, hunting as they went along, the old and the sick had gone straight on, between the two other tracks. These he followed till he came to the neighbourhood of their new camp, and he concealed himself in the bushes near where they were busy in the creek,[2] driving the fish together to catch them. They had pulled up bushes and grass, and with them were driving the fish before them in heaps. Mandra-mankana kept himself concealed in the water, and opening his mouth he sucked in and swallowed the water, fish, grass, and men. Some few who were at a distance, observing that their comrades, and nearly all those who were fishing, had disappeared, and looking round to see where they had gone to, saw with alarm that the monster in the water had surrounded them with his arms. Only a few of them escaped by jumping over them. The Mura-mura Kanta-yulkana,[3] looking after them, gave to each, as he ran, his Murdu name.

Those who ran to the north were—

Kanangara	seed of the Manyura.
Karabana	bat.
Maiaru	marsupial rat.
Palyara	a small marsupial.
Katatara	shell parakeet.
Malura	cormorant.

[1] The *Kandri* is a round boomerang-shaped weapon, with pointed ends, used by the Dieri and other tribes. There is another *Kandri*, which is a gummy substance obtained from the roots of a plant called *Mindri*, called also *Kandri-moku*, or bone-Kandri, which is used for cementing chips of stone to wooden handles.

[2] At the Cooper, north of Lake Hope.

[3] "Grass-swallower," from *Kanta*, "grass," and *Yulkana*, "to swallow" or "gobble up."

Karawora	eagle-hawk.
Warukati	emu.[1]
Kaualka	crow.
Padi	a caterpillar.[2]
Karku	red ochre.
Woma	carpet snake.
Pitcheri	*Duboisia Hopwoodii.*

Those who ran to the south-east were the—

Chukuro	kangaroo.
Kintala	dingo.
Kani	jew lizard.[3]
Kaperi	iguana.
Kokula	marsupial rat.
Punta	a small marsupial.
Karabana	a small marsupial.
Puralko	the native companion.
Kuraura	rain.
Malbaru	a crane.
Tundu-bulyeru	a water-rat.
Pira-moku	native cat.
Kaladiri	a frog.
Tidnamara	a frog.
Wilyaru	curlew.
Watari	kangaroo-rat.

Those who ran to the southwards were the—

Makara	a fish.
Kirhapara	?
Yikaura	native cat.
Ngarumba	box-tree.[4]
Kanunga	rabbit-bandicoot.[5]

The Mura-mura came out of the water and vomited, so that he threw out all his teeth, which are to be seen at Manatandri. Having done this, he went a little farther and sat down and died.

This place is pointed out by the Dieri on the Cooper north of Pando, and the body of the Mura-mura is to be seen there also, turned into stone, in the form of a rock.

The Wanderings of the Yuri-ulu: A Wonkanguru Legend

After the Yuri-ulu were circumcised at Mararu they went off on their wanderings alone, and came to the Kadla-lumpa[6] Creek, where

[1] From *Waru*, "grey," and *Kati*, a "covering" or "pelt." Thus a bird with a grey covering.

[2] The witchetty grub of Spencer and Gillen.

[3] *Amphibolurus barbatus* (*Narrative of the Horn Expedition*, p. 28).

[4] *Eucalyptus microtheca.*

[5] *Paragale lagotis.*

[6] *Kadla*, "rushes," and *lumpa*, a "spring" or "well."

they refreshed themselves with the water which bubbles out of the earth. They collected emu eggs at that place, and the bird attacked them, but was driven off by their shouting and throwing sand and dust at it. The sand and dust, however, which they had thrown up into the air came upon them as a cloud,—the Nilla-nilla [1]—which raised the sandhill on which they stood high up in the air. But through fear they threw themselves down on the ground, and lay there for some time insensible. When they recovered they found that the Nilla-nilla was gone, and putting the eggs in a bag they went on to Urakuroka,[2] from whence they saw great columns of smoke rising up and spreading out wide and far, from the place of circumcision at Mararu. Wandering further, they came to a place where they found a great number of lizards; and at another they collected stone for knives, which, however, were not good. Then at Kalilte they observed that they were inflamed from the circumcision, but the inflammation left them at Kalpinta and Laratjilkira, and they rejoiced that they were now full men. At Nalpawira they caught a small lizard, the *pilta*, which lived under the bark of the tree, and they killed it, but then regretting this, they swung it round their heads to bring it to life again. Feeling very cold at Kurampa, they threw glowing coals in the grass, which, taking fire, drove the cold away. From this place they went to Kililti,[3] where small kidney-shaped stones are plentiful,[4] with which they filled their bags. Then, placing themselves a long distance apart, one threw *pundra*, which the other tried to hit and break with a stick. Having finished this game, they collected the small fragments for *tulas* and placed them in their bags.

Still travelling on, a great rainbow appeared after a shower. Alarmed at this, they halted, but thought that it was only a gigantic *kadi-markara*. Then having given names to the rainbow and to its colours, they went on, but with caution, fearing that the portent might again come upon them, and looking back at it till it disappeared. On their way they saw the footprints of the Mura-mura Markanyankula,[5] but as he must have passed the previous day and reached Antiritya, they could not overtake him.

On their further wanderings they collected *yaua*,[6] at one place; at another they killed a water-hen; and at a third they dug out some *kapita*, and then found a nest with a young eagle-hawk in it. At length they reached the other side of the ranges, where it became darker and darker, and feeling round with their hands, they found

[1] Mirage.
[2] "To spread itself out."
[3] The names have not been explained.
[4] Called *Pundra-pundra*, from *Pundra*, a kidney.
[5] This relates to the wanderings of another Mura-mura.
[6] *Yaua* is a grass-like plant, with small bulbs—the *Cyperus rotundus*.

a continuous hard surface. They struck it with their fists, and with their boomerangs and spears, but in vain. Then the elder of the Yuri-ulu pushed the obstruction with his finger and it opened, and they saw a new country covered with trees and bushes. Looking back at what they had passed through, they recognised it as being the edge of the sky, but they did not wander long in this country, for the younger of the two died. The elder still went on, but after a time he also died. Then they both returned to life, and called to their father, with the voice of thunder, that they had died in a strange land, and could not return again. He, hearing their voices, mourned for them.[1]

These two Wonkanguru legends might be well divided into three: first, the preparation for the ceremony; second, the ceremony itself; and third, the wandering of the Yuri-ulu after circumcision.

The mention of the *pirha* in these ceremonies, and the dances of the two sets of women, the elder and the younger sisters of the Yuri-ulu, connects it with the legend in which the wanderings of the elder and younger girls, with their *pirha* song, is given.

Antiritcha, which may be identified with a mountain in the M'Donnell Ranges, fixes the limits of the wanderings of the Yuri-ulu as being somewhat beyond the termination of these mountains.

A Circumcision Legend: Eastern Dieri and Yaurorka Tribes

A girl met her brother, and observed on him the effect of circumcision. Hastening to the *Pinnaru*, her father, she told him what she had seen, and asked him how it had been done. Instead of replying to her question, he became enraged, and scolded her, saying, "Why did you meet your brother, and see his wound?" He sent his wife away, and with his friends dug a long and deep hole. Then he called the people together from all quarters. The old men threw fire into the hole till it was red hot. Then they called all the women and children to the side of the pit. They obeying the call, the *Pinnaru* ordered them to place themselves in groups round it, and to dance when the song began. This they did, a man dancing with his wife, a *Pirrauru* with his *Pirrauru*, three youths together, and so on, till the *Pinnaru* pushed them, one group after the other, into the pit. Only a few remained alive of all those people, and the Tidnamadukas,[2] who lived in that locality, observed

[1] Even now the thunder is said to be the voice of a dead person who announces that he has returned to life.

[2] From *Tidna*, a foot, and *Maduka*, a mother, or grandmother, or ancestress. A *Tidnamaduka* is a man who claims a certain tract of country as his, and whose mother and her brothers claim it for him. *Tidnamaduka*, or, shortly, *Maduka*, is the com-

that the *Pinnaru* and his party intended to throw all of them also into the pit. Running together hastily, they threw their boomerangs at the old men and broke their legs, so that they could not escape. Then they threw them into the same pit which they had intended for them.

The intention of this legend appears to be to account for the taboo which exists between the boys after circumcision and the women of the tribe, and especially between them and their sisters, who are forbidden under penalty of death to see them until their wounds are healed.

The two following legends recount the wanderings of two parties of young Mura-mura women, carrying a dance and a song, which is shown in the wanderings of the Yuri-ulu to be connected with the ceremonies of circumcision.

The wanderings commence at some place far to the south-west of Lake Eyre in the country of the Kukata tribe, if not near to the coast. They extend thence to the south-west of Lake Eyre at Coward Springs, and continue round the south of the Lake to the Lower Cooper. Here there are petrifactions which mark the localities mentioned, and which are recognised as Mura-muras turned into stone. These are the girls, who, however, are yet said by the legend to wander further. They are also seen, as petrifactions, where they concealed themselves from their Mura-mura follower, and ridiculed him. Also where they threw the *Wona* there are stones commemorating them. The traces of this *Wona* game are pointed out in straight rows of petrifactions, which are held to be Mura or sacred things which no one may injure.

The first legend is composed of two parts, which are conjoined for convenience of narrative. The first part is the *Pirha-malkara*, or the Bowl-song, which belongs to the Urabunna, the Tirari section of the Dieri, and other neighbouring tribes, and ends at a place called Palaunkina. The second commences at Pundu-worani, and belongs to the Wonkanguru. The third part is from the death of the Mura-mura Madaputa-tupuru, and introduces another travelling group of young women, who also carry a song, that of the *Wapiya*, or boomerang.

This latter part was obtained from an intelligent old man of the Wonkamala tribe, to which he belonged, and was subsequently confirmed by one of the Wonkanguru, who had lived for a long time among the Wonkamala, and whose wife was of that tribe. The second part of the legend, namely that commencing at

plement of *Pintara*. Maduka includes everything belonging to the maternal line, as *Pintara* includes everything belonging to the paternal line. For instance, a father's Mura mura, together with his "fatherland," is his *Pintara*, while the mother's brother, speaking of his mother's Mura-mura and his "motherland," calls it his *Maduka*.

Pundu-worani, was obtained from his brother and other Wonkanguru men.

The Wonkamala man came to the Dieri as the head of a party bringing the *Molonga* dance from the north; and subsequently he went away southwards.[1] Later on he returned northwards, but became ill, and died near Killalpanina. He was considered to be a great medicine-man, and it is said that a party from his tribe is to come down to take his bones back to his own people as powerful magic. After his death some of his party carried the *Molonga* dance to the south, and the others travelled round the south end of Lake Eyre to the north-west.

This is an instance of the manner in which wanderings still take place among the native tribes of the interior, by men whose mission accredits them to the tribes to which they come.

The Pirha-malkara: A Legend of the Urabunna Tribe

A number of girls, the "Mankara-waka-ya-pirna,"[2] once made a journey, accompanied by their *Ngaperi*, the Mura-mura Madaputa-tupuru, who was foolish about women, and closely followed them. They started from *Malku-malku*, and marched from place to place, singing and dancing. The *Pinnaru* followed with his many dogs. Then they marched through the Midlaleri country,[3] and at the south end of Lake Eyre they found many Yelka,[4] and called the place Yelka-bakana, where many girls joined them. Then they went southwards round the Lake to the lower reaches of the Cooper, where at Ditjiminka[5] other girls joined them.

Meanwhile the *Pinnaru* had fallen behind in his watchful pursuit, and saw, when seeking to follow them, that there were the tracks of many strange girls, who had traversed the whole place in search of mice. He followed these from Nidli-barkuna,[6] to Palaunkina,[7] where he found all the girls hidden from him behind bushes. To mock him each only showed her hair tied to a pointed

[1] See Roth, *op. cit.* pp. 120, 125.

[2] *Mankara* is "girl," *Waka* is "little," and *Pirna* is "big." *Ya* is "and." These girls are by another legend transferred to the sky as stars, the former being the Pleiades, and the latter the stars in the belt of Orion. The Pinnaru *Madaputa-tupuru* in the first part of this legend is also called Marukadlana, and is the principal star in Scorpio. The name means "thick smoke," in which it is said he sat by his fire.

[3] *Midla* or *Mudla* is "nose," "point," or "promontory," and *Leri* is "steep." It refers to the fact that at that place the sand-ridges are very steep. This place is in the country of the Wimberinya, a small horde of the Kukata tribe on the west side of Lake Gairdner.

[4] *Yelka* is a grass-like plant with small bulbs.

[5] From *Ditji*, the sun, and *Minka*, a hole into which he went at night. It is situated about twenty or thirty miles from Killalpanina, near Lake Eyre.

[6] *Nidli* is "a mouse," and *Barkuna* is "to dig."

[7] So named from the shameless behaviour of the Pinnaru towards the girls.

shape called *Wilburu*,[1] so that he could not distinguish one girl from the other.

From here they marched to the north-east, where at Pundu-worani[2] they made nose-pegs for themselves of Kuyamara wood.[3] With these the septum of the nose was bored, and the peg left therein, till they arrived at Paia-mokuni,[4] and replaced them with the quills of pelicans. At Dulderana,[5] they observed a wild dog, which they enticed to come to them by calling to it, "Duldera! Duldera! Pa! Pa! Pa!" The dog Duldera came to them, and became their faithful companion.

Because of the great cold at Ngunku-purunani[6] they caused

FIG. 56.—KULUA (*HAKEA LEUCOPTERA*).

FIG. 57.—PAIA-MOKU (*DIDISCUS GLAUCIFOLIUS*).

dense bushes to grow up, behind which they cowered close together. Again marching on, they saw a cormorant's nest, after which they named the place Tantaniwirrinani.[7] Having killed and eaten the

[1] This is the word applied to the universal practice of tying up the hair.

[2] *Pundu* is the name for the nose-peg, and *Wora* is the plural postfix.

[3] *Kuyamara* is a bush, the twigs of which are used in the funeral ceremonies of the Dieri. *Eremophila longifolia.*

[4] *Paia* is "bird," and *Moku* is "bone" in the usual sense of the word, but is also used for something hard in contrast with something soft. Thus in the Dieri language *Punga-moku* means the beams, that is the "bones," of the house, as at Killalpanina, and *Pita-moku* is "wood-bone" or "tree-trunk." The Paia-moku is *Didiscus glaucifolius.*

[5] *Dulderana* is "light coloured" or "white," thus applied to a light-coloured pelt.

[6] This "cowering together in a mob" is from *Puruna*, to cower, and *Ngunku*, a mob or number of people.

[7] *Tantani* is in Wonkanguru a cormorant; in Dieri, *Malura*. *Wirrinani* in Dieri is to go into something.

cormorant, they again marched on, and came to a place where there was a great abundance of Piltai[1] growing on the sandhills, and they named the place after it, Piltakali. Another place, where they made a hut of the *Kulua*,[2] they called Kuluantjudu. At a place where, by reason of the great cold, they made a fire to warm themselves, they called it Makatira,[3] because when marching they carried a piece of lighted wood. They came to Kakurawonta,[4] where a hawk flew off its nest when they broke some twigs, and the girls were so startled that they all shrieked out, and each wished to be the first to find the eggs, which they shared between them. This place was named from the *Kakura* bush, the fruit of which they plucked as they travelled. Their next halt was at Tindi-tindi-kupa-worana,[5] where they tried to catch a Tindi-tindi and its young, but without success, and then went on to Warukati-walpu,[6] where they collected the bones of an emu which a wild dog had killed. From them they prepared some paint with which they painted their faces, breasts, and arms.

By this time the cold season had passed over, and the sun became very hot. It had not rained for a long time, and they suffered very much from the great drought. To save themselves from perishing, they dug holes at Pul-yudu,[7] throwing the earth out backwards, and so travelled underground, in the damp earth. The Pinnaru, who had marched on in advance, wondered that he had not seen any of his daughters following him, and went back to seek them, but without success. At Ningkaka,[8] where he stood on a sandhill looking round about for them, the summit of the hill was flattened and widened by his steps. Still keeping on the watch, he observed that the girls appeared at the surface at Dityina,[9] where they played about actively, and at Wonamidlanina,[10] where they threw the *Wona* in competition with each other. They then let the wind carry away bunches of the Mindri plant, and running after them caught them again. As the Pinnaru persisted in watching them with longing, they covered themselves for the sake of modesty with Karpana,[11] at

[1] *Piltai* is in Dieri *Wirha*, the *Acacia salicina*, the leaves of which are burned by the blacks and the ashes mixed with Pitcheri.

[2] The *Kulua* is the Needle-bush, *Hakea Leucoptera*.

[3] *Makatira* is a fire-stick; in the Dieri, *Turumanya*, *i.e.* "make a fire," from *Turu*, fire.

[4] *Kakura* is a bush which bears edible fruit.

[5] The *Tindi-tindi* is probably one of the Fly-catchers, called by the whites "Wagtail." *Kupa* is "child," and *Worana* is the plural postfix.

[6] *Warukati* is "emu," and *Walpu* is "bone."

[7] *Pul-yudu* is a burrow made by any animal which throws the earth out behind it, such as the *Madura*, the kangaroo-rat.

[8] To look out.

[9] To appear shining; in Dieri, *Yirdinato*.

[10] The *Wona* is an instrument used by the women in sport and for fighting.

[11] To weave together. *Kanta-karpalina* is to weave grass for aprons.

a place called Mankara-timpiworana.[1] In the lake at that place they disported themselves in the water, by striking it with the flat of the hand and thus raising themselves up and again sinking down in it. Then the Pinnaru involuntarily said these words[2]:—

"Anto	*nupa*	*kairi*	*balanpa*	*pitaira"*
My	wives	they	sliding (in)	water strike (it).

The girls, hearing this, cried out, "What do you want?" to which he replied, "Nothing, I was only calling my dog Dulderana."

At the next resting-place, at Nipatakana,[3] the older girls told the younger to spread out the skin rugs to dry, so that they should not be spoilt.[4] The Mankara-waka did this, stretching them out with wooden pegs.

After that they remained at Nipatakana for some time, then marching farther to Kalyara-kodiangu,[5] where the Pinnaru brought all the girls before him, and wished to take the youngest for his wife. Here an immense flood overtook them, extinguishing their fires, covering their camp, and driving them on to the sandhills. The *Pinnaru* endeavoured to stay the flood, but was driven by it to Kaliriwa,[6] where the whole of the flat land was covered by water. He took refuge on a sandhill called Yendada,[7] but the water rose higher and higher until it was covered, and the *Pinnaru* fell on the ground exhausted, from which the place was named Madaputa-kuda-kun.[8] Hastily rising, he made a mound of earth at Wadlupirpaka;[9] but all in vain, as was also his attempt to stay the waters at Wolka-wolka[10] by driving stakes into the ground, fastening cross-pieces to them, and covering them with grass and bushes. The current broke through and carried it all away.

It was only at Kirha-kudana[11] that the *Pinnaru* succeeded in stopping the further spread of the flood-waters, by sticking his boomerang in the ground with its back toward the current. Then having brought the waters to a standstill, he converted them with his hand into a wide-spread layer of salt at Mara-karaka.[12]

[1] *Timpiwora* is a plant, which has not been identified.

[2] In the Wonkanguru language.

[3] *Nipa* is "clothing," and *takana* is "to peg out."

[4] As the Wonkanguru have not any skin rugs, the context suggests that as the Mankara started from the Kukata country, they had obtained skin rugs from the coast tribes.

[5] *Kalyara* is "quick," *Kodiangu* is "to flow" or "run like water."

[6] To overflow, to blot out, to cover the ground. [7] *Yendada* is "ridicule."

[8] *Madaputa* is the Wonkanguru word for Pinnaru, and *Kuda-kudana* is "to fall down."

[9] *Wadlu* is a sandhill; in Dieri, *Dako*. [10] *Wolka-wolka* is any young animal.

[11] *Kirha* is "boomerang." If the natives at Killalpanina wish to stop the flood-waters from spreading, they stick a boomerang in the ground, especially that kind that returns when thrown—Kandri or Wanamaru. Thus the Kopperamana and Killalpanina blacks think when the flood-waters do not extend to them that the people at Pando and Perigundi have stopped their flow in this manner.

[12] *Mara* is "the hand," and *Karaka* is "to touch."

The next three stations on their march received their names from the dances which the *Pinnaru* taught the girls, namely Ngaparalyerki, from the waggling of their breasts in dancing; Wirintyangura,[1] from the great fire round which they danced; and Kinyindi, from the quivering of their thighs in dancing.

The *Pinnaru* beat time to the dance, and sang to it.[2] From Wirintyangura they went to other places, where they danced; and the girls being fast asleep at one place, were wakened by Madaputa-tupuru making a great noise by striking his Pirha. When the girls started up in alarm, he said, "*Madagura yidli-yidli madagura*,"[3] and then, "Did I not think that you would keep the Madagura from me, and eat it all up?" The girls could not say anything to this, because they had eaten the Madagura as a dainty morsel, leaving the *Pinnaru*, who was almost helpless by reason of his increasing weakness, to the sole care of his own daughters. With difficulty they brought their father to Kumarina,[4] where he died, from loss of blood.

The blacks say that the colour of the water of this lake is a proof of the death of the Mura-mura, and that his body is still to be seen there in the form of a great rock, while his spirit is a star, which is identified as Antares.

The Wapiya Legend of the Wonkamala Tribe

When the Mura-mura Madaputa-tupuru died, his daughters mourned for him and buried him. Then leaving the neighbourhood of Lake Kumarina, they travelled farther north, gathering the mulga apples[5] by the way, some of which they roasted, and carried the remainder with them in their bags.

After a long march they reached Ukaralya Creek,[6] on the opposite bank of which they saw the Wapiya girls.[7] They greeted each other across the Creek, and questioned each other about this and that.

"What do you eat?" said the Wapiya girls; to which the others replied, "*Turutudu*; and what do you eat?"[8] Then they asked

[1] *Wirintya* means "fire," and *Ngura* is "camp."

[2] The time is marked in the singing of this song by striking on the *Pirha* with the hand, hence the name *Pirha-malkara*.

[3] *Madagura* is a small marsupial, and *Yidli-yidli* is "fat-fat," that is, "very fat."

[4] *Kumari* is "blood."

[5] The *Malka* is the Mulga, *Acacia aneura*.

[6] *Ukaralya* means "girls"; in the Dieri language, *Mankara*.

[7] *Wapiya* is "boomerang."

[8] In Wonkamala this is "*Munukudu takatyi ngana tadyiri?*" or in the Dieri, "*Munukudu ngaiani tayii?*" *Munukudu* is a plant with grass-like foliage and bearing tubers, which are not in clusters, but under each other. The plant grows on the sandhills, under bushes.

about their respective *Mura*[1] or sacred songs, and the Mankara-waka-ya-pirna said theirs was the *Pirha*, while the other girls said that theirs was the *Wapiya*. Then, being still separated by the creek, they gave a representation of their respective songs, the Mankara-pirna singing their *Pirha* song, while the other girls beat time with two boomerangs. Then the *Wapiya* girls asked how they intended to cross the creek, and the others said, "We will dance straight across." This they did, and landed on the opposite bank, where they abandoned their language and took that of the *Wapiya* girls, their future fellow-travellers, namely the Wonkamala.

FIG. 58.—DUNTYI (*CROTALARIA* SP.).

Then the whole group of girls, dancing together, wandered farther to the north. Their way led them to Paridikadi,[2] where they were bitten by ants, and then to Lakuramantyi,[3] finally to Wilpukudiangu,[4] where they thought they saw some Duntyi[5] at a distance. Hastening forward to tear it up, they found, on coming nearer, that the supposed bush was a very old, bald-headed man, whose long, straggling beard, blown by the wind, gave him the appearance of a bush of Duntyi. Laughing at his appearance, and at their mistake, they went on, and in the well-wooded Ngamara[6] they found much gum, which they gathered in their Pirhas, and mixing water with it, drank it, enjoying its sweet flavour. Having filled their bags with this

[1] *Mura* is something hallowed or sacred, as for instance a tree under which, according to some legend, a Mura-mura slept.

[2] Ant-path, from *Paridan*, ant, and *Kadi*, a way or path.

[3] The actual meaning of this is not known to me; all that can be said is that in some way it is connected with the male member of the dog.

[4] *Wilpu-kudianga* is to twist a thread or cord.

[5] *Duntyi* is a plant which has a silvery appearance—*Crotalaria* sp.

[6] *Ngamara* is probably the equivalent of the Dieri word *Buka-ngandri*, which may be rendered as "bread-mother," in other words, a thick forest.

gum, they went farther, till they heard a strange noise in the distance. "What is that?" they said to each other; but still going on with caution, they came to Paltjura, a vast sheet of water with high tumbling waves. Their fear was changed into joy, and they hastened forwards and bathed in the waters. Then they followed the shore till they were stopped by a steep hill, which rose up from the water with impassable rocks. Some were for going back, but others were for going on. The former returned homewards, meeting with a youth, whom they circumcised. Then they sent him to a neighbouring camp to fetch some wood for their fire; but when there he wished to have access to the women and girls, though his wound was still unhealed. They, being enraged by his immodest behaviour, killed him. The girls waited for some time; but as he did not return, they believed that he was dead, and went on their journey. After a time, they came to a place where a number of men had assembled for the Wodampa dance.[1] These people, being enraged because these girls had seen what it was not lawful for them to see, strangled them.

Meanwhile the other girls, who had not feared the steep hill, danced to it in a line; and the oldest one of them struck it with her *Wona*,[2] so that it split, and they all danced through the opening. Having passed through the hill, they came to where the old Ankuritcha was sitting by himself in front of his camp, twisting string. They seated themselves in a circle round the old man, who was astonished, and to whom they gave their pet dog, Dulderana. Then as he sat listening to them, with his ear turned to the sky, Arawotya, who lives there, let down a long hair cord and drew them up to himself, folding up the cord as he did so; the dog Dulderana being first, and the old *Pinnaru* Ankuritcha being the last. But one of the girls in climbing up the cord cut her hand with her *Wona*, and let her *Pirha* fall. She climbed down to get it, but was not able to climb up again, because the cord had been drawn up out of her reach by Arawotya. Therefore she remained below, and met with two young men, who threw their weapons at her. She being covered with shining scales, the weapons glanced off her harmlessly, and returned to them. Finally one of them surrounded himself with tree-stems so that he also was invulnerable. Then, while the girl endeavoured to strike him with her *Wona*, the other youth sprang towards her, and burst her covering of scales with the stem of a tree, so that she was without covering. Then she gave herself up, and became his wife.

All that I have been able to learn of Arawotya is that he at one

[1] The Wodampa dance is the most sacred dance that the Wonkamala and the Ngulubulu have. It recounts the origin of mankind.

[2] A *Wona* is the woman's digging-stick, and is a formidable weapon of defence.

time wandered over the earth, making the deep springs which are to be seen in otherwise waterless parts of Western Queensland. After he did this he went up to the sky.

Paltjura is, in the Wonkamala language, "an expanse"; in Dieri, *Palara*. According to the statements of the native informants, Paltjura is to be understood as being the Gulf of Carpentaria, a distance of over five hundred miles from the Wonkamala country in a straight line. The wanderings recorded in these several legends are mainly in a general north and south direction. Thus, including those of the Yuri-ulu and of the Mankara-waka-ya-pirna, the total range is from the country west of Spencer Gulf in the south to the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north.

ANTI-ETYA AND NGARDU-ETYA[1]

Part I

This legend consists of three parts. The first and second belong exclusively to the localities Kadri-pairi and Innamincka,[2] and are in the Yantruwunta language. The third. is in Dieri, but is found also in the Yaurorka and Yantruwunta. The songs belonging to this legend are sung at the ceremonies held near Kudna-ngauani, which are referred to later on.

Two Mura-muras lived together at Kadri-pairiwilpa,[3] one being a *Nardoo*-gatherer, and the other a hunter, and both were in the relation of *Tidnara*.[4] One day, when they returned to their camp at evening with food, the hunter undertook to grind the *Nardoo*, while the other prepared the game The latter observed that his *Tidnara*, while grinding the *Nardoo*, ate some of it, and upbraided him with doing so. But as he denied having done it, the other thrust his hand down his throat into his stomach and brought up a lump of *Nardoo*, which he then ate himself. Then he ate the remainder of the *Nardoo* which his *Tidnara* had ground, and finally devoured all the game, so that the other Mura-mura had to remain with an empty stomach.

[1] *Anti* or *Nganti* is "flesh," and *etya* is "recurrence" or "persistence." *Ngardu*, or, as it is usually spelled, *Nardoo*, is the *Marsilia* sp., on which the explorers Burke and Wills endeavoured to support themselves at Cooper's Creek. *Anti-etya* is one who eats much game; he who is often in connection with game; a hunter. *Ngardu-etya* is one who collects Nardoo and lives mainly upon it.

[2] *Innaminka*, or properly *Yidni-minka*, means "You (are a) hole," from *Yidni*, "you," and *Minka*, "a hole."

[3] *Kadri-pairiwilpa* is the Milky Way, the "river-bed of the sky," *Kairi* being "river."

[4] That both could be *Tidnara* is to be understood when one considers the peculiar system of relationship of the Dieri. Ego being a Dieri, my mother's mother (*Kanini*) is equally my elder sister (*Kaku*), so that her son (my mother's brother) is my *Tidnara*, for he is my sister's son. In an analogous manner two such men may be both *Kaka*, that is, mother's brother.

On the following morning he considered how he might manage not to be defrauded by his companion. He went out in company with him, but always lagging behind, until at length he saw him disappear over a distant sandhill. He then hastily turned back, and making an immense number of footprints as of men, women, and children, he went to his camp. There he built up a great number of huts, as if many people had arrived and camped. Then he set to work to grind *Paua*, which he had gathered on his way back, but when he began to grind it the stone broke, and he sought another; but it also broke. Then he took his shoulder-blade and smoothed it into a *Ngurtu*;[1] and, cutting off the point of his tongue, he used it as a *Marda-kuparu*[2] to grind with. He placed the larger stone over a hole in the ground, in which he had placed a *Pirha*; and, dropping the seed on the stone, he ground it with the other, and let the meal fall into the bowl below.

In the evening, when the other Mura-mura returned, he observed the numerous footprints, and following them saw at his camp a great number of new huts, and was much frightened, thinking that his *Tidnara* must have been killed. Weary and sad, he lay down and slept, but was awakened by the noise of a great rushing wind. Again he slept, and again he was roused by it, but at length, overcome by weariness, he slept till morning.

The other Mura-mura had ground a mass of *Paua*, and baked a number of cakes of it. He then threw one cake after the other towards the hut of his Tidnara, so that a complete path was made. At daybreak the latter was wakened by the smell of the newly-baked cakes. He collected them one after the other until he saw where his *Tidnara*, whom he did not recognise, was sitting on the *Ngurtu*, which he had placed on the ground. He then walked round the hut till, recognising his *Tidnara*, he rushed to him and embraced him, shaking him in his joy, till both of them, with the *Ngurtu*, sank into the ground. Then they came out again, and one said to the other, "Where do you wish that I should go to?" "That way," said the other, pointing in a certain direction. He went that way, and the other sent him still farther, until, when he had gone a long distance, he said to him, "Remain." Then in the same manner the latter sent the former to a distant place.

Part II

Anti-etya lived at Kadri-pairi, but Ngardu-etya remained at Innamincka during the remainder of his life. Long after that time,

[1] *Ngurtu* is a large slab of stone on which the *Paua* or Nardoo is ground.

[2] *Marda-kuparu* is a smaller and harder stone, with which the seeds or Nardoo are ground upon the *Ngurtu*. It is named from *Marda*, "a stone," and *Kuparu*, "young"; thus the young of the stone, a small stone.

strangers came to that place and found the bones of the Mura-mura Ngardu-etya. They collected them and placed them in a *Bili-milki*,[1] and put it up in the branches of a tree, covered with leaves. In time people settled there, but they sickened, and a great number died. In this emergency a *Pinnaru* sent his wife out to call the people together from all quarters, to hold a great ceremony to put a stop to the mortality.[2] They came from all round, and decorating themselves with emu and Katatara[3] feathers, the ceremonies commenced. The bag containing the bones of the dead Mura-mura was taken down from the tree, and two of the *Pinnarus* danced. Then they took the backbone of the dead Mura-mura, and each wound a piece of cord about it. Two other people, a man and his wife, also wound the cord once each round the bone. Then all the people did likewise, in pairs, until the bone was quite hidden from sight.[4] Having thus strengthened the backbone of the Mura-mura, they were now protected from the sickness.

Part III

While Ngardu-etya went to Innamincka in the east, Anti-etya lived at Kadri-pairi. The *Nidla* and *Punta* were his food, and there were such numbers of the *Kauri*[5] there that he could hardly protect himself from them. One day, when a fierce hot wind blew and there was a sand-storm, trees were broken, and twigs were carried by the wind, and one of these struck the Mura-mura on the face. When the storm was over, he looked round to see where the tree was from which it had been carried. He observed it in the far distance, and hastened towards it. After a time he arrived where it stood at Nyulin-yanira.[6] He determined to uproot it; and rubbing it with the sweat of his armpits, lifted it slightly up. Again rubbing the sweat into the butt of the tree, he seized it, and, as if of its own account, it rose out of the ground, roots and all. He freed it from its roots and branches, removed the bark, and carried it on his shoulders to Kadri-pairi, where he pointed the

[1] This is a bag, *Bili* or *Pili*; *Milki* is the "eye." There are "eyes" worked on this kind of bag, which is thereby distinguished from another kind of bag without eyes and of a different kind of texture.

[2] Women are still employed as messengers, especially in the *Mindari* ceremonies. In cases where it is supposed that some man has been killed "by the bone," a woman is sent to the supposed culprit, and is expected to obtain, by her favours, the knowledge where the bone is hidden, or even to obtain it.

[3] The shell parrakeet.

[4] When this ceremony is held at Innamincka, small staves, thickly wound round with string, are used to represent the backbone of the Mura-mura.

[5] *Nidla*, *Punta*, and *Kauri* are small marsupials. The latter named is at times migratory. I have not been able to identify them. Locally, the white settlers call them "rats."

[6] At Farrar's Creek, about one hundred and fifty miles from Kadri-pairi.

upper end, then bent it somewhat, and made it into a Turu-kuntyi.[1] In the night the rats came in such numbers that they destroyed his camp, and prevented him from even lying down, so that he sat the whole night through holding the Turu-kuntyi before him. The next morning he went hunting *Kauri*, following their footprints to the hiding-places in which they had concealed themselves at day-break. Thrusting his Turu-kuntyi into a hole, he twisted it about, and thought that he heard a sound of scratching at the other end of the burrow. Then, as the rats came out, he killed them, and collected them in three great heaps. At last a *Kapita* came out, which he caught by the neck instead of by the tail, and it bit him in the finger. Then he let it go, and he saw it escape into another hole. The blood having stopped, and the pain abated, he returned to the three heaps of rats, but did not roast them, because by doing so he would lose all the fat. He therefore swallowed them raw, one after the other. Then he suddenly became aware that a tail was growing out of him, longer and longer, until the end of it stuck into one of his eyes and blinded him. For three days he remained sightless, until a film came off his eye, and he could see that his whole body was coloured like a rainbow. Then he sought for a shelter to live in, and coming to a suitable sandhill, he said to himself, "Shall I live upon the top of it, where people might be afraid of me, or shall I make a cave in it?" Then he made a cave in the sandhill, and lived therein. Meanwhile a man came there who was a hunter of birds, and Anti-etya told him to take emu feathers and other things, and carry them to the Mura-mura Andru-tampana,[2] who lived farther to the north. He was to tell him that, after the death of Anti-etya, the *Yenku* (son's son) of the former should have these things, and should bring down the sacred song of Andru-tampana to be joined with that of the Mura-mura Minkani. Thus it happened that while Anti-etya, as the Mura-mura Minkani, burrowed in his sandhill deeper and deeper, the man carried the presents and the song to the Mura-mura Andru-tampana; and since that time the two songs have been combined.

This legend identifies Anti-etya with the Mura-mura Minkani, whose ceremonies are held periodically by the Dieri, Yaurorka, Yantruwunta, Marula, Yelyuyendi, Karanguru, and Ngameni, at Kudna-ngauana, on the Cooper. All that I have been able to learn so far as to the ceremonies is as follows:—

[1] This implement is usually made out of the root of the Mulga tree, and is used for digging the *Kauri* and other small animals out of their burrows.

[2] The meaning of this name has not been ascertained, nor the legend relating to him obtained.

The Minkani Ceremonies

The object of the meeting of the tribes is to obtain a plentiful crop of *Woma* and *Kapiri* by their ceremonies.

The Mura-mura Minkani is, as mentioned in the legend, hidden in his cave, deep in a sandhill. To judge from the description given, his remains seem to be those of one of the fossil animals or reptiles which are found in the deltas of the rivers emptying themselves into Lake Eyre, and which the Dieri call Kadimarkara. When the actual ceremony takes place, the women are left at the camp, and the men proceed alone to the place where the Mura-mura is to be uncovered. They dig down till damp earth is reached, and also what they call the excrement of the Mura-mura. The digging is then very carefully done till, as the Dieri say, the "elbow" of the Mura-mura is uncovered. Then two men stand over him, and the vein of the arm of each being opened, the blood is allowed to fall upon the Mura-mura. The Minkani song is now sung, and the men, in a state of frenzy, strike at each other with weapons, until they reach the camp, distant about a mile. The women, who have come out to meet them, rush forward with loud outcries, and hold shields over their husbands to protect them, and stop the fighting. The Tidnamadukas collect the blood dropping from their wounds, and scatter it, mixed with "excrement" from the Minkani's cave, over the sandhills, so that they may bring forth the young *Woma* and *Kapiri* (carpet-snake) lizard hidden in them.[1]

This ceremony is undoubtedly similar to the Intichiuma ceremonies performed by the men of the Kangaroo totem described by Spencer and Gillen,[2] and the intention is the same, namely, to produce a crop of the totem food-animal. In this case the men who assemble for that purpose should be, according to all similar practices, of the totem animal which they intend to produce, and therefore of the *Woma* and *Kapiri* Murdus. This, however, I have not been able to ascertain.

The Darana Legend of the Dieri Tribe

This is one of those legends which relate to the production of rain, and the Mura-mura Darana is one of the most highly considered of the rain-making Mura-muras at Pando (Lake Hope).

When no rain had fallen for a long time, and the land was desert and waste, Darana produced rain by singing continually, while looking towards the north.[3] The rain fell and the water rose

[1] As to Tidnamaduka, see footnote 2, p. 785. [2] *Op. cit.* 195.
[3] The great rains come from that quarter.

steadily, till it was up to his knees, then to his hips, and finally to his neck. He waded through the waters to the sources of the river, where he fixed his *Kandri* in the ground, and the rain ceased. Then vegetation grew luxuriantly, and the *Muluru*[1] settled themselves in it in enormous numbers. The Mura-mura drove them together by his songs, dried them, and packed them in bags, and hung these on the trees. Being invited by a friendly Mura-mura to visit him and eat *Paua*, he went with all his following, among whom were a number of cripples, who travelled along on their knees, elbows, and ankles. Two youths, however, the Dara-ulu, remained behind, and seeing the bundles hanging on trees, threw their boomerangs at them. He who stood on the right hand hit his mark, and the dust from the dried *Muluru* flew far and wide, and obscured the sun, while the bags shone brightly to a great distance. The Mura-muras seeing this as they travelled, turned back in haste, those with feet running on the surface, while those without travelled underground. Arriving at their home, they strangled the Dara-ulu, who were at once restored to life by the old Mura-mura Darana, to be again strangled by the unanimous decision of the people. Their bodies were then rolled up, and it was decided that the first child born should be the guardian of the *Dara*.

The Dieri show two heart-shaped stones, which are carefully wrapped up in feathers and fat, as the Dara-ulu, to scratch which would, they say, cause the whole people to suffer perpetual hunger, and never to be satisfied, however much they might eat. If these stones were broken, the sky would redden, the dust which formerly rose up from the dried *Muluru* would spread itself from the westward, and men, when they saw it cover the whole earth, would die of terror.

The Dara-ulu are believed to be the senders of rain, and in the rain-making ceremonies these stones, which represent them, are smeared with fat, and the *Dara* song is sung, the commencement of which is as follows:—

Warpi pirna *yella-yella*
The warpi the great together together (*i.e.* tightly bound together)

wonu piti *tankara* *yella* *ngamali baku*
the cords ends crossed together with the breasts (the free breasts)

ngamali wiltyi ngama *mira-anura-yelli* *warumbara kuyu mani*
with the breasts moving with rapid

tidna wiri-wiri wora kupa *Nunga tunka nunga tunka tapayuru.*
The arm (wing) shows itself of the *tapayuru*.

This song is of great length, and as the version obtained is in

[1] *Muluru* is the witchetty grub of Spencer and Gillen.

the Yaurorka language, Mr. Siebert has not yet been able to make it out completely. The translation of part of the third and fourth lines has not been obtained. *Warpi* is a kind of covering for the arms. It is ornamented with *Tunka*, which is a cotton-like substance, and is tied on with a hair cord which is crossed over the arm. By the movement of the arms, which accompany the song, the arm-covering simulates the waving of the wings of the rain-bringing *Tapayuru*, which is a bat. The whole song will, I hope, be prepared at some future time by my valued correspondent, the Rev. Otto Siebert.

A Legend of the Tirari Horde of the Dieri Tribe

Two young men outraged a young woman, who then gave water to her husband, with a splinter of wood in it, as a sign of what they had done. He poured out the water, with the splinter in it, on the ground, and all the people agreed that the young men should be strangled. This was done, but they revived, and were again strangled, the ground being coloured with the blood which flowed from their noses and mouths. The place where this happened is called Midla-kumari.[1] There were a great number of people there, who by the order of the Mura-mura Palungopina [2] dug an immensely long and deep grave, in which the two young men were laid, and this was where the lake Tauian-ngaritiangu now is. Palungopina then ordered the earth to fall in, and thereby all the people who were there were swallowed up in it. He then ordered them all to rise up in the form of Miri-wiri,[3] which flew up with wings to the sky, and Palungopina followed them. This was at Padiminka.[4]

The Tirari and Dieri believe that they will themselves go up to the sky from a place called Palkatra-karanti.[5]

Kakakudana[6] and the Origin of the Mound Springs: A Legend of the Urabunna Tribe

This legend professes to account for the origin of the fossilised marsupials and other creatures which are found in several places in the Lake Eyre district, and also for that of the mound springs which are so marked a feature of that part of Australia. These fossils are called by the tribes-people Kadimarkara, creatures which in the Mura-mura times descended from the sky-country to the earth, by

[1] *Midla* is "nose," and *Kumari* is "blood."
[2] The meaning of this name is not known, but *Palu* means "naked."
[3] *Miri-wiri* is "maggot."
[4] *Padi* is the witchetty grub of Spencer and Gillen.
[5] This name means "Climb up in the darkness."
[6] The meaning of Kakakudana is not known.

means of great trees which grew on the eastern shores of Lake Eyre, and supported the sky.

The Dieri and the Tirari both speak of these great trees. One of them stood at the Clayton River, the middle one at the Cooper about twenty-five miles west of Killalpanina, and the third at Salt Creek.

Kadimarkaras are also spoken of as *Womas*, as in this legend. The Mura-mura Minkani is also said to be a *Woma*, and in this aspect has a remarkable similarity to the totem ancestors of the Alcheringa time of the Arunta legends.

Kakakudana lived to the west of Lake Eyre. Leaving his wife behind, he went on his wanderings alone. At Pitalina he dug after a Kadimarkara, which he killed underground, and then dragged to Woma-dirkana,[1] where he cooked it in a Dirka,[2] and ate it. The place where he killed the Kadimarkara is marked by springs. He cut off its head, and threw it away, which caused the hill called Woma-kata-yapu[3] to rise up. Having eaten the flesh of the Kadimarkara, he collected the bones for his wife, and took them back to her. While she was busy pounding them in her lap, he went off again in the belief that she would follow him. Looking round when he got to Wilpandrina,[4] he could not see her, and therefore called for her to come, but she did not hear him; and not knowing where he was, she continued to wander looking for him. Sad and wearied by searching for him, she rested at Wolkararana,[5] and then wandered on to Wulyua-purali,[6] where she died.

Kakakudana noticed that his body continued to swell larger and larger. He had all the inhabitants of the surrounding country brought to him, even the weak, the sick, and the women with child. When they were all gathered together at Kuda-ngampana,[7] his enormous body burst and the people ran away affrighted. At this place, as at all other places where Kakakudana or his wife rested, there rose up a spring.

[1] From the Urabunna word *Pitanda*, to strike; in the Dieri, *Nandrena*.

[2] *Dirka* is a hole in the ground heated by a fire, in which *Womas* (carpet-snakes) are cooked. *Woma-dirkana* is the mound spring called Blanch Cup.

[3] From *Woma*, and *Katayapu*, a head.

[4] From *Wilpandra*, to whistle; in Dieri, *Wilpina*.

[5] From the Urabunna word *Wolkaratyinda*, meaning "longing"; in the Dieri, *Wolkarali*. This is the spring called Anna Spring.

[6] *Wulyula-puruli* is "old woman dead"; in the Dieri, *Widlapirna-purani*. *Purani* is "to die."

[7] The stomach. The Urabunna word is derived from *Kudna*, "excrement," and *Ngampa*, the stone with which they pound Nardoo. The Dieri call the stomach *Kudna-ngandri*, the excrement-mother.

TAYI-TAMPANA[1] OR NGURA-TULU-TULU-RU[2]: A YAURORKA LEGEND

A Mura-mura belonging to Kilyalpa,[3] named Ngura-tulu-tulu-ru, started on his wanderings. He came to Paia-tira,[4] where he saw women beating out *Paua* and cleaning it. As he came nearer to them, they saw him, and surrounded the stranger. They looked at him inquisitively, and could not help laughing at his crooked legs and arms. Nor could they help being surprised at the light-coloured flies which accompanied him, because those with them were black. Then they began to discuss where he came from, and who he was, for not one of them knew him. But they thought of one old woman who was a little distance away, and called to her, thinking that she might know who he was. Hastening to them, she recognised him as being her *Ngatamura*, and took him on her lap, and sobbed unceasingly, crying, "*Palingi! Palingi!*" (my brother's son). When she had wept over him, she sent him to her husband, his *Yenku* (father's father), who was in the camp with other men eating *Paua*. Before he reached the camp he could hear the men grinding the seed which the women had collected and cleaned. He thought to himself, "That must be a good stone; I wish I had it." Then he went to his *Yenku's* camp, and after he had spoken to him, made his own camp close at hand, and lay down as if to sleep. As he lay there, the whole camp collected there and made themselves merry over his crooked legs and arms. He, however, secretly watched where they had put the wonderful *Tayi* stone, which with so little rubbing had ground so much *Paua*. When all the people had gone to sleep, Ngura-tulu-tulu-ru rose up, and taking some glowing coals and a piece of fungus,[5] he powdered both and scattered them over the whole camp, to make every one unconscious. To make sure that every one was fast asleep, he shouted "*Bai! Bai! Bai!*" loudly, after he had spoken his spell, but no one moved. Then he touched each one with a burning coal, to try and wake him, but without effect, and then took the grinding-stone out of the damp earth where it had been hidden, washed the mud off it, and walked away quietly, about midday, with it on his head. When he had gone a long way from the camp, the people woke up, and to

[1] *Tayi-tampana* means a grinding-stone in mud. *Tayi* is the name for the slab of stone on which the *Paua* is ground; in Dieri called *Ngurtu*. *Tampa* is damp earth or mud; in Dieri, *Mitta-pada*, *Mitta* being earth, and *Pada*, damp or moist.

[2] *Ngura-tulu-tulu-ru* is "leg-crooked," *Ngura* being "leg," *Tulu-tulu-ru* being "crooked," and in Dieri, *Pira-pira*.

[3] The name of this place is derived from *Kilyera*, a loose sandy land without vegetation.

[4] *Paia* is a bird. The word *Tira* is not explained.

[5] This fungus is called *Wona-waru*, white mound. It grows near to Eucalyptus trees.

their sorrow found that the stranger Ngura-tulu-tulu-ru and their *Tayi* had both disappeared.

Then they formed a Pinya (blood-revenge party), and having found the track of the thief, they followed him hastily.

At Ngapa-kangu[1] they met with a man whom they killed, thinking him to be Tayi-tampana, and it was only after he was dead that they found out their mistake. Then they again followed Tayi-tampana's tracks to Malka-malkara,[2] where they overtook him, and came upon him from two directions. When he saw himself suddenly surrounded by a Pinya, he took the *Tayi* from his head, and using it as a shield, stopped all the boomerangs thrown at him. These he collected, and then attacking the Pinya, he pursued them as far as Pinya-maru,[3] where he killed them, and turned them into stones, which are black because the men of the Pinya were painted of that colour. Going back for the *Tayi*, which he had left behind, he was attacked by the remainder of the Pinya, whose weapons he stopped with the stone for a shield; and having gathered them up, he followed his enemies, and killed them. So deeply did he strike them into the ground that a deep pit was formed, from which that place has been called Yidni-minka.[4]

Having done this, he went back, and on his way he again slew a number of those sent against him at Madra-yurkuma.[5] Then taking his *Tayi* under his arm he went to Meriwora. The Pinya had by this time again collected against him. When they began to throw their boomerangs against him, he threw himself on the ground face downwards, and placed the stone in such a manner on his back that no weapon could injure him. But he was buried under the *Tayi* and was turned into stone.

NGURA-WORDU-PUNNUNA[6]: A DIERI LEGEND

A Mura-mura named Ngura-wordu-punnuna lived at Pando, and caught rats and mice, which were there in great numbers, for his

[1] *Ngapa-kangu*, in Yaurorka and Dieri, is "flax-in-water."

[2] *Malka* is the Mulga tree; the name means a freshly-shooting Mulga tree.

[3] *Maru* is "black."

[4] Now shown on the maps as Innamincka. Another version of this legend says that it was Ngura-tulu-tulu-ru who gave it this name, by saying to the men he had killed, "*Yidni minka (nganamai)!*" that is, "Thou (shalt be) a hole!" The legend which follows this says that it was the Mura-mura Ngura-wordu-punnuna who named this place.

[5] *Madra* is Yaurorka for a stone; in Dieri, *Mada*. *Yurkuma* in Yaurorka and Dieri is "to carry under the arm." The place is so called because the petrifactions referred to appear to the narrators to be carrying bags under their arms after the custom of the *Pinya*.

[6] *Nura* is "tail," *Wordu* is "short," and *Punnu* is the place where a creek enters a lake, in this sense meaning, "He with the short tail, at the embouchure" into Pando, that is, Lake Hope.

food, and of their skins he made water-bags. One day he saw a *Mari*[1] in the neighbourhood of his camp; and on the following day he followed its tracks until he found it. Armed with his spear and boomerang, he was preparing to kill it, when the animal spoke to him, saying, "Wherefore dost thou come to as a stranger? Put down thy boomerang and spear." Doing this, he then wrestled with the *Mari* and strangled him, and then made a large water-bag of his skin. After a while he saw a still larger animal, which only showed itself occasionally. "I must have that one," he thought to himself; and filling all his water-bags, he hung them over his shoulders and carried one in each hand. The great bag which he had made of the *Mari's* skin he put on his head on a pad he made with his hair, which he also tied over the top. Being thus prepared, he then set out, following the tracks of the great animal farther and farther away from his home, until his water-bags were emptied one after the other. At length he saw a great animal, but it was not the one he was looking for, and he still went on into country altogether unknown to him. Then he saw many great animals, and marched through them, seeking the particular one he had been following. At length he found him, and was about to throw his boomerang at him, and pierce him with his spear. But the animal spoke to him, saying, "If thou comest to me as a friend, lay down thy Kirha and Kalti" (boomerang and spear). Much surprised, he said, "*Yidni barkana nganti! Yatani-mara nganai?*"[2] He laid down his weapons, and each grappled with the other. The animal tried to seize his throat, but he threw it down and strangled it. Having done this, what was he to do? He could not cook it, because it was *Mura* to him.[3] He could not carry it home, because he was worn out with his long marching. Then he decided to swallow it whole and raw, and lying down on the ground, opposite to it and face downwards, he began at the head, slowly drawing it into himself. Then he noticed, when he turned himself round, that his body was becoming longer and longer, until at length he had become an animal. When he had swallowed the whole animal, excepting the tail, this suddenly struck him in the eye and blinded him. He was bent double with pain, and did not know how to find his way back, because he could not see. Then he remembered that the wind had been blowing from the north; but, when he drew in a breath and smelled it, it was a strange wind. Then he smelled to the east, but that was also strange to him. After waiting for a time he drew a breath from the west, and recognised it as a wind blowing from his

[1] *Mari* is a wallaby.

[2] "Thou also animal speech gifted art?"

[3] This is certainly a taboo, possibly connected with the totem, but as yet not ascertained.

home. He then got up and went up the wind. When it ceased, he rested himself. When it again commenced to blow, he travelled, until after a time he opened his eyes and could see that his body was wonderfully marked.

The way which Ngura-wordu-punnuna went to his home is marked by the course of the Cooper, and its bends and curves were made by the Mura-mura's serpentine movements as he travelled.

Directly the scales had fallen from his eyes, his sight became stronger and clearer, and the markings on his body were brighter and more distinct. Thus it was that at Kalyumaru [1] he became covered with a new skin from head to tail, beautifully marked and shining, and he saw himself as he had never seen himself before. But even now he was dependent upon the wind. When it blew from the west he wandered on, when it blew from some other direction he rested, and at those places Kadimarkara were produced from his excrement.

According to some versions, there were at that time two Kadimarkara living at Yidni-minka, who hid themselves in their burrows out of fear of him. At Ngapa-ngayimala [2] the Mura-mura Ngura-wordu-punnuna found the way blocked by two Kadimarkara, which had laid themselves down with their heads towards him. As they would not let him pass, he threw them aside with the *Kunya*, with which his head was armed, and passed on. Two great trees, growing there, one on each side of the channel, are the Kadimarkara.[3] He passed between them, and beyond that place came to another Kalyumaru, where there were many Kalyu bushes. Many Mura-muras were assembled there, but he, being now a Kadimarkara, could not remain with them. At Kunyani [4] he saw the great Pirha of the Mura-mura Pampo-ulu, who had filled it with Tuna-worin-yalka,[5] to produce rain by placing it in a water-hole, secured by sticks. Then at Nganti-wokarana he saw the Mura-mura of that name, with his long Tippa,[6] and going farther, he came to Ngura-wordu, which he named after the Kadimarkara which were produced from his excrement. Thence he went to Nari-wolpu,[7] the place where an assemblage of Mura-mura was broken up by reason of the bones of

[1] Kalyumaru is a large sheet of water in Cooper's Creek, near the Queensland boundary, where I established my depôt on my second expedition in 1863. *Kalyu* is an acacia; *Maru* is a wide expanse of country.

[2] *Ngapa* is "water," and *Ngayimala* is "throat," "swallow." Part of the Cooper, where it is confined between narrow banks, is thus named the Throat of the Water.

[3] From what I remember of this place, these trees are probably *Eucalyptus rostrata*.

[4] *Kunya* is in Dieri a longish-pointed bone or piece of wood, such as the point of a spear, which is used in evil magic.

[5] *Tuna* is "gypsum."

[6] *Tippa* is a tassel worn by the men, made of the tails of the rabbit-bandicoot.

[7] This name means "Dead bones."

Kuyi-mokuna,[1] and leaving there, he came to Wokadani, where the female Mura-mura Wari-lin-luna[2] came forth out of the earth and gave birth to her many children, the various *Murdus*, who ran away to different districts and settled themselves there.

At Ngapadia[3] the favourable wind which had led him homewards ceased to blow, and he moved himself round and round, smelling the wind, and stretching out his neck, thus forming a wide shallow depression, and also the creek leading to Kapara-mana.[4] The south wind now blew from his home; and as he went onwards, the movements of his tail formed the curves of the creek, at the same time drawing the flood-waters after him. He passed by Mandikilla-widmani,[5] where the Mura-mura Darana caused the rain by the songs of his friend the Mura-mura Wonna-mara. Finally Ngura-wordu-punnuna came to Yulku-kudana,[6] where he stretched out his neck to look round for his camp at Pando, where he had left his wife, who was also a Kadimarkara. Then hastening to it, he sank deeper and deeper into the ground.

[1] As to *Kuyi-mokuna*, see "Some Native Legends from Central Australia," Mary E. B. Howitt. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. p. 403.

[2] This is a version of the first legend of this series, and is an equivalent of that of the Alcheringa ancestors giving birth to spirit children.

[3] At Ngapadia a channel leads off from the main channel to Pando (Lake Hope).

[4] This place is shown on the maps as Kopperamana.

[5] From *Mandikilla*, in Dieri meaning "waves," and *Widmani*, "to put into." So called because the Mura-mura is supposed to have stopped the flood by putting the waters into the ground.

[6] *Yulku-kudana* is letting the throat become lower, or fall down. While *Yerkala* is in Dieri the neck, *yulku* is specially the lower part of the throat; the word means also "to swallow."

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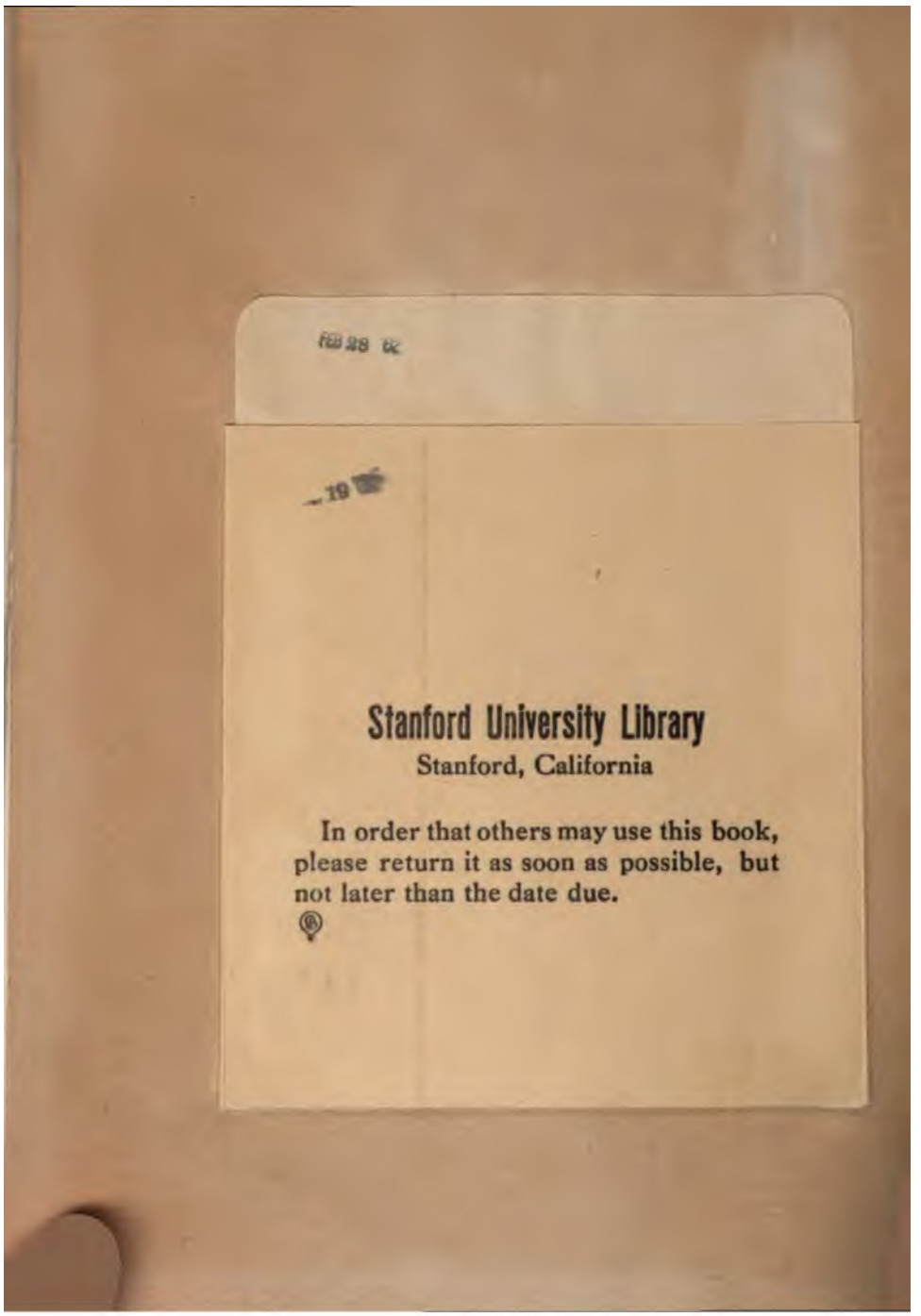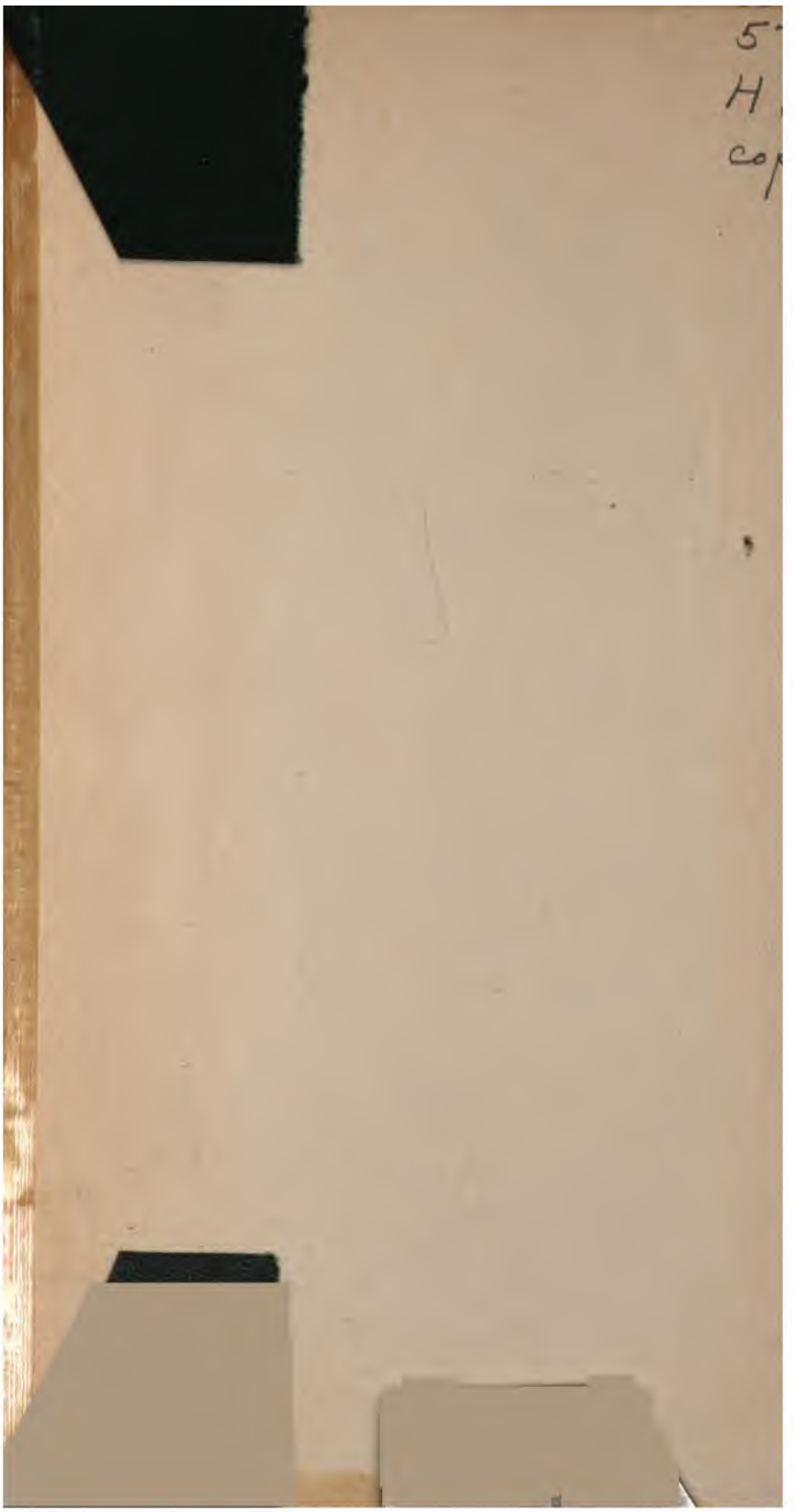
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